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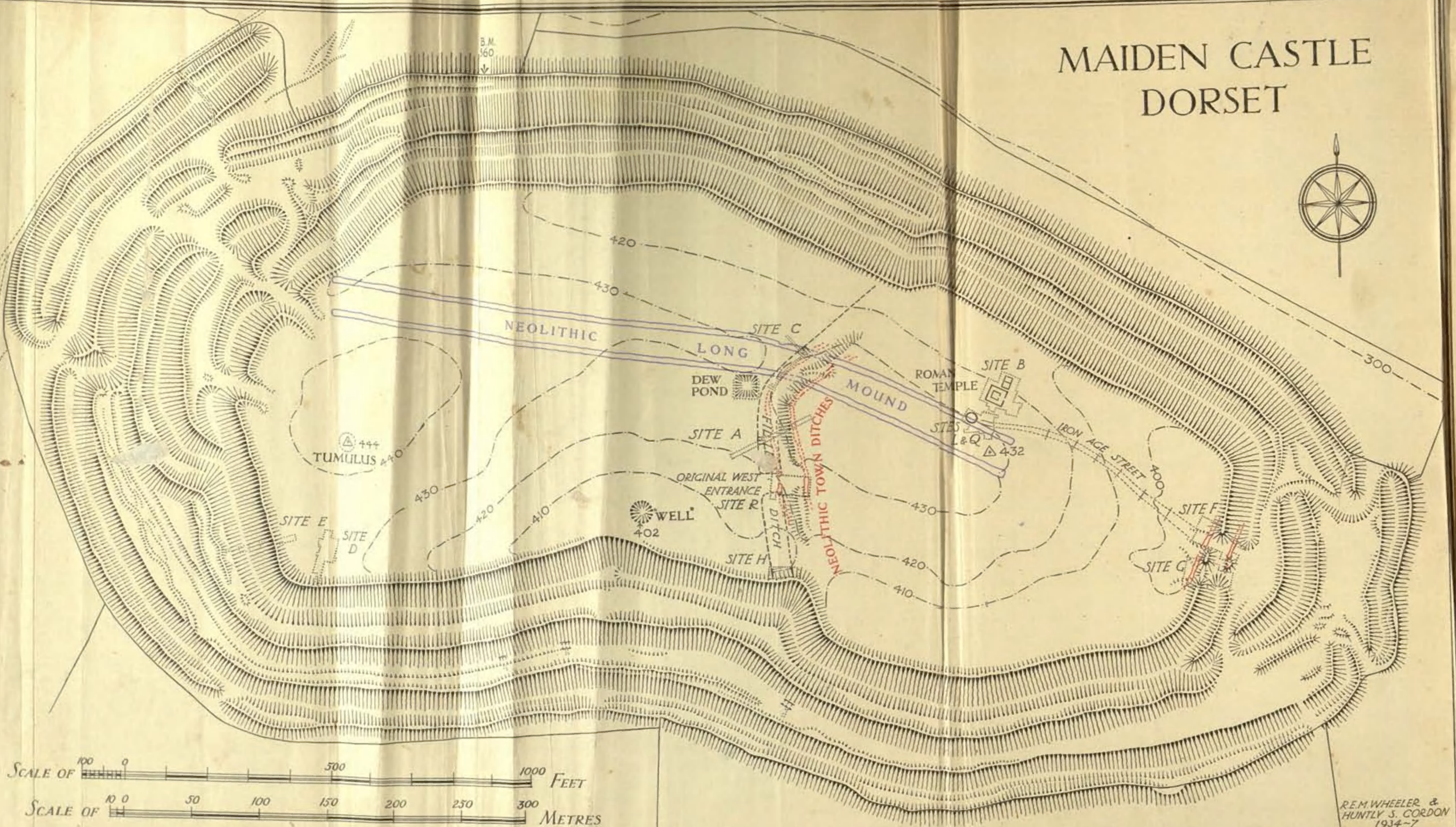
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MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET



R.E.M. WHEELER &
HUNTLY S. CORDON
1934-7

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No. XII

Maiden Castle, Dorset

By

R. E. M. Wheeler

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TO THE MEMORY OF
TESSA VERNEY WHEELER

I COULD wish that this book were a worthier memorial to the name which I have written here above. None can know more acutely than I the faults, the incompleteness, of these pages. But, at a time when the future is more than ordinarily imponderable, it is a duty to my many colleagues and to the great monument itself to place on record at least some considerable part of a work which, unrecorded, resolves into destruction. Later, perhaps, an occasion may come for the completion of the task. Meanwhile, the main facts and the more immediate inferences are here in some fashion inscribed.

The manuscript has been prepared for printing amidst the watches of the War. In the process no cognizance has been taken of things done or written by others since the early summer of 1939. The wreckage of the present has in these days been more instant to my mind than the wreckage of the past, and *inter arma* I have no heart for studentship. The following pages are less a report than the salvage of the report that should have been.

R. E. M. WHEELER

August 1941



SUMMARY

The saddleback hill now encircled by the earthworks of Maiden Castle was first occupied by a Neolithic A population in the latter half of the third millenium B.C. The settlement, on the eastern end of the hill, was surrounded by two parallel lines of interrupted ditch and covered an area of about a dozen acres.

After a time this village was deserted, but shortly before the arrival of the Neolithic B culture the site was straddled by a long barrow of unique immensity, 1,790 ft. in length. In the eastern end of the barrow was a remarkable burial, that of a man whose body had been extensively mutilated after death.

Vestiges of subsequent occupation extend into the Early Bronze Age, whereafter the hill-top was abandoned until a mature phase of Early Iron Age A, approximately the end of the fourth century B.C.

On the site of the neolithic village the Early Iron Age A folk built a single line of fortification, with timber-revetted rampart of 'wall-and-berm' type, enclosing 15 acres. Of the two entrances, the eastern was double, and overlooked a metalled place or market-place on the flat slope beyond. Wooden cattle-pens were set up in this metalled area.

Subsequently, the main enclosure was extended to the western slope of the hill, with a total internal area of 45 acres. At the western end of the new work a double entrance was built, on the model of the original eastern entrance. Then or shortly afterwards a hornwork, revetted with timber and stone, was built outside both eastern and western entrances.

The earthenwork remained in the occupation of a considerable if squalid urban peasantry until the middle of the first century B.C., when it passed suddenly under the control of a new culture, here named 'Wessex Early Iron Age B'. Outer lines of rampart and ditch were now added and the main rampart was doubled in height, the conditioning factor being the extensive use of the sling by the new-comers. This and other evidence point to southern Brittany (the home of the Veneti) as a principal source, and suggest as a causative circumstance the recorded clearance of that region by Julius Caesar in 56 B.C.

Later, approximately at the end of the first century B.C., the multiple earthworks were enlarged to form the huge defensive system now visible. Later again, about A.D. 25, the 'Castle' was mastered by Belgic elements from south-eastern Britain. The main rampart was slightly modified, and new cultural elements, including coinage, were introduced.

In or shortly after A.D. 43 the Roman army of conquest, here led by the future emperor Vespasian, stormed the fortifications, and a Belgic war cemetery within the outworks of the eastern entrance is a vivid memorial of the event.

After the act of conquest, the population were suffered to remain in occupation of their 'slighted' stronghold for a quarter of a century, during which, in southern Britain, a Roman economy gradually superseded the native, and Roman towns came into being. About A.D. 70 the change was sufficiently advanced for the final transference of the townsfolk to a romanized

SUMMARY

environment, doubtless to Roman Dorchester, which appears to have been founded at this time.

The site of Maiden Castle lapsed thereafter into pasture or tillage until, about A.D. 370, its eastern (and older) part was converted into a temple-precinct. A Romano-Celtic temple, with an adjacent lodging for the priest, was built upon the hill-top, and a stone portal inserted into the old eastern entrance. Sometime in the fifth-century this last episode came to an end, and, save for an isolated Saxon burial of about A.D. 600, subsequent usage has been limited to the depredations of the farmer, the stone-robber, and the excavator.

ERRATA

Plate XXVII. In legend, for 'Carrac' read 'Carnac'.

Plate LII. In legend, for 'beyond L' read 'beyond, left'.

Plate CXIX. At 6 in. from foot and 13 in. from left-hand side, 'End of ditch, Phase 2' should read 'End of ditch, Phase 3'. At 5 in. from foot and 11 in. from left-hand side, 'End of ditch, Phase 3' should read 'End of ditch, Phase 4'.

Page 146. In description of Fig. 28, 5th line, for 'neolithic pottery' read 'Neolithic A pottery'.

Page 177. In description of Fig. 45, 3rd and 4th lines, delete 'and two Bronze Age plano-convex knives'.

ADDENDA

To the collection of miscellaneous 'Maiden Castles' the following reference to a site near Firuzabad in southern Persia is added without comment:—

'The path crosses and recrosses the river in its serpentine course. About the middle, I saw the first signs of antiquity: a Sassanian castle perched on a salient of the east cliff, and connected by a long wall with a lesser stronghold. These two buildings are known as the *Kala-i-Dukhtar* and *Kala-i-Pisa*. *Kala* means castle, and *Dukhtar* maiden, being the same as our word daughter.' Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (London, 1937), p. 162.

More doubtfully may be added *Kiz-kurghan*, 'the Princess's Tower', noted by Hsüan-tsang in Chinese Turkestan in the seventh century A.D., and more recently identified by Sir Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (London, 1933), p. 47.



INTRODUCTION

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE EXCAVATION

THE excavation of Maiden Castle, Dorset, was initiated in 1934 for three main reasons. First, although not the largest in area of British earthworks, the huge and involved defences of the site have long been recognized as the most imposing of their class; and it was felt that the time had come when this prestige should rest upon a wider range of values than those inherent in complexity and magnitude alone. Secondly, Maiden Castle stands in the midst of a region more prolific in major hill-forts than any other in the British Isles. South of the Thames and between the Hampshire Avon and the Exe—an area about 90 miles by 40 miles—the Ordnance map shows over seventy of these sites still visible on the surface, and others are known to have been destroyed. Of these sites, a number, notably in Wiltshire, had been 'sampled' to a greater or less extent, and substantive work had been carried out in the east at Hengistbury Head and in the west at Hembury Fort; but in the great central area, where Maiden Castle is the outstanding monument, no methodical work on any considerable scale had yet been attempted. A large and important cultural province thus remained unsystematized, and much miscellaneous material found here and there within its borders was devoid of scientific context. The problem was one which found a natural focus in the great Dorset earthwork.

The third factor was of a more accidental kind. In 1934 the excavation of the Belgic and Roman sites of Verulamium, undertaken four years previously by the Society of Antiquaries of London, was for the time being reduced in scale by an acute uncertainty as to the future of the site. A considerable quantity of trained and semi-trained student-labour was thus released, and the Society was itself free to undertake some other major project. Accordingly, in collaboration with the Dorset Natural History and Field Club, and with the goodwill of the Duchy of Cornwall as owners of the site, of H.M. Office of Works as its guardians, and of the successive tenants, Mr. Scutt and Mr. Child, the Society projected a three years' programme of excavation, to which a fourth season was eventually added.

THE PERSONNEL

The work was carried out during the four seasons on a scale as nearly as possible commensurate with that of the earthwork itself. It involved, therefore, the co-operation of a large number of workers of whom only a few can here be named. Initially the direction was placed in the hands of the late Mrs. Tessa Verney Wheeler, F.S.A., Lieut.-Col. C. D. Drew, D.S.O., F.S.A., and myself. Mrs. Wheeler died after the second year, but every one concerned with the work will always associate her inseparably with it, and this volume is dedicated by her colleagues to her gracious memory.

To Lieut.-Col. Drew, in addition to his share in the archaeological aspects of the work,



fell more than his share of its staff-work. He served as Hon. Treasurer of the excavation committee and as general organizer of men and materials—no light task in view of the extent which the excavation assumed. And both he and I would pay a special tribute to our foreman, Mr. William Wedlake, whose knowledge, perspicacity, and outstanding skill made him an indispensable colleague throughout the work in the field.

For the rest, something like a hundred assistants and students were associated with the excavation during each of the four seasons, and only those who served as supervisors or in some other special capacity can here be named. Amongst these, grateful mention must be made of Mrs. Aylwin Cotton and Miss K. M. Richardson, who acted as seconds-in-command during the last two seasons; of Mr. Huntly Gordon, who, with my son, carried out most of the laborious task of contouring the site, and to the Ordnance Survey which prepared a completely new survey of the camp for our benefit; of Mr. M. B. Cookson, who carried out all the photographic work with his customary skill; of Miss Leslie Scott (Mrs. Peter Murray-Threipland), Miss Joan du Plat Taylor, Miss Margaret Whitley, Miss Veronica Seton-Williams, Miss Nancy Champion de Crespigny (Mrs. H. Movius), Miss M. Collingridge, Mr. John Waechter, Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Goodman, Miss Delia Parker, Miss Ione Gedye, Miss Margaret Clay (Mrs. J. Lister), Miss Rachel Clay (Mrs. A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop), and Mr. G. E. Kirk. In the important work of interesting the general public, from which the major portion of the necessary funds was collected, a leading part was taken by Miss Margot Eates. For the detailed examination of the ancient charcoals we have to thank Professor E. J. Salisbury, F.R.S.; for an examination of soil-samples in various contexts we are indebted to Mr. A. S. Kennard, Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, and Dr. F. E. Zeuner; in geological matters Dr. Kenneth Oakley has liberally given his services; and in connexion with the prolonged and detailed examination of the abundant skeletal material, Dr. G. M. Morant reported on the human bones, and Dr. Wilfrid Jackson on the animal bones. Mr. Stuart Piggott has very kindly written an introductory survey of the neolithic pottery, Dr. T. Davies Pryce and Mr. J. A. Stanfield have dealt fully with the Samian pottery, Dr. Henrietta Davies has examined and classified the shale-industry, Miss F. M. Patchett the querns, and Mrs. Alison Young the loom-weights, whilst Mrs. Cotton and Miss Richardson have helped constantly and invaluablely in most sections of the report. Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil and the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum have reported on the numismatic material. Mr. J. M. de Navarro has added a valuable note on chronology. Lastly, in the task of preparing the volume for the press I owe much to the indefatigable help of Miss K. M. Richardson, Miss Beatrice de Cardi, and Miss Theodora Newbould.

FINANCE

The main facts relating to the collection of funds and their expenditure are worth putting on record as an example of the economics of field-archaeology in 1934-7.

First, as to expenditure. A considerable factor in this connexion is the circumstance

that all the costs of printing this Report, together with a few minor charges incurred in its preparation, were borne subsequently by the Society of Antiquaries, and were not the concern of the excavation committee. With this reservation, the approximate expenditure was as follows: 1934, £944; 1935, £1,216; 1936, £1,363; 1937, £1,840.

Towards the total sum of £5,363 thus involved, the Society of Antiquaries contributed £790, and about £3,307 were obtained as the result of the printed appeal circulated in the spring of each year. The greater part of the remaining £1,266 was received in gifts or in the form of profits on publications, etc., from members of the public who visited the site, either individually or in organized parties, during the progress of the work. So large a contribution speaks eloquently for the increasing interest of the general public in archaeological discovery—an interest stimulated by many factors, amongst which the local and national newspaper press deserves special praise. The press is not always accurate and does not always emphasize those aspects of an excavation which are scientifically the most important; but sympathetic help from the directors of excavation is the best corrective of these failings, and may be regarded as a scientific no less than a social duty on the part of the modern archaeologist.

But popular interest at long range is not enough, and the policy adopted at Maiden Castle, as on some other sites, may be placed on record as successful in achieving its aims. Under conditions of unobtrusive discipline, the general public were deliberately encouraged to visit the site. Notices directed the visitor's approach from the nearest main road. He was told (by notices) where to park his car and where to apply for information. Throughout the excavations it was the duty of an official guide-lecturer either to explain the work to visitors or to organize reliefs of student-lecturers who, for regulated periods, undertook this task, which, incidentally, provided for the students in question an admirable training in clear thinking and simple exposition. The public was not charged for these services, but was invited to contribute to the cost of the work—a system which is in practice both more democratic and more productive than a fixed tariff. And, finally, a well-stocked post-card stall is as popular as it is profitable. Picture post-cards of the site can be produced at a cost of little more than a halfpenny each and will sell readily at twopence each. Interim reports of the work, produced at fourpence each, will sell at one shilling each. (Approximately 64,000 postcards and 16,000 interim reports were sold at Maiden Castle.) And trivial oddments such as beach-pebble slingstones, fragments of Roman tile, Roman oyster-shells, scraps of surface-pottery, all marked in Indian ink with the name of the site, sell readily for a few pence each, and, under proper control, are an entirely justifiable source of income. In such multifarious ways can the present-day public be drawn to contribute directly or indirectly to archaeological research.

WORK DONE AND WORK TO DO

In detail, the objectives of the excavation were threefold: (1) to investigate the structural history of the great fortifications which are now the distinctive feature of the site; (2) to identify and correlate the associated cultures; (3) to explore the possibility of

recovering some part of the town-plan. The first two of these objectives were achieved, and are recorded in this volume. The third, save for certain general considerations, lay beyond our reach, for reasons which are here worth emphasizing. Briefly they are these. Excluding the underlying Neolithic–Early Bronze Age occupation, which was itself prolonged and complex, the site was intensively occupied for some three centuries, with a subsequent reoccupation of a part of it. The considerable accumulations of strata which these processes entailed can generally be disentangled by the ordinary methods of modern excavation; but not so the post-holes which represent the associated structures. Here and there, particularly when combined with durable and distinctive floors, the layout of individual huts can be distinguished and planned. For the most part, however, the surface of the chalk is a palimpsest on which coherent individual groups of scars and post-holes cannot be distinguished objectively. Chalk, exposed and trodden, wears down to an astonishing extent; on the flanks of the eastern entrance, for example, post-holes which had originally been upwards of 2 ft. deep in the chalk had been worn to mere saucer-like depressions or had even been completely obliterated. In such circumstances, the differentiation of half-worn post-holes of earlier date from later post-holes which happen to occur at the same reduced level presents one set of difficulties, whilst the unequal disappearance and survival of early post-holes present another. In short, the most careful attempts at differentiation and grouping have shown beyond doubt that, on a chalk site which has been long and intensively occupied, the identification of individual huts, period by period, over any large area is fraught with too much uncertainty for scientific use. Only in a hill-fort which had been occupied for a relatively short space of time is the reconstruction of a unitary town-plan likely to be feasible, and, of all sites, Maiden Castle is as remote as possible from the ideal in this respect. At a guess, a site such as Hod Hill near Blandford, Dorset—a site where pits and streets are still visible on the surface and suggest a more or less uniform and simple occupation—more nearly fulfils the required conditions.

On the other hand, if Maiden Castle failed us in this one regard, in another it provided much which had not been expected. The remarkable and unanticipated neolithic phase was a compensation for the deferment of the recovery of an Iron Age town-plan.

THE PLAN OF THE PRESENT REPORT

This Report falls into four main parts. The first part consists of a consecutive account of the structural and cultural history of the site, with such details as are necessary to make the main sequence clear, to establish it in a reasonably wide context, and to indicate lines of evidence. The second part deals with each excavated area in detail and in isolation. The third is concerned with the 'finds', and with such general matters of chronology and typology as arise directly out of them. The fourth part is in the nature of an epilogue, wherein, on the basis of the preceding sections, an attempt is made to estimate the Iron Age cultures of Maiden Castle in relation to the contemporary cultures of western Britain. A certain degree of repetition from one part to another is inherent in this

arrangement, but it is hoped that the interests of lucidity are served thereby. To the four main parts are added appendixes by Mr. J. M. de Navarro dealing with the continental chronology of the early La Tène period, and by Dr. Kenneth Oakley dealing with the use of haematite in the colouring of certain of our Iron Age pottery.

One further point: throughout the Report I have generally used a precise and absolute Iron Age chronology which is, of course, in great part conjectural or even controversial. It is indeed fixed firmly at the one end by the Roman Conquest and, less securely, at the other end by the beginning of the continental La Tène I. But between those extremes it is a variable quantity, though I have given some reason for recognizing a further fixed point in 56 B.C. Whatever reception be given to that innovation, the *succession* of the structural and cultural episodes of the site is now abundantly clear, and the dates chosen by me may at any rate claim the virtue of a controlled sequence-dating. With all proper reservation, they add legitimately, I think, to the clarity of my catalogue. The reasons governing their choice are set forth below on pp. 30, 189 ff., 204 ff., and 251. Tabulated, the dates are as follows:

Maiden Castle Iron Age A, 300–56 B.C.

Maiden Castle Iron Age B, 56 B.C.–A.D. 25.

Maiden Castle Iron Age C (with increasing admixture of Roman after A.D. 43–5),
A.D. 25–70.

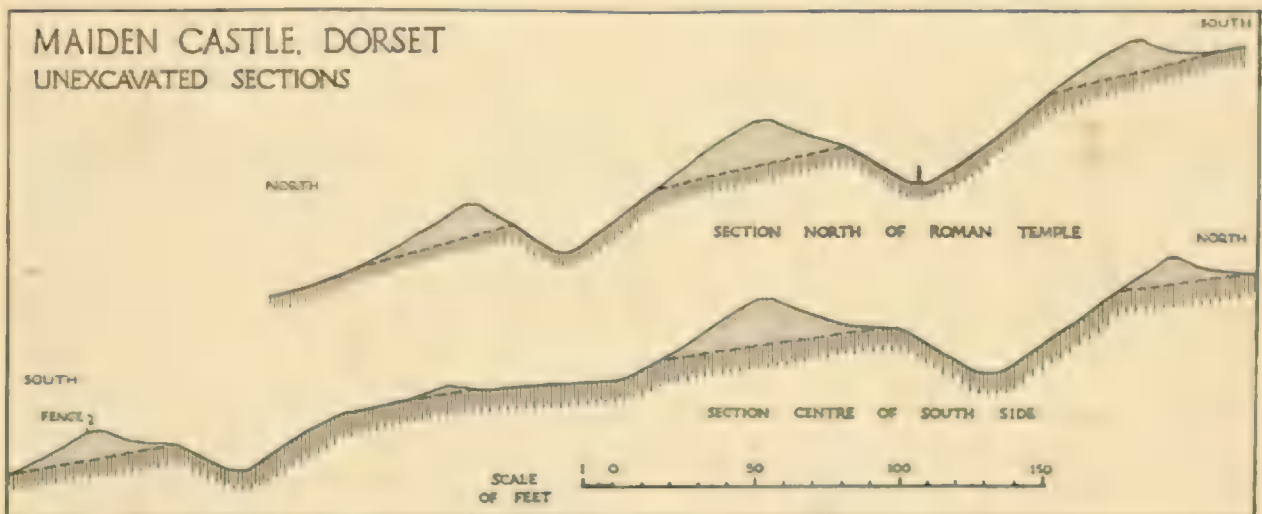


FIG. 1 A

PART I

GENERAL SURVEY

1. PREVIOUS EXPLORATION

THE earliest reference to Maiden Castle appears to be that in the 1600 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, where it is conjectured to have been 'a summer station or camp of the Romans'. In 1635 a 'lieutenant of the military company in Norwich' passed the site and remarked that it was 'a brave defensible Place . . . invironed on a spacious hill with Double, and deep Trenches, which the Inhabitants thereabouts call the Mayden Castle, but her virginitie long scaled and lost'.¹ Two years later a traveller, one Benjamin Wright, on a journey from London to Cornwall made the following entry in his diary:

'The fourth of August riding not a full mile from the townes end (Dorchester) we came upon a highe grownde about a mile from us on the left hand mightie trenches one upon another treble or more; the husbandmen in the fields told us it was called Maydencastle and had served for the warres in owld times. This was the notabest of all the trenches we had seen in divers parts of Hampsheer and Wiltsheer, whereof none of the inhabitants can say otherwise but that they were for defence in time of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, etc. Alwaies neer these trenches you see divers little mounts somewhat bigger and more even layde up with more art than windmill hilles. These a gentilman of the countrie tolde us had some of them been digged into by the inhabitants with hope to find Romane coyne, but finding nothing besides mens bones. . . .'²

In 1756 the earthwork was planned by Col. D. Watson and General (then Lieut.) W. Roy, with a skill beyond the average of the day;³ and Isaac Taylor's map of Dorset, 1765, includes a profile-illustration of it. For the rest, eighteenth-century archaeology contributed nothing of interest to our knowledge of the site;⁴ and it was not until 1865 that a serious, if brief, attempt was made to consider structural details. In that year the Royal Archaeological Institute visited Maiden Castle, and was addressed there as follows by the Rev. William Barnes:⁵

'There seemed to have been four gates, and the one by which they stood [clearly the western] had had, as most likely had the others, stone gate jambs, the bases of which had been taken away by a man then on the ground. The inner rampart had at one time something of a breast-wall of Ridgeway stones, of which some few remained and many loads had, to the knowledge of living men, been carried down to Martinstown for building. He pointed out a debased bank far eastward as the western boundary of the earliest camp and begged the members to observe the inbendings of the inner rampart at the ends of this cross-bank. . . . The party then proceeded to a spot where excavations had been made, by the permission of Mr. Sturt, at his expense by Mr. Cunnington. The hole was about three feet deep and Mr. Cunnington explained that it was an ancient

¹ *Camden Miscellany*, xvi (1936), 72.

² The diary (unpublished) is preserved in the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, Harl. 6494. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Henry Collett for the reference.

³ British Museum (King's Library, K. XII, 20). The

scale is 200 ft. = 1 in.

⁴ Unless Stukeley's reference to the discovery of 'a broad Roman sword' there in 1688 be excepted.—*Itinerarium Curiosum* (2nd ed. 1776), p. 162.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.* xxii (1865), 353.

British hut-hole, but at the bottom were found two or three inches depth of ashes, also several sling stones and pieces of pottery. An urn was found in the other camp, also a small drinking cup and a piece of an ancient quern. . . . These were to be seen in the Museum, as also a piece dug from the pit shewing the stratification of the ashes. Bones of various animals, and a piece of a human jaw-bone, containing a tooth very much worn, were likewise discovered there. In the presence of the party an excavator dug in the hole and threw up small pieces of pottery and bones. Mr. Cunnington said that he had been led to these hut-holes by observing slight depressions upon the surface of the ground, but there was great difficulty in making such researches, because the whole surface had been ploughed over within the last hundred years.¹

In this account the number of entrances is wrongly computed, but all the other details—notably the priority of the eastern end of the camp, the stone lining of the entrance, and the limestone breastwork of the innermost rampart—accord with the results of the recent excavations.

The account was, in substance, repeated by Mr. Barnes to the British Archaeological Association, which visited the site in 1871.² Mr. Cunnington referred to the extensive removal of stones from the breastwork on the rampart and from the (western) entrance, and exhibited a collection of pieces of pottery and iron he had discovered at the latter place.

'Amongst them was a spear-head and several coins, which it was conjectured belonged to the time of Helena, Flavius, Julius and Valens. There was also a portion of an earthen vessel found some years ago, about three feet below the surface, in a quantity of ashes and some pieces of bone. . . .

'Mr. Cunnington said there was a small tumulus here, which he opened and found a small skeleton doubled up with a fibula. It was necessary to remove the earth to a depth of eighteen inches before anything could be found.

'Mr. Barnes then pointed out an excavation which, at the wish of the Association, he had employed some men to dig there. . . . The most singular things found were the two combs now exhibited.³ They were made of bone, with the teeth cut at the edge of the end. Another comb was previously found, very similar but rather more ornamented. . . . Two rings were also found there, and what appeared to be part of a buckle. He had also found some spindle-whorls.'

The flattened tumulus referred to by Cunnington would most naturally have been identified with that shown on the general plan (pl. 1) a hundred yards south-east of the western entrance. This tumulus shows signs of a central excavation. On the other hand, in a communication to the *Dorset County Chronicle* on October 31st, 1865, Cunnington refers to his excavation as follows:

'At the East end of the Camp a small mound was dug into, and the first thing found was a Roman fibula. A raised heap of rough flints was removed, and two feet below, a small pillar of chalk about eighteen inches high, near which was an interment surrounded with large stones. The body had been apparently buried in haste, head and feet together, and both legs broken.'⁴

¹ The site is also recorded to have been under corn c. 1646, —*A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1646: author unnamed), under 'Dorchester-shire'. Furrows still show clearly in air-photographs.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xviii (1872), 99–102.

³ Now in the Dorset County Museum.

⁴ Cited by C. Warne, *Ancient Dorset* (1872), p. 79.

Edward Cunnington, the Dorchester antiquary above referred to, repeated (though with added inaccuracies) some of these various details in his manuscript note-book (pp. 47-77), written many years afterwards and now preserved in the Dorset County Museum Library at Dorchester.

'The outer [*sic*]¹ vallum of Maiden Castle was protected by a stone wall, breast-high. The stone pillars [*sic*] constituting the western gateway have been removed within the memory of man, as affirmed by the personal affirmation of two old labourers, who were brought forward by the late Rev. E. Ludlow on the occasion of the visit of the Archaeological Institute in 1865. I had previously, whilst digging, discovered the stones forming their foundations.

'Shortly after this visit explorations were resumed, resulting in the discovery of pottery, fragments of weaving implements, querns, etc. The clay at the west end had been largely used in making tiles, pottery, etc., on the spot; the remains of this pottery varying in some places 4 to 5 feet in thickness. I have made and burnt exactly similar ware from the clay left in small heaps by the potters. Fragments of weaving implements such as spindle-whorls—two made of human bones—small wheels, loom-weights, etc., are sufficient to show that that art was carried on on the spot. Many spaces, neatly paved with Ridgeway stones, occupy the part probably used for stables, as Mr. Gough shrewdly suspected. A fragment of a quern made of tufa from Germany and the large upper half of another formed of green-sand, precisely similar to those found at Pen Pits near Gillingham, were turned out.'

Then follows the account of the partial excavation of the Roman 'villa' (temple) in 1882. Neither this account nor the plan which accompanied it was ever published, save for a newspaper summary of the notes cited below (p. 131) in the section dealing with the temple. The immediate result was to confirm the conviction, which controlled Cunnington's researches during his latter years, that the camp was Roman. Their more enduring consequence was Thomas Hardy's fantasy, 'A tryst in an ancient earthwork', in which the charitable will recognize Cunnington's earnest antiquarianism as the inspiration rather than the true pattern.²

2. THE PRESENT NAME

Though the earliest record of the name 'Maiden Castle' in reference to this earthwork is as late as 1600 (above, p. 6), 'Maiden' names were elsewhere current in the Middle Ages, and the present example is likely therefore to be of respectable antiquity. 'Maiden' as a place-name component is, however, a term of doubtful and perhaps varying significance. Attempts have been made to identify it with Celtic words as *Mai-dun*, with alternative meanings of 'city of the plain', 'big hill', or 'big city'. An orientalist, cited by Warne, even sees in it 'a corruption of *Maidan*, a word in India signifying a large open flat space'! Let us turn to facts.

In the twelfth century the name Maiden Castle appears in reference to widely separated sites. The earliest example, dating from the first half of the century, seems to be

¹ Cunnington doubtless means 'the vallum forming the margin of the camp', for his reference is clearly to the inner-

most of the successive ramparts.

² Included in *A Changed Man . . . and other Tales* (1913).

that in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History* (ii, 7), where Edinburgh is referred to as *Castellum Puellarum*. At the same period (about 1142) the name is applied to Edinburgh in the *Registrum de Neubottle*¹; it recurs in connexion with the treaty of Falaise, in 1174 and twice in the pipe rolls of 1175.²

The English form of the name is found in 1173 in a confirmation by Pope Alexander III to St. Peter's (later St. Leonard's) hospital at York.³ The confirmation includes 'in campis de Sextun (Saxton) tantum terre quantum habetur in Wdehuse (Woodhouse) et terram que dicitur Maidencastell ex dono Roberti Pictaviensis'.⁴ Mr. Charles Clay observes: 'The donor, Robert le Poitevin, was a tenant of the honour of Pontefract, of which he held three knights' fees in 1166. In his charter to the hospital he included "preter hoc latus cujusdem montis versus orientem per vetus fossatum usque ad viam venientem s(?)ub Saxt(una) et inde per quoddam spissum fructectum quod ibi descendit in aquam".⁵ His son Roger confirmed his father's gifts by a charter in the period 1175-86, and he describes this particular gift as "et latus cujusdam montis qui dicitur Maidencastell eisdem metis sicut continentur in carta patris mei".⁶ It seems probable that the Maiden Castle of these charters was the entrenchment now known as Becca Banks, which follows the north side of the Cock Burn towards Aberford, west of Saxton. This "linear" or "travelling" earthwork shows in places a fine section with three ramparts and two ditches.⁷

A variant of the name is found c. 1179 in the form Maydengathe or Maidengate in reference to the Roman road northwards from Kirby Thore in Westmorland.⁸

These instances suffice to establish two things: first, that the name 'Maiden' was already widely used in the twelfth century for constructions dignified by strength or antiquity; and, secondly, that, whatever its origin, the name was already interpreted in a literal sense, the Maidens being regarded as *puellae* and not merely as Celtic or Sanskrit abstractions. The latter inference does not itself, of course, rule out the possibility of ultimate derivation from a Celtic source, but it at least carries the process back beyond the Norman period and, in this country, beyond the reach of relevant records. The 'castle' names are themselves unlikely to be pre-Norman; and we are left therefore with the late eleventh and twelfth centuries as the probable period in which our older 'Maiden Castle' names came into being. On the other hand, the allied name 'Maiden Bower' (OE. *bur*, ME. *bowre*; habitation, abode) might equally be of pre-Conquest origin.

The ultimate diffusion of these names in Britain was a wide one. It will suffice here to recall that, apart from Dorset, Maiden Castles occur in Fife,⁹ Stirlingshire,¹⁰

¹ No. 17. For the date see A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters* (1905), p. 112. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. Angus Graham.

² Bain, *Catalogue of Documents relating to Scotland*, nos. 141, 157.

³ I am much indebted to Mr. Charles Clay, for drawing my attention to these Yorkshire charters.

⁴ Farrar, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 197, from the Chartulary of St. Leonard's.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1562.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1563.

⁷ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, 57.

⁸ R. G. Collingwood in *Trans. Cumb. and West. Arch. Soc.*, n.s., xxx (1930), 116.

⁹ Roy. Com. Anc. Mons. (Scot.), *Fife, &c.* (1933), no. 112.

¹⁰ George Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1934), p. 344.

Westmorland,¹ Cumberland,² Yorkshire,³ and Cheshire;⁴ whilst 'Maiden Bowers' are found in Yorkshire,⁵ Bedfordshire,⁶ and doubtless elsewhere. In most cases the works so indicated are 'camps' of Iron Age type; but the Westmorland example is a tiny Roman fortlet, the Topcliffe Maiden Bower (Yorks.), at any rate in its present state, and probably the Falkirk Maiden Castle (Stirlingshire) are medieval, whilst the Saxton or Aberford example may, as we have seen, have been a boundary-dyke. Some of the Maiden Castles are marked by strong defences, but others are notably weak from a military standpoint. The Fife example is a feeble work, with 'nothing about it to suggest that it has been a position of importance'. The little Maiden Castle at Grinton-on-Swale in the North Riding cannot be described as a defensible work at all. It is not easy to isolate any character of construction or position common to the whole class of 'Maiden' sites. What, then, was the meaning of the term?

In the Middle Ages the name as applied to Edinburgh (*Castellum puellarum*) was seemingly explained by reference to a story of the lodging of Pictish princesses there during their education.⁷ It may be inferred that the origin of the name was then entirely forgotten. The *Oxford English Dictionary* takes the view that 'the appellation *Maiden Castle* . . . given to Edinburgh probably did not originally mean "virgin fortress" (i.e. that has never been taken), since such an interpretation would be difficult to equate with the Latin form of the name'. The dictionary proceeds to suggest that 'the sense may possibly be "a fortress so strong as to be capable of being defended by maidens"; there may have been an allusion to some forgotten legend. Cf. the equivalent German name *Magdeburg*.'

If Magdeburg means, as it appears to mean, 'Maiden Castle' or 'Maiden City', then the name is carried back in Germany to the ninth century.⁸ This takes it behind the romantic antiquarianism of the twelfth century, and perhaps slightly reinforces the possibility suggested above that our 'Maiden Bower' names at least may in some cases be of pre-Conquest derivation.

Farther afield, seeming analogies to our Maiden Castle names are not lacking. Dr. Malcolm Burr draws my attention to the Byzantine fortress of Avret Hissar or Γυναικό-καστρο which carries the name to Macedonia, and recalls the legend whereby it is traditionally explained⁹—a legend doubtless with no greater authority than that of the Pictish princesses at Edinburgh, although it happens to agree in essence with the explanation preferred in the case of Edinburgh by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Again, without

¹ Roy. Com. Hist. Mons. (Eng.), *Westmorland* (1936), p. 215.

² A. Hadrian Allcroft, *Earthwork of England* (1908), pp. 99, 136, 138.

³ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, 65.

⁴ *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xxii, 97, and xxiii, 101.

⁵ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, 40.

⁶ Camp near Dunstable; and Allcroft, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁷ Camden's *Britannia*, 1607 ed., p. 689; Sir William

Brereton, Bart., *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, etc., 1634-1635* (Chetham Soc. Publication, 1894), p. 101.

⁸ I am indebted to Professor F. M. Stenton for this information. I also owe to Professor Stenton the assurance that, in Britain, there seems, on the other hand, to be no certain pre-Conquest example of any name belonging to the 'Maiden' class.

⁹ See Malcolm Burr, *Slouch Hat* (1935), pp. 264-5, and frontispiece.

emphasis reference may be made to a number of small ecclesiastical settlements in northern Syria which bear the name *Qasr-el-Banāt*, and date from the fifth century and later. The best known example stands by the road from Aleppo to Antioch, and consists of the ruins of a church, a khan or hostel, and a sort of pele-tower which rises in the midst of the group. The Arabic name means 'the castle of the maidens'.¹ The only other possible link with our Western series may be found in the fact that the little roadside colony would form a natural place of refuge for travellers or pilgrims, and so may, on a small scale, have fulfilled a function of our prehistoric earthworks. Whether the name was transplanted from Europe to Syria in the Middle Ages, or whether indeed it has quite a different origin, are difficult problems, for which evidence is not at present available; but it has been noted as equivalent not merely to the *Castrum Puellarum* of the Crusaders but even to the *Dur-baniti* of cuneiform texts.²

In summary, the ultimate origin of the name 'Maiden Castle' is uncertain, and no attempt to derive it from Celtic or other originals is of substantive value. 'Maiden' place-names were fairly common in England in the twelfth century, and appear to go back at least to the ninth century in Germany. In the twelfth century the components of the name were taken at face value, and in one instance an 'historical' episode was invented in explanation. If the name was originally applied to ancient strongholds, it was (as is natural enough) extended subsequently to non-military enclosures, causeways, and, occasionally, to earthworks of medieval date, although in the latter cases the possibility of an earlier fortification on the same site may be borne in mind. To suggest the possibility that, in origin, the name implied a refuge for women in time of war would be merely to add one more guess to the many already in the field.

3. THE ANCIENT NAME

The conventional identification of Roman Dorchester with the *Durnonovaria* (alternatively *Durnovaria*) of the 12th Iter of the Antonine Itinerary is doubtless correct in spite of some error in the existing texts. Along the route between *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum) and *Isca Dumnniorum* (Exeter), *Durno(no)varia* is placed at a distance of 51 Roman miles from the latter place and can, on this basis, be no other place than Dorchester. From *Durno(no)varia* to *Sorbiodunum*, via the unidentified *Vindogladia*, the distance is given as 20 miles and is therefore rather more than 20 miles too short for Dorchester—Old Sarum. The identification of Dorchester with *Durno(no)varia* accordingly breaks down on this side unless we assume an error in the figures or the omission of a complete

¹ J. Mattern, *A travers les villes mortes de haute Syrie* (1933), p. 67, describes the site, but wrongly renders the name as 'Le château des religieuses'. At the same time, he admits the total lack of evidence that any of these sites was occupied by nuns or female recluses. There is indeed little likelihood that such was the case, and some other explanation of the name is clearly needed.

² See R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique*

et médiévale (Paris, 1927), p. 231. Mr. Sidney Smith, to whom I have referred the matter, urges caution in the association of *Dur-baniti* with this problem. The name is that given in a text of Ashurbanipal to a place in the Delta. It may be a translation of an Egyptian name which meant 'Walled town of the free-born lady'. On the other hand, it may be a *Volksetymologie* which has turned some set of Egyptian vocables into an Assyrian-looking name.

stage. That there is in any case an error in the *Iter* is shown by the fact that its total distance exceeds the sum of its stages by 10 miles; and the probabilities point to the *Durno(no)varia-Vindogladia-Sorbiodunum* section as the main source of the trouble. On general grounds—the unlikelihood that a walled town of the size of Dorchester would be omitted from the *Itinerary*, and the absence of rivals for the identification *Dorchester=Durno(no)varia* along the line of the *Iter*—there can be no reasonable hesitation in accepting the equation without further discussion.

Durno(no)varia is a Celtic name¹ and, although that fact does not in itself perhaps prove the existence of a pre-Roman town of the same name hereabouts, the possibility that Roman Durnonovaria was the lineal descendant and successor of a pre-Roman Durnonovaria is worthy of consideration. On this supposition, topography would lead us to seek in the earthwork of Poundbury or Pommery the forebear of the Roman city. Poundbury, a formidable work of Iron Age date enclosing some 15 acres, occupies a plateau on the north-western outskirts of Dorchester, and was doubtless placed there, like Dorchester itself, by reason of the proximity of a natural crossing of the Frome. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to find the claimant to the name Durnonovaria in pre-Roman times. On the other hand, excavation in 1939² has shown that, though maintained as a fortification both in Iron Age A and in Iron Age C, Poundbury was never permanently occupied. It was a shell, a sort of 'cold harbour', where caravans might perhaps on occasion camp out for the night, where assemblies might be held, where doubtless the neighbouring villagers might find refuge in emergency or combine to control the crossing. It may be doubted whether so discontinuous a usage would give sufficient prestige to a place-name to induce its transference to the relatively populous Roman town which ultimately sprang up on the neighbouring ridge. Maiden Castle, though more than 2 miles away upon the downs, must have contributed largely to the population of the new Roman town and must indeed have conditioned its foundation. It might on general grounds therefore be supposed to have bequeathed its name to its Roman successor.

What was that name? Here Ptolemy has been thought to supply a hint. He omits *Durnonovaria* but, on the other hand, names Δούνιον (*Dunium*) in the same region as the one city apparently worthy of mention in the territory of the Durotriges. After cataloguing the cities of the Belgae, he proceeds:³

Τούτων δ' ἀπὸ Δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας Δουρότριγες, ἐν οἷς πόλις Δούνιον ἡ νβ' γ'''

'To the west and south of these (the Belgae) are the Durotriges, amongst whom is the city of Dunium, longitude 18°, latitude 52° 40'.'

Dunium was long ago identified with Maiden Castle,⁴ and the identification was approved by the county antiquary, Warne, who remarked that Maiden Castle

¹ Its meaning is arguable, and a discussion of the possibilities is omitted as irrelevant to the present Report. See *Collected Papers of Henry Bradley* (Oxford, 1928), p. 92.

² Directed by Miss K. M. Richardson for the Society of Antiquaries, and published in *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940),

429.

³ C. Müller, *Ptolemy* (1883), i, 103.

⁴ W. Baxter, *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* (2nd ed., 1733), p. 109; E. Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), i, map of Britannia Romana.

'has been considered by competent authorities to be the Δούνιον of Ptolemy, from its agreement¹ with the position laid down by that geographer. A few antiquaries have thought that Ptolemy refers to Dorchester, but I think there cannot be a doubt that Maiden Castle is the place signified, the British word in its Greek form being so applicable to the position of this grand earthwork, while the Latinized *Durnovaria* clearly identifies Dorchester with its watery situation; and indeed it is very doubtful whether it had become a Station at the time Ptolemy wrote, which was soon after the subjugation of the Durotriges.'²

Warne's pronouncement is cited in full because it perhaps more nearly hits the mark than Warne himself can have realized. Ptolemy observed and compiled mainly in the second quarter of the second century, but his knowledge of the remoter parts of the 'inhabited earth' was derived for the most part from his predecessors, notably Marinus, whose *floruit* may be ascribed to the latter part of the first century A.D.³ That these earlier authorities were dependent rather upon the reports of coastwise traffic than of any accurate itinerary of the interior of the island is indicated by the relative exactness of the coastal survey in comparison with that of the inland towns.⁴ This fact in itself supports an early basis for Ptolemy's Britain; and the general picture is that of an essentially pre-Flavian map brought roughly and incompletely up to date in the Flavian period, in or about the time of Agricola's governorship. But the excavations here described have now shown that Maiden Castle, structurally the pre-eminent city of the Durotriges, remained continuously in occupation until the Flavian period, whilst on the other hand, such evidence as is at present available from Roman Dorchester suggests that that city existed scarcely, if at all, before the Flavian period (below, p. 67). The omission of the new and immature town of Dorchester-Durnonovaria from the Flavian cartographer's compilation and the retention of the imposing traditional *chef-lieu* of Maiden Castle-Dunium would, in these circumstances, be a readily intelligible proceeding.

Thus an incidental result of the recent excavations has been to strengthen the supposition that Maiden Castle is the *Dunium* of Ptolemy.⁵ But before heralding too eagerly this identification as an addition to the very few named sites in pre-Roman Britain, it is salutary to reflect that *Dunium* is probably not a place-name at all in the strict sense of the term. There can be no doubt that Ptolemy's Δούνιον is merely the Celtic *dun-on*, represented by the Irish *dun* and the Welsh *din*, cognate with the English *tun*, later 'town'. That being so, it may be inferred that the usage of the word *Dunium* in reference to Maiden Castle is comparable with that of 'the City' for the city of London, or *oppidum* (Livy) for the city of Rome, and was an implicit tribute to the dominance of the site rather than a formal place-name. Whether that be the case, and, if so, what the actual and particular name of the *dun* was, cannot now be known; the rival claims of Poundbury to *Durno(no)varia* in pre-Roman times, however unimpressive, cannot be summarily

¹ This 'agreement' is roughly relative to the position of known sites named by Ptolemy and is not of course absolute.

² *Ancient Dorset* (1872), p. 77.

³ Kubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, x, 2058-9, s.v. *Karten*.

⁴ See Henry Bradley in *Archæologia*, xlvii (1885), 379 ff.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Stevens for urging upon me the bearing of the new evidence upon the old identification—which, incidentally, he had himself recently supported (*English Historical Review*, lii, 1937, p. 203) before this evidence was forthcoming.

dismissed, and, in the presence of that rival, Maiden Castle cannot safely claim to have endowed the modern county with its name.¹

4. THE SITE

It is inevitable that any description of Maiden Castle shall begin with Thomas Hardy's picture of the site.

'At one's every step forward it rises higher against the south sky, with an obtrusive personality that compels the senses to regard it and consider. The eyes may bend in another direction, but never without the consciousness of its heavy, high-shouldered presence at its point of vantage. . . . The profile of the whole stupendous ruin, as seen at a distance of a mile eastward, is clearly cut as that of a marble inlay. It is varied with protuberances, which from hereabouts have the animal aspect of warts, wens, knuckles, and hips. It may indeed be likened to an enormous many-limbed organism of an antediluvian time . . . lying lifeless, and covered with a thin green cloth, which hides its substance, while revealing its contour. . . .'²

More prosaically, it may be remarked that, in its developed form, Maiden Castle extends to the natural limits of a saddle-backed hill of the Upper Chalk, and encloses two low knolls. The eastern knoll, which marks the site of the earlier and smaller camp and of its neolithic predecessor, is the lower (434 ft. above O.D.), but the ground falls away from it rather more suddenly than in the case of the western knoll and it is accordingly the more commanding—hence the priority of its occupation. The western knoll (444 ft.) is separated from it by a declivity only a few feet lower than the knolls themselves (pl. 1). In all directions, the ridge slopes steeply enough to give local dominance to the site without undue inaccessibility: indeed, it is to-day easy in dry weather to drive a car up into the interior through the western entrance. The outstandingly imposing character of Maiden Castle is derived from the vastness of its construction rather than from the altitude of its position.

To the west, the outlook for a mile or more is largely blocked by the adjacent Hog Hill, which rises to a similar height (438 ft.); whilst a mile away to the south, towards the sea, the horizon is formed by a long chalk ridge (550 ft.), on the reverse slope of which is the Lower Purbeck outcrop whence the building-stone of the camp was derived (below, p. 34). To the north and east the view is more extensive, and when rain is in the air the Needles, 40 miles away, shine out at the limit of a rolling wooded landscape of great beauty.

On its island in the chalk downland, Maiden Castle lies comfortably and possessively amidst the successors of its ancient cornfields. It is possible indeed that actual vestiges of the ancient fields can still be detected in a rough meadow close beside the Marconi wireless station, a mile to the north-west of the castle. Here, in 1937, Major Allen photographed from the air (pl. LXX) a number of small square fields, lying at an angle with the modern field-boundaries and equating in character with the 'Celtic' (Iron Age and Romano-British) fields wherewith Mr. O. G. S. Crawford has made us familiar. Whether

¹ For the connexion between *Durnovaria* and *Dorset*, see *Collected Papers of Henry Bradley* (1928), p. 92.

² From 'A Tryst at an ancient Earthwork' (1885), published in *A Changed Man . . . and other Tales* (1913).

these particular fields are of Maiden Castle or of Roman Dorchester, they are at least of the type which we may suppose to have existed hereabouts in pre-Roman times.

Thus comfortably ensconced amongst their farm-lands, the Iron Age citizens of Maiden Castle seem, from the discovered relics, to have had but little use for distant commerce



FIG. 1 B

(below, p. 381). It is not surprising therefore that the actual position of their city suggests in itself a certain aloofness from arterial traffic. Natural lines of trackway follow the high ridge a mile to the south, or the lower ridge a mile to the north, where prehistoric and Romano-British travellers alike must have followed an obvious route from the direction of Eggardon to the crossing of the Frome at Dorchester (fig. 1 B). Between these high-ways, sufficiently controlling both but dependent directly upon neither, the castle is eloquent of a rural urbanity which contrasts sharply with the cosmopolitanism of a harbour site such as Hengistbury. Geographically, economically, and militarily, it dominates its territory from the security of an easy self-sufficiency.

MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET

In a wider context, Maiden Castle lies almost centrally in a belt of country some 90 miles broad, extending from the Avon in Hampshire to the Exe in Devon, and forming both geographically and culturally a single reasonably coherent province of Iron Age Britain. To the north this province was bounded roughly by the upper Thames, the



FIG. 2

western Cotswolds, and the Somerset plain, and its southern limit was of course the English Channel. Within that area are stretches of forest or woodland (Gillingham Forest, Blackmore Forest, Marshwood, and others) and considerable areas of broken heath-country, but none of these natural barriers was sufficiently continuous to bar the easy circulation of Iron Age cultures. And the great tracts of chalk downland, giving place towards the west to the relatively open greensand of the Devon border, offered ample scope to the elementary agricultural economy upon which urban and village life were alike based throughout the phase with which we are mainly concerned. This great south-western hill-fort area has been inaccurately but conveniently dubbed 'Wessex' in

modern archaeological literature, and in the following pages the term is used in this applied sense, without close reference to its historical connotation.

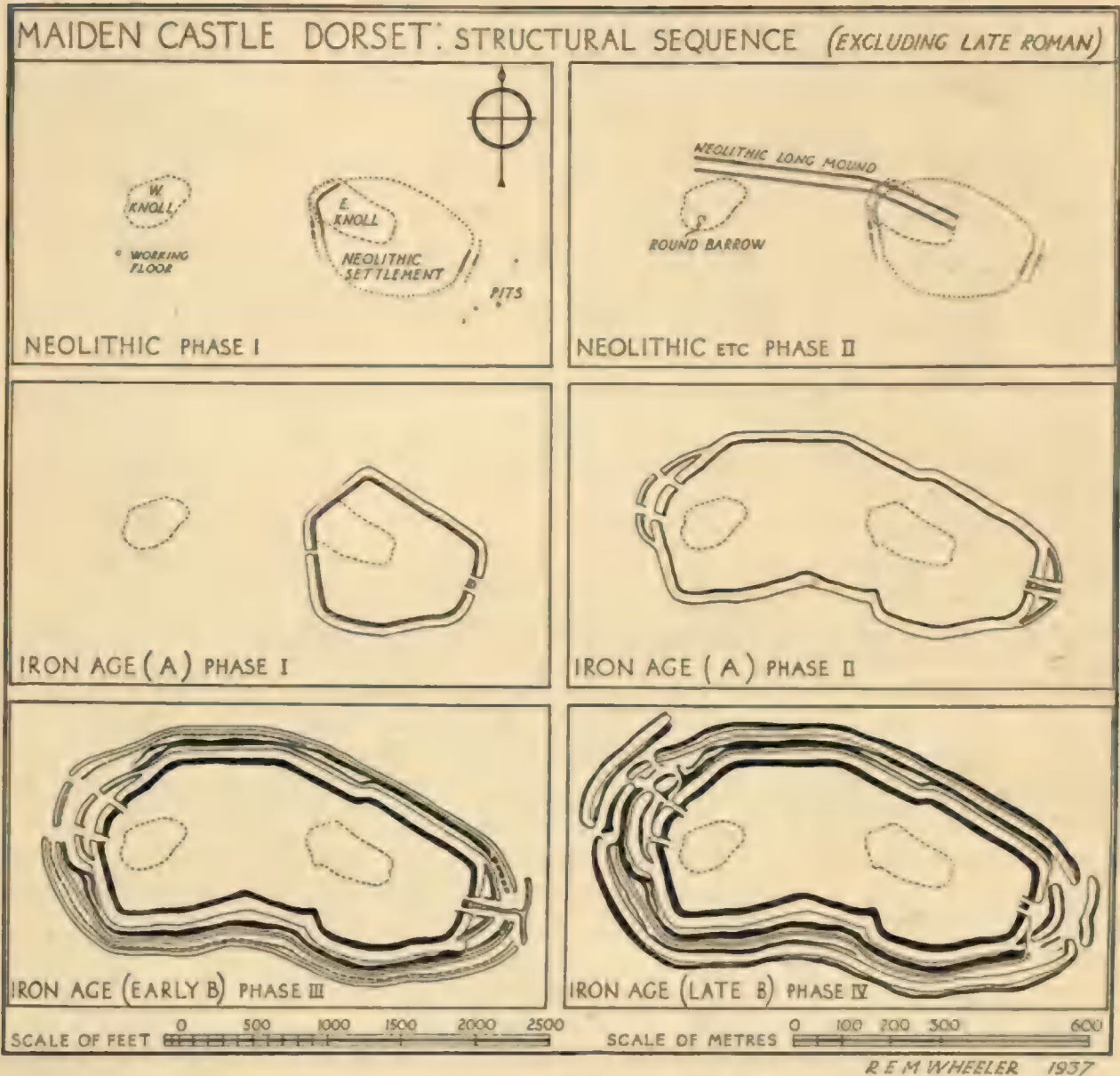


FIG. 3

Within this Iron Age 'Wessex' are more than seventy hill-forts of appreciable and often considerable size. Indeed, a merely summary indication of them upon the map (fig. 2) cannot fail to impress upon the observer the magnitude of the urban development which they represent, and the relatively advanced social and political condition which they

imply. Amongst them, Maiden Castle is both typical and exceptional; typical by virtue of its position and general character, exceptional by virtue of the vastness and elaboration of its defences. Of these various aspects of the site more will be said later. Here it will suffice to observe that, whilst no uniformity of culture can be predicated in respect of any extensive area of Iron Age Britain, Maiden Castle may be expected, by its character and position, to provide a key to the Iron Age problems of a great part of prehistoric Wessex. To the north in the Cotswolds, to the west in the Cornish peninsula, to the east in eastern Hampshire and Sussex, other influences are brought to bear, and other archetypes must be sought.

5. THE NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT AND THE 'LONG MOUND' OR 'BANK BARROW' (c. 2000 B.C. or earlier—c. 1500 B.C.)

As a result of excavation, however, the archaeology of the site of Maiden Castle must now be carried back far beyond the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In 1934 a section through the original western rampart of Maiden Castle (site A) revealed a flat-bottomed neolithic ditch and three contemporary neolithic pits. In 1937 the clearance of the original western entrance of the castle (site R) exposed a southern continuation of this ditch together with another, parallel to it and 50 ft. to the westward. The latter showed an interruption or 'causeway' of normal neolithic type, 20 ft. broad; the absence of an equivalent opposite causeway across the inner ditch ruled out the likelihood of a neolithic entrance at this point. In the same year a further stretch of the inner ditch was identified to the north of site A. The inner ditch of this system was 8–12 ft. broad and 5 ft. deep, the outer was about 7 ft. broad and also 5 ft. deep. Both were very irregularly cut.

Meanwhile, in 1935–6 two similar neolithic ditches had been discovered beneath and between the two main portals of the Iron Age eastern entrance (sites F and G), the outer ditch again with a slight interruption at one point. Their size, interval, and position suggest strongly that they should be equated respectively with the two ditches farther west, and that the whole series represents, therefore, a double-ditched neolithic enclosure corresponding in general outline with the earliest Iron Age enclosure, i.e. comprising the eastern knoll of the two now encompassed by Maiden Castle. Nothing but very costly excavation at a number of points under the main Iron Age rampart—a procedure always liable to be frustrated by the wide and deep Iron Age quarry-ditch within the line of the rampart—could establish beyond all doubt this structural connexion, but the connexion is here assumed, with the implication that the enclosed area of the neolithic settlement was upwards of 10 acres.

Outside, i.e. east and south-east of the more easterly neolithic ditches, five neolithic pits were found here and there beneath the Iron Age outworks.

In the aggregate, a length of some 250 ft. of these neolithic ditches has been completely cleared, and their cultural associations may be regarded as securely established. The inner (and larger) ditch was by far the more productive, and in every case the lower half

of its filling contained relics exclusively of Neolithic A1¹ of that south-western type which has been recognized at Hembury² and Haldon³ in eastern Devon, at Holdenhurst in Hampshire⁴ and elsewhere, with some affinities in Northern Ireland⁵ and northern Britain. The characteristics of this culture are described elsewhere in the present Report (p. 137). Here it will suffice to note its affinities in north-western France, and to observe the instructive fashion in which, living under generally similar if more primitive conditions, the neolithic settlement of Maiden Castle anticipated the Iron Age settlement not merely in its local topography but also to some degree in its line of approach from overseas. Like the Iron Age immigrants, the neolithic folk were downland farmers, whose agriculture is represented for us by saddle-querns⁶ and whose herds of large long-horned cattle, sheep, and pig may be compared with the smaller short-horns, sheep, and pig of the Iron Age.

The 'Atlantic' affinities of the earlier neolithic culture at Maiden Castle are emphasized also by one object which is of sufficiently outstanding importance to deserve a special mention in this introductory summary. That object is a fragment of a chalk figurine, found in a Neolithic A context in one of the pits under the outworks of the Iron Age eastern entrance. Though individual in detail, this figurine must be related to that widespread Atlantic-Mediterranean complex of figurines or idols which has its roots in Hither Asia and its most northerly outlier at Avebury (Windmill Hill), Wiltshire.⁷

The gradual filling of the inner or main ditch of the neolithic settlement, at first by the weathering of the unserviceable vertical sides and later by hearths and 'occupation-earth', had reduced the line of entrenchment to a broad shallow depression, little more than a quarter of its original depth, before the first sherds of Neolithic B pottery appeared upon the scene. Even so, this new pottery was at first exceptional in the predominantly A culture; indeed on site A, Neolithic B was entirely absent save for a *petit tranchet* derivative in the topmost layer, which is elsewhere of the Early Bronze Age. In the neolithic ditch as shown in pl. xi, Neolithic B occurs in but not below layer 3 of the seven layers there shown, and a similar relationship between Neolithic A and B was observed on the very productive site R.

Within the area enclosed by the ditch-system, the neolithic surface had been completely wrecked on all explored sites by intensive Iron Age occupation, save under the eastern part of the Long Mound (see below). Here, where the mound had ensured immunity from the Iron Age pit-diggers, a number of neolithic cooking-pits came to light

¹ S. Piggott's classification in *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxviii (1931), 73 ff.

² Dorothy M. Liddell in *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* 1935 and earlier.

³ E. H. Willock, op. cit. ii (1936), 244.

⁴ S. Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iii (1937), p. 1.

⁵ Sherds from County Antrim published by C. Blake Whelan, *Proc. Roy. Irish Academy*, xlv, Section c (1938), 131.

⁶ Actual wheat, abundant in Iron Age levels, is represented

only by impressions on pottery in the neolithic deposits at Maiden Castle; Hembury, on the other hand, produced neolithic wheat (*Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* 1933, p. 180). See below, p. 374.

⁷ Mr. Alexander Keiller kindly tells me that a fragment apparently of a figurine, also of chalk, was found on the neolithic site of Windmill Hill, Avebury. More recently, a figurine is reported from Grimes Graves, Norfolk. The nearest continental examples are those found at Fort Harrouard, south of Rouen (see p. 182).

(pl. iv), with a considerable surface-spread of Neolithic A occupation. No definite neolithic hut-plans, however, had survived in the area dug.

The abundance of material alike in the ditches and their enclosure would appear to indicate a fairly prolonged Neolithic A phase, undiluted by Neolithic B or other culture. In 1937 a clue was obtained as to the fate of this early occupation. Under the neolithic Long Mound, shortly to be described, the Neolithic A occupation-layers were sealed by a dark seam which the excavators knew as the 'neolithic turf-line'. Samples of this 'turf-line' were subsequently analysed by Dr. Frederick Zeuner at the University of London Institute of Archaeology, and his report is a fresh exemplification of the value of analytical investigation. He observes that, on the basis of the content of calcium-carbonate (which in this case enables one to distinguish between naturally developed soils and soil-like occupation-layers), the stratum in question was 'a natural weathering soil, formed under a cover of woody vegetation. This would mean that the hill was practically abandoned by man at the time.'

This hint is important. It may be inferred that the gradual but almost complete obliteration of the ditch-system was followed by a migration of the villagers, or of a majority of them, before the next great structural event in the history of the site. That event was the building of a prodigiously long mound, 60 ft. wide and no less than 1,790 ft. in length, right across the filled-up western ditches. The mound was flanked on both sides (north and south) by a flat-bottomed ditch, 12-15 ft. broad and some 6 ft. deep. The mound was planned in two straight stretches: the break in the line occurred at a slight dip in the contour and was clearly due to the anxiety of the builders to make the fullest possible use of the higher contours. In fact, the mound begins and ends exactly on the 430-ft. contour-line—the highest extensive contour on the ridge.

This almost incredible earthwork will be described more fully below (p. 86), and only a few further details can be noted here. At neither end do the flanking ditches return, but at the eastern end (the western is hopelessly mutilated by the Iron Age quarry-ditch) there are four neolithic post-holes which suggest a slightly concave revetment across the end, comparable with the arrangement indicated by the concave trench-line at the eastern end of the Skendleby long barrow.¹ Here and there along the sides, on the inner margins of the ditches, were neolithic post-holes, but, owing to Iron Age mutilation of the fringes of the mound, a search failed to establish definitely the existence of continuous flanking palisades. Centrally within the eastern end was a 'ritual pit' containing a mass of Neolithic A pottery, limpet shells, and minute fragments of animal bone.² Also on the central axis, and 70 ft. within the eastern end, was an astonishing human burial, which was clearly a primary feature of the mound.

The burial will be described in detail by Dr. Morant (below, p. 344). Here it will suffice to note that the skeleton was that of a man, 25-35 years old, with an extremely long skull (cephalic index about 70), and a height about 5 ft. 4 in. But although all the significant bones were present and the elbow-, knee-, and ankle-joints were in articula-

¹ C. W. Phillips in *Archaeologia*, lxxxv (1935), 86.

² For similar pits in long barrows, see Phillips, *op. cit.*, 88.

tion, the limbs and the head had been roughly hacked from the body shortly after death, and three fruitless attempts had been made to obtain access to the brain by circular incisions. In Dr. Morant's words,

'since the cutting of the base of the skull was the most extensive, it must be supposed that this was attacked last. The abandoned attempts to make holes in the frontal and occipital regions were probably made first, followed by the excision of the left parietal. When it was realized that the hole made was not large enough for the purpose in view, the head was placed face downwards—it is conjectured—in soft earth, which favoured the preservation of the face, and the wide transverse cut across the occipital base was made. This broke the base of the skull into pieces and forced some of them into the palate. The opening made was then large enough to remove the brain, which was taken away with some pieces of the base of the skull adhering to it, which would account for their absence. It must be supposed that the vault of the skull collapsed in the concluding stage of the operation'

—for the fragments were found in a scattered heap under one of the legs.

Those are the main facts: the body of a man in the prime of life was butchered at the time of death, and a special effort was made to extract the brain. Further, the mutilated body was given a place of honour in the longest 'long barrow' yet discovered. What is the explanation?

At this point, we leave fact and embark perilously upon conjecture. The practice of cutting a hole in the skull to scrape out the brain for eating is familiar, for example, in New Guinea;¹ and the custom of ceremonial cannibalism, in various forms and degrees, for the purpose of ensuring the reincarnation of human souls or the transmission of the virtues of the deceased can be widely exemplified.² Some equivalent custom, which might include not merely the eating of the brain but also the cooking of parts of the body for the purpose of eating the flesh or of drinking the broth in which human flesh has been stewed, is not unthinkable in neolithic Britain. How far we may believe the allegations of Diodorus and Strabo that certain of the Britons and, in particular, the Irish, still practised cannibalism in the first century B.C. is doubtful enough, but more than one archaeologist has sought to identify traces of the custom in remains of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages. Thurnam and Mortimer on several occasions believed that fragmentary skulls and other bones were vestiges of the practice;³ and in the colder light of the advancing twentieth century Dr. Cecil Curwen has recognized traces of it in the neolithic camp of Whitehawk.⁴ It is at least tempting to suspect an element of cannibalism in the curious ritual of the Maiden Castle burial, but it must be admitted that proof is not forthcoming and that the real interpretation may be very different. Dr. Morant himself prefers to draw attention to a pre-Columbian custom in Michigan. On the site in question, human remains

'were found in pits in one of the enclosures. "Bundle burials", re-articulated and partial skeletons,

¹ C. A. W. Monckton, *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* (1921), p. 284.

² e.g. J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*: 'The Magic Art', i, 106 (Australia), and 'Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild', i, 156 (the 'drinking' of the dead in the valley of the Amazon).

³ Thurnam in *Arch.* xlii (1869), 185, 191, &c.; Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches* (1905), pp. xxiv, lxv, 21, 41, 127; and T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* (1907), pp. 112, 268.

⁴ *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), p. 81.

perforated skulls, and grooved and perforated long bones show that the bodies have been deliberately mutilated before they were reduced to skeletons. Early descriptions of an elaborate Indian rite connected with the periodical reburial of the dead are referred to, and these mention the erection of lodges in connexion with it. The conclusion is that the Huron type of burial ceremony is illustrated by the Younge site.

'In 1937 Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler discovered a mutilated human skeleton of neolithic date at Maiden Castle. The skull had been posthumously trephined, as were most of the Michigan crania, and its base had also been cut through for the apparent purpose of removing the brain, while their bases were left intact. In spite of this difference, the parallel suggests that it may not be necessary to conclude that the English specimen provides evidence of either anthropophagy or malicious intent.'¹

In the 600 square yards of the eastern part of the Long Mound that were cleared to the natural chalk during 1936-7, one other neolithic burial was brought to light—that of two children, about 6 and 7 years old, buried in a crouched position head to foot some 10 yds. south-east of the mutilated adult. A pygmy vessel of simple Neolithic A form (fig. 29, 50) was buried by the shoulder of one of the skeletons. This double burial may also have been primary, but the surviving fragment of the overlying mound was here too thin for certainty. A third burial, 8 yds. farther east, was intrusive and of Saxon date (see below, p. 78).

The state of preservation of the Long Mound raises points of minor interest. The flanking ditches, which had been filled nearly level by the Iron Age, were riddled with Iron Age pits and post-holes. The easternmost third of the mound itself, on the other hand—i.e. that part which was included within the enclosure of the earliest Iron Age camp—was entirely free from Iron Age occupation and had clearly been respected by the Iron Age citizens, as burial-mounds normally were when chance included them in an Iron Age settlement.² But the western two-thirds, cut off by the earliest Iron Age ditch and so excluded from the enclosure, was destroyed during the Iron Age and suburban pits (or pits belonging to the early extension of the camp) were built into it. Apparently its detachment from the eastern limb and its extra-mural position were enough to rob this western section of the awe which the eastern end continued to inspire. It was not until the Roman period that the latter began to suffer. Certain it is that by the latter half of the fourth century—a few years earlier, perhaps, than the adjacent temple—the eastern end had been reduced to its present lowly level, with only a foot's depth of the actual structure of the mound surviving; for a metalled road, associated with *Gloria Exercitus* and *Urbs Roma* coins and late New Forest ware was then built diagonally across the southern half of it. Only at one point, where it had been incorporated in the western rampart of the earliest Iron Age camp and had thus defied the Roman plough, was the mound still standing to the height of about 5 ft., which was doubtless its average at the time of the first Iron Age settlement. It was at this very point, by a happy chance, that the mound overlay the inner neolithic

¹ G. M. Morant, reviewing E. F. Greenman, *The Younge Site: an Archaeological Record from Michigan* (University of Michigan, 1937), in *Man*, April 1938, p. 54.

² Cf. the long barrow in the camp on Hambledon Hill, Dorset, or the round barrow in Poundbury, Dorchester.

village ditch, thus presenting a succession of neolithic structures and strata which is unique.

The bearing of this structural succession upon the history of the related neolithic cultures will be considered later, in connexion with the pottery (p. 139). Here it may be observed that the culture associated with the mound, like that of the underlying settlement, is exclusively Neolithic A. But the building of the mound was followed, apparently at a very short interval, by the arrival of Neolithic B. In a typical section across the ditches of the Long Mound (fig. 15), the deep layer of rapid silt, i.e. the crumbled chalk from the vertical sides of the ditch, contained (apart from fragments of antler-picks and occasional flint flakes) only scattered sherds of Neolithic A pottery. The central dip of this silt was almost everywhere covered with a hearth which also produced no other type of pottery, and showed incidentally that the Long Mound ditches were, almost from the outset, used as a convenient shelter for kitchen fires or their débris. Then followed successive infillings, clearly derived for the most part from the slipping sides of the mound and coincident, perhaps, with the decay of a lateral palisade-revetment. These infillings showed occasional occupation-surfaces, and high up in them, alongside Neolithic A sherds, occurred the first rare sherds of Neolithic B. Then, when the ditch was practically full and survived only as a slight groove, came two continuous and well-marked occupation-layers associated with AC and B Beaker, scraps of Neolithic A and B, and rare sherds of grooved ware and food-vessel. The overlaps of these various wares was certain, and it is further noteworthy that the food-vessels are of the collared variety which would normally be included in the Middle Bronze Age (see below, p. 144).

The cultural succession at Maiden Castle may thus be expressed in the following formula: Neolithic A—Neolithic A+B—slight Neolithic A+B+dominant Beakers (of Abercromby types AC and B)+collared food-vessels+scraps of grooved ware. That succession is consistent in a large number of sections and is beyond doubt.

Incidentally, a constant feature is the *sudden* impact of the evolved Beaker complex (mixed Abercromby types AC and B), alike decisive in quantity and coinciding everywhere with a definite occupation-layer. It would appear to have arrived in a fairly advanced stage, and it lasted until the abandonment of the site early in the Middle Bronze Age.

Similarly, in the uppermost filling of the old neolithic settlement ditches, save where these were covered by the Long Mound, the mixed neolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures are associated with the terminal deposits. (The settlement ditch actually under the Long Mound, on the other hand, was of course Neolithic A throughout.)

It remains to consider the nomenclature of this extraordinary structure which I have called the Long Mound. Most of its features are roughly comparable with those which may be found in one or other of the British long barrows. Its preposterous length, however, has made me reluctant to use the conventional term in referring to it. That length was obviously conditioned in part by the length of the ridge on which the mound stood, and the term Ridge Barrow or Ridge Mound had suggested itself as applicable. On the

other hand, the closest analogy—a mound only 600 ft. long but otherwise of (superficially) similar dimensions and character, on Martin's Down in the parish of Long Bredy, 7 miles west of Dorchester¹—does not extend to the full length of the ridge on which it stands and could not therefore be fairly called a Ridge Barrow; and another apparent example, slightly longer, east of Came Wood in the parish of Broadmayne near Dorchester, occupies a part but not the whole of the highest portion of a ridge. I have accordingly used the more colourless term of Long Mound, which serves to differentiate the structure from the normal long-barrow groups but at the same time implies affinity with them. On the other hand, the equally suitable term 'Bank Barrow' has been suggested by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford in a published note on the Maiden Castle example and the other two Dorset analogies.² Incidentally, Mr. Crawford draws attention to other possible analogies in Schleswig-Holstein (for example, three about 8 miles south-east of Schleswig), but, until the type has been more adequately explored or even recognized, discussion of possible connexions between Schleswig and Dorset is premature.

In summary, the characteristics of the Long Mound or Bank Barrow as a type may be classified as follows:

1. The length is greater than that of the normal Long Barrow.
2. The site crowns a ridge or some considerable part of it.
3. The sides are parallel and the mound or bank is of uniform height.
4. The parallel side-ditches do not return round the ends.
5. A burial or burials underlie the mound.
6. If the Maiden Castle example is typical, they are associated with a late Neolithic A culture.

6. THE BRONZE AGE HIATUS

(c. 1500 B.C.—c. 300 B.C.)

At the close of the Early-Middle Bronze Age phase at Maiden Castle, turf grew undisturbed over the filled neolithic ditches and pits (sites A, F, G, L, R). Dr. Frederick Zeuner observes, on the results of chemical analysis, that the horizontal dark layer which separates them from the earliest Iron Age occupation 'is a brown-earth soil developed on a sub-soil rich in chalk. It evidently means a gap in the occupation and a covering of the hill with woods.' Not a sherd of late Middle or Late Bronze Age pottery was found during the excavations, and the only relic ascribable to these periods was a fragmentary looped bronze spear-head of late Middle or early Late Bronze Age date (c. 1000 B.C. in the conventional chronology). This spear-head (fig. 53) was recovered in 1936 from the filling of one of the trenches dug in 1882 by Cunnington on site L, so that its stratigraphical position is unknown; but it must obviously have been lost by some Bronze Age hunter or traveller, and has no more significance than a modern cartridge-case. Its isolation

¹ O.S. 6-in. map, 1903 ed., Dorset XXXIX, S.W. Owing to its exceptional length, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford cautiously omitted the Martin's Down 'long barrow' from the O.S. map

of Neolithic Wessex, although he and I now feel no doubt as to its authenticity.

² *Antiquity*, xii (1938), 228.

tion merely serves to emphasize the desolation of the hill-top throughout the epoch. Evidence is indeed accumulating to show that the downlands were normally thus deserted during the thousand years or more that elapsed between the Early Bronze Age and the Ultimate Bronze Age. They were used doubtless for traffic, and extensively for burial. In the western part of Maiden Castle can still be traced the remains of a flattened round-barrow, and the surrounding ridges are encrusted with similar mounds. Stukeley's remark¹ that the spot 'for sight of barrows, I believe not to be equalled in the world' is scarcely an exaggeration. But traffic and burial do not, in this instance, imply the immediate proximity of occupation. Whatever the actual character and position of the Bronze Age settlements, it is increasingly clear that they lay elsewhere than on the downs—presumably in the valleys, where later occupation has been most intensive and destructive.² There, strung out along more or less tenuous and intermittent stretches of riparian gravel, we may imagine the Bronze Age villages anticipating in their general character the villages of the Anglo-Saxon settlers of the sixth century A.D.; and it may be pertinent to recall how, at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire, Bronze Age pits and a Saxon hut are recorded from the same gravel-pit.³

Until natural science, collaborating with archaeology, has produced further concrete evidence as to tree-growth, climate, and water-level in Bronze Age Britain, it is impossible to estimate how far this drastic displacement of population was primarily conditioned by cultural factors and how far by purely environmental factors. The two potentialities are of course closely interrelated, but one or other of them was presumably dominant, and we cannot place this long phase of prehistoric Britain in proper perspective until we can determine which. An obvious explanation was at one time available in the climatic sequence elaborated by Blytt and Sernander, whose dry 'Sub-boreal' included the period in question, and would, in the present context, readily explain the valleyward drift of our Bronze Age population from the waterless uplands. More recently, continental investigators have found reason to discard this part of the Blytt-Sernander scheme, but the whole matter is in a very controversial stage, and Dr. Zeuner has very kindly supplied the following note on the subject.

'The Climate of the Sub-boreal Phase of the Postglacial.'

'The term "Sub-boreal phase" is used for a supposed dry, continental episode intercalated between the humid and more oceanic Atlantic and Sub-Atlantic phases of the Postglacial. This interpretation goes back to the work of Blytt, Sernander, and others, in Sweden, and their scheme of a fourfold climatic change after the last glaciation (i.e. Boreal, Atlantic, Sub-boreal, Sub-Atlantic) was widely adopted and applied for years. Whilst the existence of the Boreal phase is beyond doubt, the value of the Sub-boreal has been discussed more recently, and a number of serious workers on the Continent are at present inclined to omit it completely, saying that there were a

¹ *Itin. Cur.* (1776), p. 163.

² Compare on this point the instructive remarks by Sir Cyril Fox in *Arch. Camb.* lxxx (1925), p. 288. It is surprising that actual evidence of Middle Bronze Age occupa-

tion of valley-gravels should at present be so much scarcer than is Iron Age occupation of them. Oxfordshire seems likely, however, to do something to fill the gap.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), 279.

cool-continental, a warm-continental, and a temperate-oceanic phase only, the postglacial optimum of temperature falling at the later part of the second phase, about 7000 B.C. (Bertsch, 1935).

'The chief argument *in favour* of another continental phase at about 2500-1000 B.C. is the presence of a supposed weathering horizon in the peat-bogs, the so-called *Grenztorf*, which is explained as the result of drying-up and atmospheric weathering of the peat. More recently, the suggestion has been put forward that the *Grenztorf* was formed under the influence of excessive *humidity* (Bertsch, 1935; Erdtman, 1928); the peat was drowned, so to speak. Numerous workers, therefore, use the term "Sub-boreal" merely as a chronological one indicating the time, but not the climate, and in many recent publications the question of the Sub-boreal climate is entirely left aside.

'In fact, it has to be admitted that a Sub-boreal dryer phase cannot be proven by pollen-analytical or other botanical methods for numerous localities in South Germany (Bertsch, 1935) and the lowlands of South-east Germany (Silesia, Stark, 1936) as well as the region between these two districts (compare, however, Grahmann's paper quoted below), and it is not recognizable in many of the pollen-spectra of peats from the British Isles (Erdtman, 1928; Woodhead, 1929; Godwin, 1933).

'Nevertheless, an interruption of the growth of peat-bogs is shown in some places by a horizon of stumps of trees, as for instance in certain bogs in the higher levels of the Sudeten Mountains (Stark, 1936, p. 562), and also in several districts of the British Isles (Erdtman) where it consists of *Pinus silvestris* (Scotch Fir). Since this tree was very rare in Britain in Atlantic and Sub-Atlantic times, the presence of those stumps suggests that, in certain places at least, a short drier phase was intercalated which can be correlated with the Sub-boreal. Moreover, Raistrick and Blackburn (1932) have found pollen-analytical evidence for a dry Sub-boreal phase in the North Pennines. They say that the dominance of alder all through the Atlantic, and its replacement by birch in the Sub-boreal, give strong support to the idea that the Atlantic was a period of wet climatic conditions, and the Sub-boreal a relatively drier period.

'Furthermore, archaeological evidence is distinctly in support of a Sub-boreal drier phase. In many districts swampy and peaty places were occupied by man during this time, places which obviously did not offer a ground solid enough for erecting huts or houses before and after that period. Grahmann (1934) reports that the flood-plains of the rivers in Saxony were inhabited during the Bronze Age, "which was not possible after the beginning of the Sub-Atlantic Iron Age, the increase of precipitation resulting in frequent inundations". Brooks (1922) also strongly supports the theory of a post-Atlantic dry-continental phase. He only puts it somewhat earlier than is usually the case, correlating it with the end of the Neolithic.

'Summarizing one can say that although the Sub-boreal dry phase is not confirmed everywhere by pollen-analysis, the temporary interruption in the growth of peat-bogs, their stump-horizons, a certain number of pollen-spectra as well as Bronze Age settlements in places which were too wet before and after, are hardly mistakable evidence for slightly drier conditions during that time.

'With the exception of the Sub-boreal, the climatic phases of the Postglacial find a satisfactory explanation in the fluctuation of solar radiation in connexion with the retreat of the Scandinavian ice-sheet and in the gradual submergence of the North Sea. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the general subsidence in the area of the North Sea in Postglacial times was interrupted, or replaced by a slight emergence, at 1800-1200 B.C. (Overbeck, 1934) which left its traces in the peat-sections of North-west Germany and also of the Fenland (Godwin in Clark, 1933). It is unknown whether this upheaval was sufficient to lower the water-tables in the soil in certain areas so that changes in the vegetation took place; but even if one would accept this as an explanation for open country in districts not far from the coast, it would not hold good for those districts of Central Europe which are distant from the sea. And yet Grahmann reports a local lowering of the water-table in a Saxonian peat-bog of 1.3 metres. Brooks supposes that the influence of the up-

heaval was a more general one, and that it was sufficient to produce geographical changes which had an appreciable effect on the climate in the direction of continentality.

Thus, the climatic significance of the Sub-boreal is, at present, somewhat obscure. The continental geological literature contains all possible views, and the general tendency is to minimize the importance of the Sub-boreal. *It is, however, impossible to refute the evidence brought forward in favour of a slight drying up and an increase of the area of open lands between 2500 and perhaps about 1500 B.C., i.e. during the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages.*

The climate of the time when the Bronze Age was replaced by the early Iron Age was typically oceanic in character, as is abundantly shown by pollen-diagrams. In many parts of Central Europe, for instance, the beech, a tree requiring an oceanic climate with mild winters and a fair amount of rainfall, then spread rapidly and reached its maximum extension. It has since lost some of its area in Sweden and Poland, so that the climate seems to have become slightly more continental recently. It is thus probable that the early Iron Age (about 1000 or 800 B.C. onwards) was the wettest period of the Postglacial and, in any case, more humid than the preceding centuries.'

Literature referred to in the above note.

- K. Bertsch, *Der deutsche Wald im Wechsel der Zeiten* (Tübingen, 1935).
- C. E. P. Brooks, *The Evolution of Climate* (London, 1922).
- G. Erdtman, *Geol. Fören. Stockholm Förhandl.* I (1928), 123.
- H. and M. E. Godwin, in Clark, *Ant. Journ.* xiii (1933), 281.
- R. Grahnmann, *Mitt. aus dem Osterlande*, xxii (Altenburg, 1934), 38.
- F. Overbeck, *Abh. Naturwiss. Ver.* xxix (Bremen, 1934), 48.
- A. Raistrick and K. B. Blackburn, *Trans. North. Naturalists' Union*, i (1932), 79.
- L. Stark, *Botan. Jahrbücher*, lxxvii (1936), 493.
- T. W. Woodhead, *Journ. Ecol.* xvii (1929), 1.

From Dr. Zeuner's summary it will appear that British archaeology need not yet despair of the ultimate emergence of some insular equivalent of, or substitute for, the old 'dry Sub-boreal', and of being able to attach therefore to our Bronze Age valleyward drift that explanation which would most easily fit it. On general grounds, it is indeed not unlikely that evidence valid in continental Europe may require considerable modification in the British Isles. Variations in sea-level and equivalent variations in the level of the water-table would be expected to have a more drastic influence upon human distribution on the island than on the continent, and might well operate independently of climate as a motive for the depopulation of certain areas. When our upland peats have received the same scientific attention that our lowland peats have recently received, we should be in a better position to judge the involved factors in the problem. Unfortunately, our downlands are unproductive of material for pollen-analysis, and the evidence of mollusca is full of pitfalls, even if it be in theory acceptable as a criterion of climate.¹

On all grounds, whilst these various possibilities must be borne in mind, it is necessary at present to suspend judgement as to the cause or causes for the undoubted fact—the transference of population from the downlands in the course of the Middle Bronze Age.

¹ At the best, the tendency of mollusca to accumulate in ditch-fillings concentrates them in those spots which would in any case retain most moisture, and must considerably reduce their sensitiveness to climatic (or equivalent) changes.

7. THE FIRST MAIDEN CASTLE: (i) THE CULTURAL SETTING

(Fig. 3, Iron Age phase I, c. 300 B.C. and after)

Whatever be the ultimate determination of the 'Sub-boreal' problem, there is general agreement that the Early Iron Age coincided with a phase of damp sub-Atlantic climate, which on the one hand rendered the downland more readily habitable than at the present day, and on the other hand tended to discourage valley settlement. The latter statement is indeed one which has sometimes been over-emphasized: for in many parts of England evidence for village life on the valley-gravels in the early Iron Age is not lacking. It is true, however, that, in the cultural conditions that prevailed during the developed Iron Age, scattered strips of gravel in wooded and marshy valleys no longer provided adequate scope for an increasing agricultural population. If a moister climate now facilitated the repopulation of the downs, progressive immigration and a developed agricultural system demanded the spaciousness which they alone could afford. The main theme of the Early Iron Age in southern Britain is thus the gradual filling-up of the downs and equivalent open tracts until, in the last century before the Roman Conquest, they appear to have reached the point of saturation.

The process was, as might be expected, a gradual one. On Park Brow, on New Barn Down, and on Plumpton Plain, all in Sussex, have been found the remains of Late Bronze Age farms or small villages associated in at least two cases with square or oblong fields of the so-called Celtic type. These settlements are not equipped with any formidable defensive system; and their peaceful rusticity is shared by the earliest Iron Age type-site, at All Cannings Cross farm, on a slope of the downs near Devizes. These and other downland settlements extending from the latest phase of the Bronze Age into the earliest phase of the Iron Age are the handiwork of small groups of immigrants who arrived from the opposite shores of the Channel during a period which may be ascribed approximately to the seventh or sixth to early fourth centuries B.C. They have the aspect of small agricultural colonies established at a time when land was plentiful and disputation proportionately rare.¹ The culture and origin of the settlers, in so far as is relevant to the present problem, are discussed below (p. 185).

The next phase in the social adjustment of the new downland population is represented perhaps by Figsbury Rings near Salisbury—one of the earliest known sites in Britain to which the name 'hill-fort' can properly be applied. Excavation² has shown, on the one hand, that the defences of this earthwork were twice repaired and, on the other hand, that the enclosure was never intensively occupied. Similarly, the recent exploration of Poundbury, near Dorchester, has revealed a complete absence of permanent occupation within the Iron Age A defences. The natural inference is that these fortifications were

¹ Some of them were doubtless stockaded, like the early (Iron Age A) settlement on Meon Hill, near Stockbridge, Hants (Miss Dorothy Liddell, *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xii, 127, and xiii, 7); but a stockade can scarcely be regarded as a fortification in the hill-fort sense.

² M. E. Cunnington in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925), 48. A relative date for Figsbury, on the system here adopted, would be the middle or second half of the fourth century B.C.

maintained merely as refuges for the inhabitants of open villages in the adjacent country-side. This inference requires verification from other sites, but it may well be found that as the population increased, partly perhaps in consequence of peaceful agricultural conditions and partly as the result of continued immigration, an increasing risk of friction found expression in the construction of refuge-camps of this kind.

Subsequently, as the downs filled up and the definition and protection of property became increasingly urgent, the open villages, with or without their focal refuges, were reinforced by the fortified towns, of which Maiden Castle is our type. In detail, the circumstances under which the earliest Iron Age towns came into being cannot now be recovered, however ingeniously we may interpret the hints provided by archaeology. But on general grounds it may be supposed that the construction of fortified 'hill-cities' marked a vital stage in the social and political development of the country-side. A fortified city was not built in a day; its building involved a disciplined concentration of effort, and its existence was a perpetual symbol of co-ordinating authority. It implied a specialized and stratified society in which, presumably, the aristocratic traditions of the Celtic tribal structure found expression and at the same time acquired a stability not altogether native to them. It marked the true beginning of citizenship as a substantive element in the development of civilization in Britain.¹

The economic basis of this new citizenship, if Maiden Castle may be taken as typical, was agricultural and local. Reference has already been made (p. 15) to the aloof position of the Maiden Castle site in relation to natural traffic-routes. Consistently, almost the whole of the cultural equipment of the place is of local origin. Occasional scraps of coral and of haematite and a few bronze brooches mark the limit of obviously imported material. Clay was available on the site. Iron could be found 3 or 4 miles away. Economically, the city would indeed appear to have been at least as self-contained as any market town of pre-industrial England. Only when, at rare intervals, some foreign usurper appeared upon the scene was the horizon of Maiden Castle lifted beyond its downland setting. The contrast with Hengistbury, on the foreland of Christchurch harbour, is in this respect worthy of remark. Hengistbury has revealed traces of foreign contacts which are absent from Maiden Castle; but whether these are accidents of its coastal position or whether they represent a significant commercial element in its economic make-up can scarcely be determined without the excavation of other hill-towns within its orbit. There is at least no evidence at present for the inland penetration of foreign trade on any considerable scale along the Hampshire or Dorset coast during the Wessex Iron Age.

The cultural setting wherein this progress from village to city took place is obscure in many of its details but is gradually emerging in outline. The evidence upon which our knowledge of it is based is largely ceramic, and will be discussed below in connexion with the Maiden Castle pottery (p. 185). Here it will suffice to observe that in Wessex the process, in its latter stages at least, was carried through by possessors of an 'ultimate

¹ For the implication of the terms 'city' and 'citizenship' as applied in this Report to Iron Age Britain, see below, p. 68.

Hallstatt' culture which is now familiar under the name of 'Iron Age A'—the name given to it in 1931 by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes.¹ This culture, under pressure perhaps from the rich 'Marnian' folk who entered north-eastern France about the end of the fifth century B.C. (p. 189), reached Britain through groups of immigrants who landed at various points along the southern and eastern coasts between Lyme Bay and the Wash. The western group with which we are here concerned is readily distinguished by its habitual use of a red haematite coating for some of its better pottery (p. 190), a trick which in Britain bears no relation to the geological distribution of haematite ore and is here therefore a definite cultural criterion. The immediate point of departure of this group along the continental coastline has not yet been identified, but both geographical and geological probability—haematite scarcely occurs east of Caen—would suggest the Côtes du Nord, Manche, or Calvados. More remotely, the culture has affinity with the 'Jogassian' (the late Hallstatt culture represented at Les Jogasses, near Épernay, Marne) and the ultimate Hallstatt of the middle Rhine (p. 188).

Within what may be called the 'haematite' province of the British Iron Age A pottery, the Maiden Castle sub-group is peripheral and probably somewhat later in initial date than the Hampshire-Wiltshire series represented at Hengistbury Head and All Cannings Cross. Accordingly, in the interim reports on the Maiden Castle excavations I was tempted to describe the All Cannings Cross culture as 'Iron Age A1' and the Maiden Castle culture as 'A2'. This subdivision I have now abandoned. Whilst the dominant 'situla' type of vessel appears at Maiden Castle in a more decadent form than at All Cannings Cross and might in itself represent a phase of devolution from the latter, the accompanying haematite-coated bowls at the two sites represent different traditions and imply a continental divergence which cannot at present be calculated securely in terms of a common time-scale. It is safer, therefore, here as in other aspects of the British Iron Age, to adopt a geographical rather than a chronological nomenclature, and to speak of 'All Cannings Cross A' on the one hand and of 'Dorset A' or even 'Maiden Castle A' on the other. This does not rule out the possible priority of the Hampshire-Wiltshire group but avoids prejudgement of it.

If, however, an absolute chronology be demanded for 'Maiden Castle A', certain factors demand consideration. Above all, it may be laid down as an axiom that, whilst in *duration* a naturalized provincial culture may differ materially from that of its homeland, its *initial date* may safely be estimated in terms of the latter. Now the Iron Age A culture is essentially an offshoot of the Hallstatt tradition, but its dominant metal form, the brooch, is that of La Tène I, and it cannot therefore have started for our shores before the beginning of that phase, i.e. (on current estimate) before the latter part of the fifth century B.C. Nor, in accordance with our axiom, can its arrival have been much later than the continental date for the earliest of these associated La Tène forms; and, when the Maiden Castle brooches are discussed in detail (p. 251), it will be seen that the earliest brooches found at Maiden Castle, as elsewhere with Iron Age A material in Britain, may,

¹ *Antiquity*, v (1931), 60 ff.

on the normal continental chronology, be ascribed to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Approximately at that time, therefore, Iron Age A reached Britain; and, during the lifetime of these earliest brooch-forms, it found its way to Maiden Castle. If full weight be given to the late and devolved appearance of the bulk of the pottery on that site, the end rather than the beginning of the fourth century may be preferred for the date of initial Iron Age settlement there. Accordingly in the present report the year 300 B.C. is used as a working date for the beginning of Maiden Castle.

More certainty on this point could be claimed but for a further factor which will also receive due attention in connexion with the brooches and pins from the site (see below, pp. 251 and 381). That further factor is the intense conservatism of the A culture when once it was established *in partibus*. It will be seen that a whole phase of the continental Iron Age is practically absent from the Wessex sequence; that La Tène I there passed almost without transition into La Tène III, that devolving and localized forms of the earlier phase lingered on until the first century B.C. Whilst therefore the earliest La Tène I brooches on Iron Age A sites in Britain give a *general* date for the first arrival of the culture, they cannot be used for the close dating of any *particular* site within the fourth to second centuries B.C. True, new forms were derived from old forms during that long period; but always a supernatural longevity must be suspected in the case of individual brooches, and these never occur in sufficient quantity to set such doubt at rest. It is perhaps a consolation, however improper a one, to reflect that the detailed chronology of so unenterprising and self-centred a culture is not of primary moment in the history of Man.

8. THE FIRST MAIDEN CASTLE: (ii) STRUCTURAL

The interval between the first arrival of the Iron Age A folk and the construction of the earliest fortified towns in southern Britain was at least not long enough to enable the colonists to forget their Hallstatt traditions of fortification. These included the reinforcement of the earthen rampart front and back to give it the semblance of a vertical wall; and, as a corollary, a berm or platform was interposed between the outer face of the wall and the inner lip of the ditch in order to give an adequate bearing for the outer revetment. The principle was that of classical fortification, and, save for the larger size of the ditch normal to 'barbarian' works, there was little difference between the defensive system of the first Maiden Castle and that, for example, of the Roman fortress at Haltern.¹ In central Europe the standard Iron Age examples of this wall-and-berm construction are the ramparts of the Goldberg and the Lenensburg in Württemberg, both excavated by Dr. Gerhard Bersu.² These examples are of late Hallstatt date and may thus be regarded as representing the forebears of our own ultimate Hallstatt or Iron Age A ramparts at Hollingbury in Sussex³ and now at Maiden Castle, with simplified variants at Cissbury

¹ For the reconstructed Haltern (Westphalia) fortification, see J. H. Holwerda, *Nederland's Vroegste Geschiedenis* (1925), p. 154, fig. 52.

² *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, xx (1912), and xxi (1913), 36.

³ Cecil Curwen, *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 162. 'Caesar's Camp' on Wimbledon Common, Surrey, produced evidence of a similar rampart-construction, together with Iron Age A pottery, in 1937.

in Sussex¹ and in the inner camp of Yarnbury.² On the continent, the general type (renovated, perhaps, by fresh classical contacts) survived to the end of the first century B.C.,³ but all the British examples, known or suspected, are of Iron Age A and of Early or Middle La Tène date.

The first Maiden Castle, then, was a fortification in the full Hallstatt tradition, built early in—though not perhaps at the outset of—the Iron Age A phase, at a date which is not likely to have been far removed from 300 B.C. Its internal area was some 16 acres, comprising the eastern of the two knolls which mark the present extended site. Its rampart was a wall of earth and chalk 12 ft. wide, retained front and back by timbering anchored to tall 10-in. posts set approximately at 5-ft. intervals. The original rampart survives to a maximum height of 8 ft. (site G, pl. xi) and, to judge from the volume of its wreckage, was formerly 10–12 ft. high. At the back it was reinforced by a low bank, rising to a height of 4½ ft. In front, a berm or platform 6–10 ft. wide separated rampart and ditch. The latter, best represented on site H (p. 122), was 50 ft. wide and 20 ft. deep, measured from the surface of the natural chalk. The outer slope was steeply cut and its lower part was precipitous.⁴ The inner slope was somewhat less abrupt and, on site H, showed two ledges deliberately cut for the purpose, apparently, of enabling the constructors to pass up their baskets of excavated chalk for the building of the rampart above (pl. LXXVIII).

This original Maiden Castle had two entrances. The western, identified for the first time in 1936 (site R), was found to have been mutilated almost beyond recognition after its disuse subsequent to the extension of the camp. Sufficient evidence remained, however, to show that the causeway interrupting the ditch had been 47 ft. wide, and that a double gate had barred a passage 19 ft. wide between the timber-revetted ends of the ramparts (below, p. 127).

More remarkable by far was the eastern entrance which, even from the outset, comprised two separate portals. No other camp of any period in Great Britain is closely comparable in this respect, and it is evident that the structural elaboration which was eventually to give Maiden Castle a position of pre-eminence amongst all works of its kind owed more than a little to the nameless engineer who planned its early nucleus (fig. 4). The two portals were lined with massive palisades which held the abutting ends of the rampart and defined the approaches. Opposite the ends of the ramparts were gates—in each case, either a single gate 14–15 ft. wide or a double gate without central stop. No clear evidence of guard-rooms was forthcoming, but the inner flanks had been much disturbed by pits, and all that can be said is that, if guard-chambers did form a feature of the original plan, they were quickly demolished. Externally, between the portals the line of the main ditch was continued by a short detached length of ditch of somewhat

¹ Curwen and R. P. R. Williamson, *Antiq. Journ.* xi (1931), 22.

² M. E. Cunningham, *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlii (1934), 209 and pl. 1.

³ e.g. in the Late La Tène camp at Bensberg, near Cologne.

W. Buttler, in *Germania*, xx (1936), 173.

⁴ This shape is apparently characteristic of ditches of Iron Age A. It is found, for example, in the ditch of the A enclosure at Woodbury, near Salisbury.

smaller dimensions. Beyond the ditch a wide area, extending at least 100 yds. from the gates, was carefully paved with a layer of flint-metalling which had apparently been rolled into the puddled surface of the natural chalk, thus acquiring something of the consistency of cement (pl. LXXXV).

Before the advent of the next structural phase, this external metallated area was partially occupied by timber enclosures formed by driving close-set posts into a series of narrow

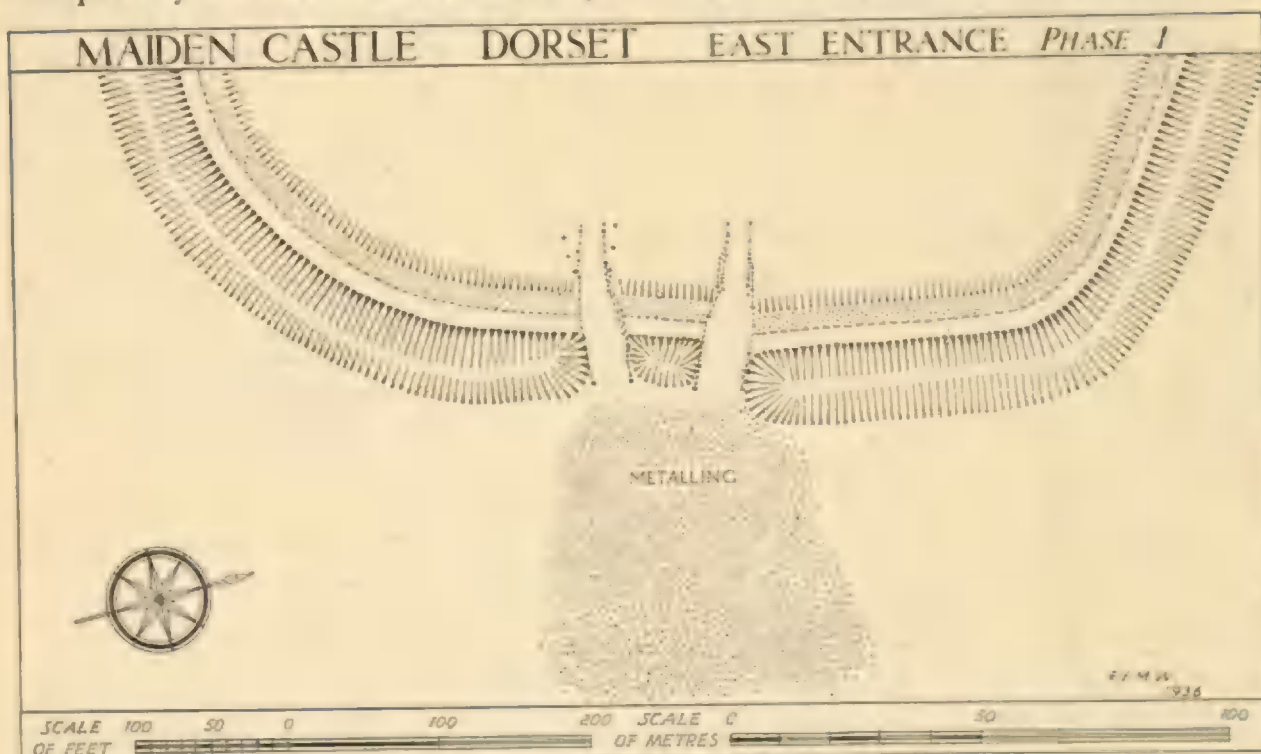


FIG. 4. Phase I, Iron Age A

trenches cut through the metalling (pl. cxix). The surviving or accessible vestiges of these *corrals* or pens are very incomplete, but enough remains to show that they had no direct structural connexion with the gateway. They were doubtless intended for sheep and cattle, perhaps in connexion with extra-mural markets held on the metallated *place*.

It was, however, before the metalling had suffered noticeably from traffic that the structural elaboration of phase II of the gateway was carried out (fig. 5)—though whether before, contemporaneously with, or shortly after the westward extension of the camp is an undecided point (below, p. 39). The addition consisted of an outwork or barbican built partially across the *place* and designed both to restrict access to the gates and to incorporate permanent flanking enclosures. The barbican was formed by running two nearly straight stretches of rampart and ditch at an angle of about 40 degrees with the main defences, with a new double entrance, devoid of permanent gates, between their terminals. This claw-like outwork was constructed on the same wall-and-berm principle as

the original rampart, with a difference in detail; between the 10-in. upright timbers, set at 5-ft. intervals along the outer face of the rampart, the revetment consisted, not of timber-sheathing or wattle, but of dry-built limestone walling (pls. xc and xci). In this feature the rampart of the barbican excelled in quality that of the main work, and the explanation is easy enough to see. The timber-and-wattle revetment of the main rampart represents the utilization of immediately adjacent material by the builders when they

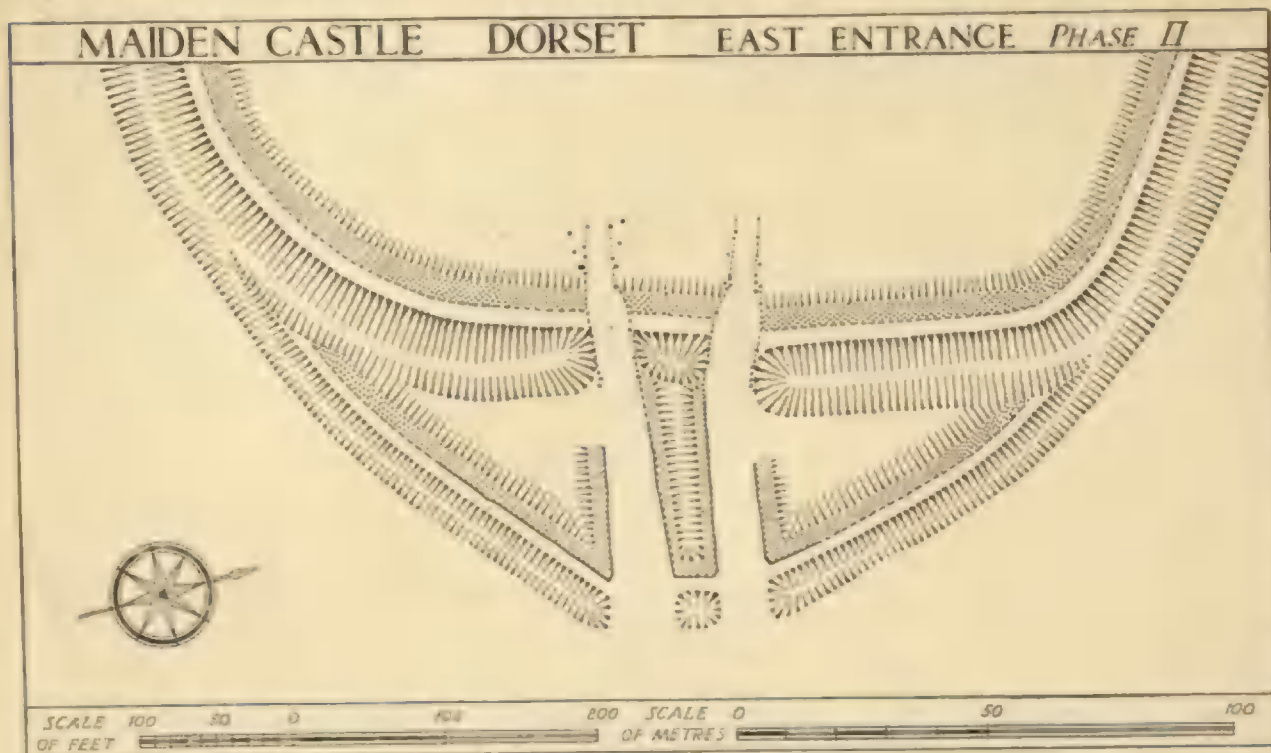


FIG. 5. Phase II, Iron Age A

first arrived on the site; the timber-and-limestone revetment of the added outwork represents the secondary exploitation of more remote material after the essential main rampart had been completed. The limestones are derived from the Lower Purbeck outcrops near Upwey, over 2 miles from Maiden Castle, and, although they are individually smaller in size than those subsequently used on the site (below, p. 45), their transportation at least implies no anxious haste on the part of the builders. The average thickness of the stones is about 2 in., and their general dimensions resemble those of rather large Roman bricks. The rampart to which they belonged survived beneath later Iron Age work to a maximum height of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and is unlikely ever to have been more than a foot or two higher.

The berm associated with this rampart had been largely mutilated during the reconstruction of Iron Age B (below, p. 109), but its original width was about 7 ft. (pl. xci, B). The ditch was found in its original form under the two lateral causeways built across it in Iron Age B; it had been steep-sided, with a width of 23 ft. and a depth of $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and

at one point it showed a constructional ledge on its inner slope comparable with those noted above on site H (p. 32). The precise arrangement of the ditch opposite the new entrances cannot now be known owing to the later remodelling, but the former presence of a detached portion of ditch between them, as at the main entrance, is likely (below, p. 109).

The upright timbers and intermediate stonework are carried round the flanks of the two portals of the barbican, thus on the one hand, completely separating the two roads

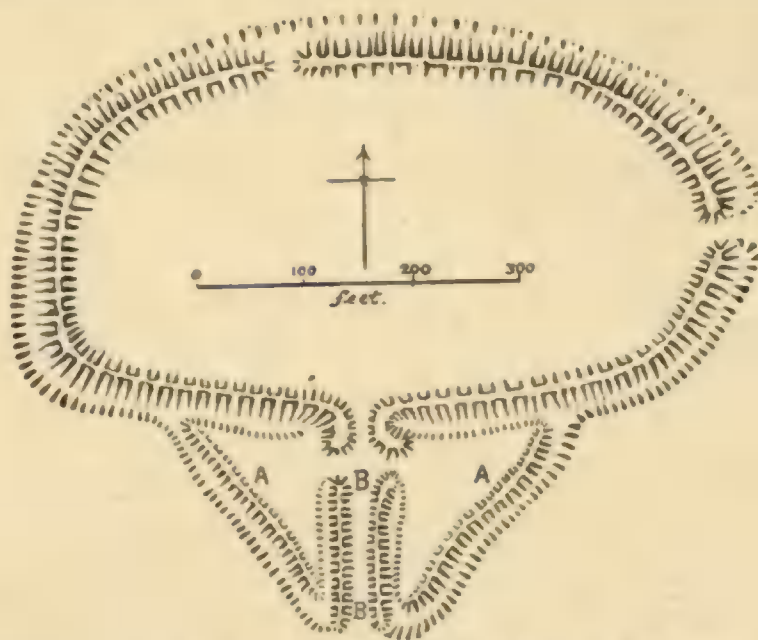


FIG. 6. Blackbury Castle, Devon. (A. Hadrian Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*.)

within it and, on the other, forming two lateral triangular enclosures. Admission to these enclosures was provided by gaps at their innermost corners, beside the main ditch; but the worn condition of the chalk at these gaps (which coincided with the main approaches of the developed Iron Age B plan) removed evidence for or against the existence of actual gates within them. It may be supposed that the triangular enclosures replaced the fenced pens of phase 1 and were used for corralling cattle.

Analogies for the plan of this barbican-entrance are hard to find. The nearest approach to it is the entrance of Blackbury Castle, Southleigh, east Devon, which shows a similar triangular outwork (fig 6);¹ and the same feature in a less regular form seems to be incorporated in the western entrance of Old Oswestry, Shropshire.² The date of both these earthworks is unknown.

Of the town within the lines of these early defences, only a little can at present be said. A street, worn hollow in the chalk and intermittently patched with metalling, has been

¹ A. Hadrian Allcroft, *Earthwork of England* (1908), p. 198 and fig. 70.

² Ibid., p. 96, fig. 17.

traced by trenches from the northern portal of the eastern gateway to site L near the summit of the hill by the temple (pls. 1 and ciii). So far as explored, the line of this was almost completely free from pits, and in the two instances where it had encroached on filled pits it had clearly swung slightly from its original course. This street may therefore be regarded as substantially an original feature of the town-plan; and there are superficial indications of an equivalent street from the southern portal. For the rest, intensive occupation in Iron Age B and C, particularly the extensive digging of pits during the former phase, had so mutilated the earlier structures that no complete plan of a building of Iron Age A was obtainable. At two points, however, on site B (p. 90), post-holes attributable to the early phase indicated *rectilinear* plans; and on the adjacent site L the greater part of a rectilinear house-plan dating from the earliest Iron Age occupation had survived (p. 124 and fig. 22). On the other hand, all buildings ascribable to Iron Age B and C were circular or polygonal. This accords with the relative sophistication of the Iron Age A tradition, and recalls the occurrence of another rectilinear plan on an A site—Park Brow¹ in Sussex. Similar rectilinear huts of the Middle La Tène period, i.e. closely contemporary with ours, have been published by Dr. Bersu from the Goldberg in Württemberg,² where also elements of the Hallstatt culture penetrated far into La Tène, and are here reproduced for comparison (fig. 23, p. 126).

Pits of the normal barrel-shape are common enough in the A phase, though less numerous than in Iron Age B. One of them was included within the plan of a rectilinear hut on site B (pl. vii). On site L, a pit and two adjacent hearths produced a considerable quantity of carbonized wheat, *Triticum vulgare* and *Triticum turgidum*, whilst a carbonized bun or small loaf has actually survived in recognizable form (p. 375). Traces of 'Celtic' fields in which some of this wheat may have been grown can still be detected in the environs of the site (pl. lxx).

9. THE IRON AGE A EXTENSION OF MAIDEN CASTLE

(Fig. 3, Iron Age phase II, c. 200 B.C.)

One of the most significant episodes in the structural development of Maiden Castle was its westward extension, to enclose a total area of 46 acres (almost thrice its original size). This extension occurred when the main defences still consisted of a single rampart and ditch; the outer lines of fortification are part and parcel of a later ditch-system, of Iron Age B (see below), and do not come into the present picture. Sections across the main rampart of the extension (sites D, E, and H) have in fact shown that underlying it is a rampart some 9 ft. in height, only half the present size of the work, inferentially accompanied by a relatively small ditch which, in fact, survives approximately in its original dimensions at the western entrance.

But between the rampart of the nucleus and that of the extension in its earliest form

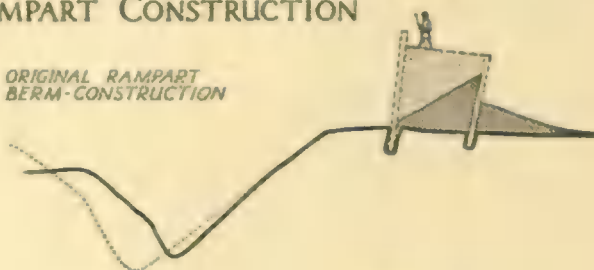
¹ Garnet Wolseley and Lieut.-Col. W. Hawley, *Archæologia*, lxxvi (1926-7), 26, 34. The presence of rectilinear hut-plans was suspected at the Iron Age B site of Castle Dore, Cornwall, but awaits confirmation (C. A. R. Radford, *Castle*

Dore, Cornwall Excavation Committee, 1937).

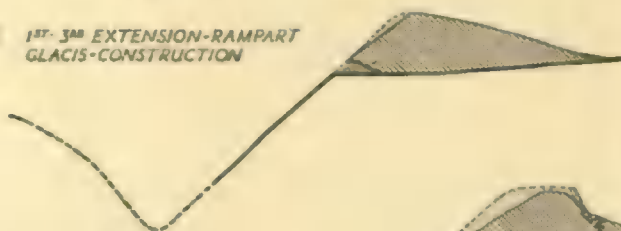
² 'Fünf Mittel-la-Tène-Häuser vom Goldberg', in *Schumacher-Festschrift* (1930), p. 156 and pl. 15.

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING SUCCESSIVE METHODS OF RAMPART CONSTRUCTION

TYPE I ORIGINAL RAMPART
 BERM-CONSTRUCTION



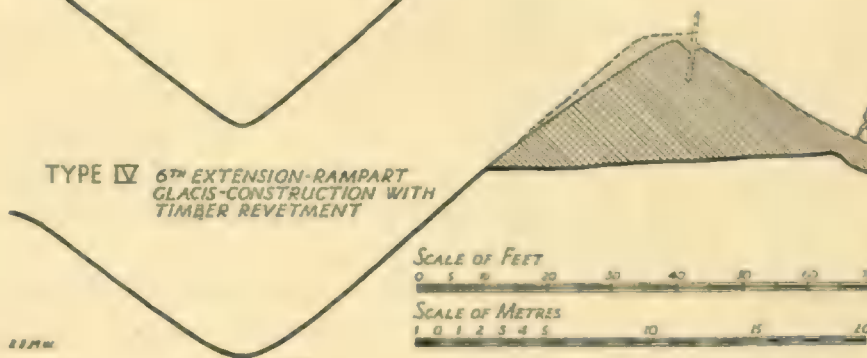
TYPE II 1ST-3RD EXTENSION-RAMPART
 GLACIS-CONSTRUCTION



TYPE III 4TH & 5TH EXTENSION-RAMPART
 GLACIS-CONSTRUCTION WITH
 MASONRY REVETMENTS



TYPE IV 6TH EXTENSION-RAMPART
 GLACIS-CONSTRUCTION WITH
 TIMBER REVETMENT



SCALE OF FEET



SCALE OF METRES



11/21/11

there was from the outset an important structural difference. The wall-and-berm construction of the former was not repeated in the latter. Instead, as was shown on site E (verified subsequently by a cut at the western entrance), the new rampart consisted merely of a heap of chalk-rubble and earth, the outer slope of which continued the inner slope of the accompanying ditch. Although our cuttings were 12 ft. wide, no hint of a palisade or revetment was found;¹ the only structural detail was a small heap of turf thrown up to mark the outer limit of the bank and to prevent the foot of it from slipping during construction (site E). The new work was of the simplest 'glacis' type (type II) of our structural succession in pl. II. Its main defensive function was to provide a long, steep slope capable of tiring a rush-attack, and so to render the enemy an easy victim for the defender on the summit. There was no longer any intent to provide a vertical unscalable wall, as in the earlier work.

This change of construction is a notable one and demands brief discussion. Its cultural setting is still that of Iron Age A, which is exclusively represented both by the original contents and by those of two successive renewals (below, p. 38). The transformation from wall-and-berm to glacis design therefore occurred within the limits of the same culture, without any apparent intruding influence from outside. A clue to the circumstances of the change was brought to light on site H. Here, at the southern junction of new work and old, a fragment of the original rampart was preserved, by the overlying abutment of the extension, precisely in the condition in which it lay at the moment of that extension. The evidence was significant. The vertical timber revetment which had originally supported the outer face of the main rampart behind its berm had decayed during the lifetime of that rampart, letting it down in a cascade on to the berm and into the ditch, which was filled to a depth of 9½ ft. with its material (pl. XIX). From an up-standing wall, the rampart had thus been reduced to a flattened heap, and over this heap a layer of turf had grown. In other words, the wall-and-berm had already, in the course of nature, reduced itself to the 'glacis' form before the new work was designed, and the model for that new work, if model were needed, was already present.

Clearly, then, a hiatus had occurred in the military tradition of the citizens of Maiden Castle within the lifetime of the original town. How long the original rampart had stood before its collapse is difficult to estimate; without attention, on this exposed site 10-in. oak posts may not have lasted half a century.² Moreover, after the collapse a further indefinite period must be assumed during which turf grew over the fallen work. But, whatever the exact period of time involved, two certainties emerge. First, the stimulus under which the original rampart had been built had now lapsed; and, secondly, when the new work was undertaken the old tradition of military architecture no longer mono-

¹ Four post-holes on site H, at right angles to the line of the rampart and close to the junction with the original rampart, belong to this phase but can scarcely have served any purpose other than that of a retaining-work or marker during construction.

² The conditions under which these revetments were

exposed must have conducted to fairly rapid decay. Professor E. J. Salisbury, F.R.S., writes: 'I believe oak sleepers begin to perish and have to be replaced in 10-16 years. I have known oak posts last some 30 years. Charring would considerably prolong their durability, but how much I do not know, nor do I know if data are available.'

polized the field. It is evident that a considerable period of peace had intervened, wherein a new generation had arisen and the urban population had increased and multiplied in a state of security which enabled it to view the decay of its defences with equanimity and forgetfulness. Only, perhaps, along the face of the barbican at the eastern entrance did a sense of civic decency in this respect prevail. There, when the posts decayed between the lengths of stone-walling and let down segments of the rampart, the stone-work (not the timbering) was more than once replaced and the whole façade tidied up (pl. xci, A). A part of this work of reparation probably belongs to Iron Age B (see below), but between the work of the early A and the B phases there was clearly a connecting tradition which implies that some of the repairs were carried out during the latter part of the A phase. The first impression of the approaching visitor was held in just so much respect, even though the main rampart remained an unregarded ruin.

The circumstances of this interval of peaceful indifference may reasonably be interpreted, then, as indicating a lapse of not less than half a century, and in our relative chronology a period approaching a century is allowed, at a guess, between the building of the earliest Maiden Castle and the first construction of its extension, bringing the latter down to about 200 B.C. The 'glacis' construction of the extension appears in this light as, in the main, the result of cruder, more barbaric methods of construction following the lapse of the proper Hallstatt tradition. So also the contemporary pottery shows, by the dropping of its finer forms, a further lapse of that same tradition in the hands of an urban peasantry now long divorced from its continental environment. The two factors, domestic culture and military engineering, devolve in parallel fashion in a general phase of combined increase and monotony.

Two trivial incidents mark the structural history of this Iron Age A extension-rampart. The first is the addition of a fresh capping, mainly of turf, in the section on site E, associated with a single shallow post-hole for a paling of 4-in. scantling—clearly no more (at the most) than a light temporary fence. The second is a complete re-jacketing of the inner slope of the rampart with chalk-rubble.

One other point demands a mention here in respect of the construction of the first extension-rampart. On site H, at the point of junction between the original rampart and that of the extension, was a human burial of which the circumstances were perhaps significant. A pit of the usual barrel shape, 3 ft. in diameter at the top and 4 ft. deep, had been dug into the outer margin of the collapsed original rampart, and on the floor of this pit, with the head towards the south, was the huddled skeleton of a young man from 22 to 30 years of age (pl. XLIV and fig. 7). The loose chalk-earth filling of the pit contained a number of large limestones; near the top it merged without a break into the material of the overlying extension-rampart. A further proof that the pit had been immediately sealed by the extension-rampart was provided by the fact that its upper part was cut through a pocket of natural clay but, in spite of extreme friability, had in no way suffered by wear or exposure. The exact contemporaneity of the burial with the con-

struction of the extension-rampart is thus beyond all doubt; and the crucial point in that construction at which the burial was inserted suggests something more than chance. The possibility that we have here a genuine foundation-burial deserves at least to be recorded, perhaps with a recollection of the building of Jericho by Hiel the Bethelite, when he 'laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his firstborn' (1 Kings xvi. 34).

At the western end of the extension of the city was now laid out the nucleus of the monumental construction which to-day forms the main entry. No attempt was made during the recent excavations to explore it in detail, but five trenches sufficed, in the light of our knowledge of the eastern entrance, to indicate its main sequence (see fig. 24). Two trial-pits dug into the causeways across the innermost ditch showed that these are of solid chalk and therefore formed a part of the original plan. A trench outside the southern portal revealed under the innermost of the outer ramparts a straight, hollowed road flanked by timber posts and stone walling but now cut by the first of the outer ditches. The equivalent and parallel outlet from the northern portal was never completely supplanted by the later layout and is still partially visible on the surface. Lastly the northern winding trackway was shown, by a cutting, to cover the flanking ditch of an earlier outwork, and is therefore secondary. On all grounds it is thus proved that the western entrance, like the eastern, had a barbican through which two roads passed straight out into the country-side. These roads were bordered by ramparts revetted, like those at the eastern entrance, by posts at 5-ft. intervals, with thin stone walling between them; and, when the posts decayed, the walling was made good across their sockets. The exploration was not carried far enough to show whether the barbican was integral with, or subsequent to, the building of the gateways in the main rampart; if the latter, then it is a fair presumption that the addition of the barbican to the eastern entrance was also subsequent to the extension of the camp. On the other hand, the unworn metallurgy of the *place* outside the eastern entrance would seem to imply no long interval before the addition of the barbican across it, and is in favour of a pre-extension barbican there. Unfortunately, the Iron Age A pottery associated with the various works is too devolved and insensitive to decide unaided the niceties of the sequence.

10. THE ARRIVAL OF THE IRON AGE B CULTURE

(Fig. 3, Iron Age phase III, first half of first century B.C.)

On general grounds it was reasonable for the student of earthwork to suppose that the distinction between simple and multiple lines of defence was a vital one; that two



FIG. 7. 'Foundation' burial

earthwork-enclosures of similar size and environment, but one of them defended by a single rampart and the other by two, three, or four ramparts, are unlikely to reflect the same military tactics or even the same cultural traditions. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that, at Maiden Castle, the addition of the outer lines of defence (save for the early barbicans at the entrances) coincided with the arrival of a new cultural element and the development of a specific type of weapon. These innovations will be discussed in due course. For the moment it will suffice to observe in advance that the new culture was the 'Hill-fort B' of the Iron Age classification elaborated in this Report, and that the perfected weapon associated with that culture was the sling. The range of the latter was the factor which determined the 'spread' of the defensive system and led to the structural additions of our phase III (see below, p. 48).

The arrival of Iron Age B found immediate expression structurally in the double work of repairing the old defences and the adding of new ones. First, the main rampart, now in a decrepit condition, was rebuilt on twice its original scale and was elaborately reinforced at the back both by internal walls of chalk and limestone and by an exposed limestone revetment along the inner side of the summit (pl. ix). The bulk of the material required for this enlargement was obtained from a great quarry-ditch, 70 ft. wide and 8-9 ft. deep, cut along its inner margin. Some material was doubtless added from the proportionate enlargement of the main defensive ditch, though the greater part of the chalk thus obtained was distributed as a counterscarp bank.¹ At one point on the western side of the camp (site E), where the reconstruction may well have begun, the exposed summit-revetment was at first built wholly or mainly of chalk, a fact which (since chalk disintegrates readily on exposure) suggests the work of new-comers unacquainted with the nature of the material with which they were dealing. At any rate the dissolving chalk wall was quickly replaced with one of limestone which, to judge from the shape and size of the slabs used, was probably reused material from the Iron Age A barbican of the adjacent western entrance. As the work proceeded eastwards, the use of limestone, quarried over 2 miles away in the neighbourhood of Upwey, became more liberal. Thus on site H, at the junction of the two Maiden Castles, almost the whole of the 'skeleton' of the new rampart was of limestone (not chalk), and the blocks of stone had already assumed the large, sometimes huge, dimensions characteristic of Iron Age B (see below, p. 45).

The new quarry-ditch formed a welcome shelter on this stormy site and began to fill rapidly with hearths and hut-floors. Archaeologically, the primary value of these is that they enable us to ascribe the reconstruction of the rampart to its proper cultural phase; for, whilst all the sherds contained by the actual structure are of Iron Age A—i.e. they represent the débris lying in the vicinity at the time—the floors and other deposits in the

¹ The rough appearance of this and the other outer ramparts has sometimes been regarded as evidence for incompleteness. These ramparts are frankly (save at the entrances) no more than aligned chalk-dumps, nor was there any need for them to be other than this. There is in fact no point at which it can be shown that the construction of Maiden Castle is unfinished,

save doubtfully in the centre of the southern side, where there is a suspicion of faint-heartedness. The present irregularity of the main rampart (which must originally have had a carefully prepared rampart-walk) is due to the ravages of stone-robbers, who found the summit-revetment a useful quarry in and doubtless before the nineteenth century.

quarry begin at once to contain an admixture of Iron Age B. The refortification occurred therefore at the junction of the two cultures; and its revolutionary character, combined with the manifest inexperience of local material observed above, proves its association with the intruders. It may be added that the evidence on site E was confirmed on site D, although here the abortive chalk revetment was absent.

Before the consideration of other structural and cultural problems of this phase, a further word may be said on the subject of the curiously complex construction of this new main rampart. On site E (see p. 100) it is preserved nearly in its original form, and is seen to be an enlarged version of the 'glacis' type already recognized in the first extension-rampart. The unrevetted outer face is designed to form a prolongation of the steep inner slope of the ditch, and with it constitutes a slippery ramp upwards of 80 ft. in length set at an angle of not less than 40 degrees. In wet weather, such a slope is almost unclimbable unless the hands are free, and even in dry weather an armed man, after scaling the successive outworks, of which more will be said below, would arrive on the ultimate crest in no condition to render account of himself. As a means of breaking up the rush-tactics which were a Celtic tradition of attack, the berm-less inhospitable slope of the new rampart must have been as effective a device as could be produced from the material.

On the summit, no parapet protected the defender. Attention has indeed been drawn above to the facing of the inner side of the crest with a wall from 4 to 6 ft. in height; but there was no real fighting-platform behind this revetment and, even if there had been, the height of the wall and the width of the crest of the rampart would have combined to screen the attack completely from the defence. It would be misleading therefore to describe the revetted crest as a 'parapet' at all in the military sense of the term. The function of the revetment must have been of another kind, and may have been threefold. First, it enabled the builders to raise the rampart to its maximum height and so to prolong its forward slope without any addition to its spread. Secondly, it provided a platform from which defending slingers could manipulate long slings (see below, p. 50); and thirdly, the facing of the crest would add incidentally to the effectiveness of the rampart as a means for keeping small children and animals from straying out of bounds. Somewhat similarly, the inner side of the rampart of the Abyssinian town of Wal-Wal is faced vertically by a palisade (pl. LXXXIV).

At present, only one close analogy for the use of 'hidden' stone revetments in a substantially earthen rampart is available from Britain; the main rampart of Sudbrook camp, on the coast of Monmouthshire, where, at the same moment as our Maiden Castle rampart was being explored, Mr. V. E. Nash-Williams was revealing a rampart with two internal stone revetments.¹ The Sudbrook rampart, like that of Maiden Castle, is of Iron Age B, but is probably of somewhat later date.

On the continent no exact analogy to our Maiden Castle-Sudbrook type appears to be forthcoming. On the other hand, the use of 'hidden' revetments is widespread in time and place. The main rampart of one of the largest Iron Age camps in Germany, the Steinsburg near Römhild in Saxony, has five revetments all of which are thought to have

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, xciv (1939), p. 47.

been concealed from the outset in the structure of the rampart.¹ Here the contour of the rampart is believed to have been always of the rounded form which it now displays; but elsewhere vertical stone ramparts, like that of Worlebury in Somerset, included a similar 'skeleton' of hidden revetments which parcelled out and disciplined the structure. More than one writer has suggested that these multiple walls represent the *duplex altissimus murus* which Caesar (*B.G.*, ii. 29) mentions in connexion with a fortification of the Atautuci of Belgium, and many examples of similarly reinforced walls are cited from camps in the Midi.² On the other hand, in north-western France, where closer parallels to our own examples would be expected, little exploration has been carried out and comparative material is absent. All that can at present be postulated is that the Hallstatt-La Tène tradition of internally reinforced stone-walling devolved in north-western Europe along lines parallel to the devolution of the berm-and-wall construction already discussed (above, p. 37), and that one of its provincial variants was introduced into south-western Britain by the Iron Age B invaders under conditions which will be considered later (pp. 56 and 385).

As has already been hinted, the innovation of Iron Age B did not cease with the remodelling of the main line of defence. At the eastern entrance, and subsequently elsewhere, traces were found of additional lines—two on the southern and one on the (naturally stronger) northern side of the camp—which were laid down at the same time. Their relationship with the pre-existing structure can best be understood by reference to the plan, fig. 8. On the southern side of the entrance it will be seen that the enlargement of the main ditch was not carried right up to the southern causeway; instead, its end was bent outwards just sufficiently to strengthen the end of the existing hornwork, the evident desire being to spread the defences at this point, where the natural slope of the ground outside them is unusually slight. Having reached this point the enlargement, for the time being, ceased. But, accompanying the building of the counterscarp bank which, as already mentioned, the enlargement had involved, a new ditch (B on plan), some 20 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep, had been cut along its outer margin, the derived material being added to its mass; and from the point where the work of enlargement had ceased (W on the plan) this new ditch, with a smaller marginal rampart derived solely from itself, had been continued northwards until it reached the flank of the approach to the southern portal. This ditch, revealed by excavation, is no longer visible on the surface, but a detached fragment of its bank (bank B on fig. 8), entirely meaningless in the present plan, has survived the drastic alterations of the next phase.

The contemporaneity of this new ditch with the enlargement of the main line is proved by the section at Z1 on plan (see also pl. XIII). Here the great bank, 13 ft. high, on its western margin is of one structural period only; it contains far more material than the

¹ A. Götze in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1900), p. 416.

² J. de Saint-Venant, 'Antiques enceintes fortifiées du midi de la France', in *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique* (Paris, 1900), pp. 428 ff.; and A. Guebbard, 'Sur le *murum duplex* des Gaulois, d'après

Jules César', in *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique de France*, iii (1906), 146. See also J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, ii, pt. 1, p. 125, and pt. 2, p. 703; and G. Bersu in *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, Neue Folge, i (1922), 46.

new ditch B could alone provide; it consists therefore of material derived at the same moment partly from the cutting of ditch B and partly from the enlargement of the main ditch. Consistently, another cutting, at Z2 on plan, at a point where it is evident (see

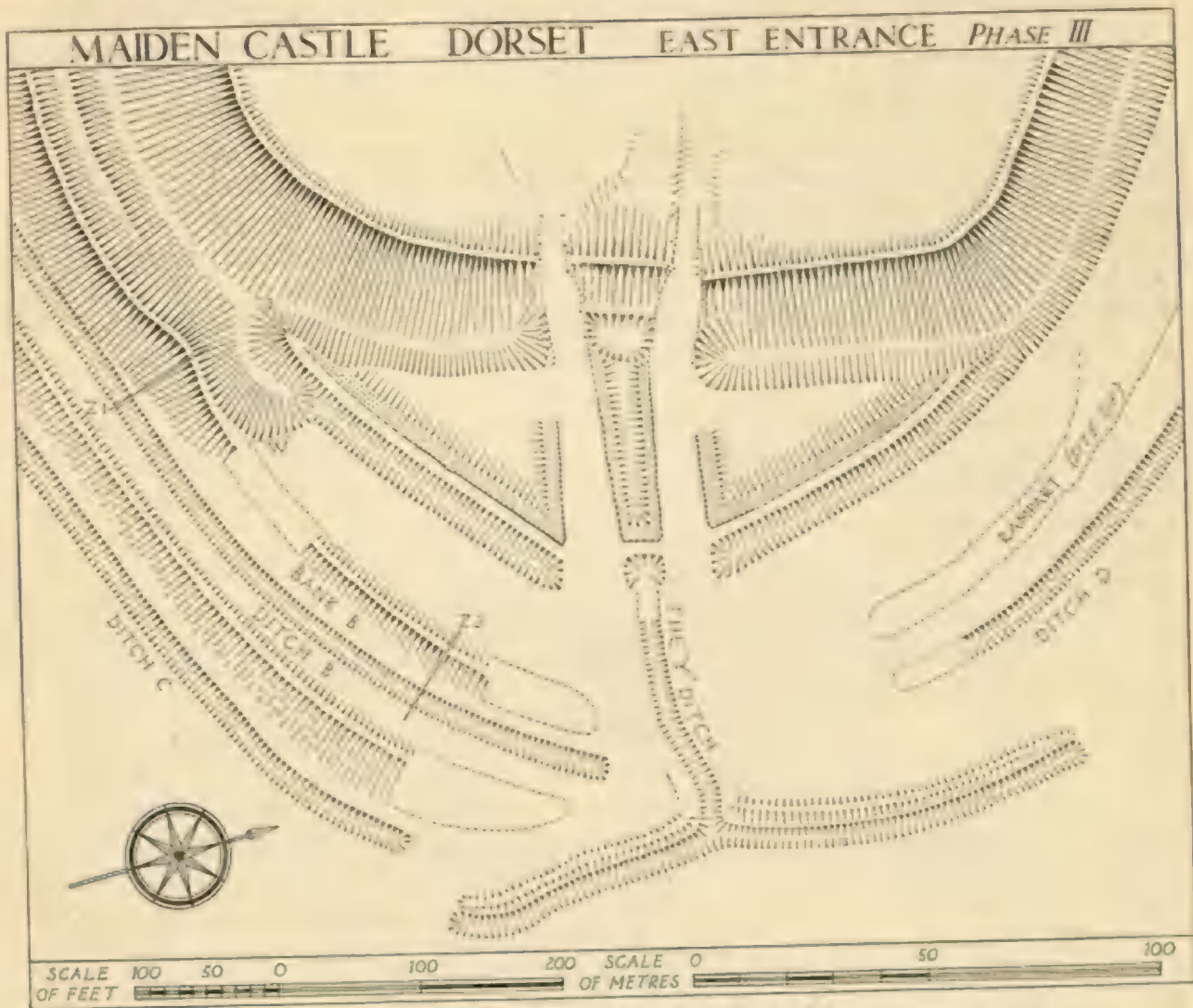


FIG. 8. Phase III, Iron Age B (early)

below, p. 113) that the Iron Age A ditch of the hornwork was not enlarged at this period, shows that the marginal mound of ditch B is of smaller size and was derived solely from the excavation of this new ditch.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that deep in the bank in the section Z1 was found the skeleton of a woman whose body had been inserted, without grave-goods, during the actual process of construction—the summary burial, possibly, of one of the *corvée* who had died there during the work (pl. XLVI).

Still on the southern side of the entrance, a second new ditch (C on plan) was added at this time. It was enlarged beyond recognition in the following phase, but its original marginal mound partly survives beneath later accumulations and, in several trial-cuttings, was found to equate stratigraphically with ditch B, from which it was separated by some 25 ft. On the northern side of the entrance, as already remarked, the natural steepness of the slope enabled the builders to dispense with this third line.

Opposite the great double entrance itself, these asymmetrical additions presented the new engineers with a considerable problem. Their solution of the difficulty produced a plan which was ingenious rather than impressive. The straight run-out of the pre-existing entrance was retained; the hollow which divided the double rampart forming the 'spine' within the Iron Age A hornwork was continued, outside it, by an actual median ditch (the 'Y' ditch on plan), from which the material was probably piled on both sides; and this ditch, with continuing marginal banks, ultimately forked, like a reversed Y, to screen the two approaches. Again the reader is referred to the plan, fig. 8. In the next phase the 'stem' of the Y was completely buried and the arms were enlarged; but a part of the original marginal bank of these arms has survived to represent them.

On the northern side of the entrance the recovery of the original details of this phase was less easy. A great hollow, due partly to wear and largely to deliberate cutting in phase IV, has here removed the end of any corresponding outer ditch of the present phase, but the former presence of such a ditch (D on plan) is nevertheless safely inferred in a roundabout fashion. The new inner ditch (ditch B) on the southern side, though invisible at and near the entrance, comes to the surface towards the western end of the camp (plan, pl. 1 and fig. 24); and, following the general line of this ditch across the western entrance, it appeared to correspond with the present western end of the outer ditch on the northern side. That outer ditch is now interrupted by the curvilinear approach which forms an essential part of phase IV: therefore, if this interruption were found to be a secondary filling across a formerly continuous ditch, that ditch must then have dated from the preceding phase. A trial-trench through the causeway proved this to be the case (pl. xx1), and showed that the northern ditch of phase III is represented by the enlarged outer ditch of phase IV. The reconstruction of the eastern entrance of phase III (fig. 8) is thus now complete and accurate with a few feet only of potential error.

On the hints thus obtained, it is possible to reconstruct also the approximate plan of the western entrance in phase III (fig. 24).

The cultural setting of the works of phase III has already been indicated by the structural association of the new outer lines with the remodelling of the well-dated main system (above, p. 40). For completeness, two or three confirmatory factors may be added. First, on plan the outer ditches hang loosely round the main work and make no systematic attempt, for example, to 'bond in' with the design of the Iron Age A barbicans (figs. 8 and 24).

Secondly, it will be seen below that the masonry of the developed Iron Age B phase differs markedly from that of Iron Age A. The latter, as we have seen, consists of thin

stones (average thickness 2 in.), put together with the care of a well-built Cotswold field-wall; the former, illustrated by many examples noted below, consists normally of large unwieldy stones (average thickness 5 in., but often thicker) somewhat roughly piled together. Now in the southern passage-way through the barbican of the eastern entrance the masonry of one of the flanking walls had been twice repaired after the decay of the original posts. The earlier repair was carried out neatly with the original thin slabs. The later repair, overlying a subsequent slip, was carried out with mixed, clumsy masonry, including large blocks of chalk on the typical Iron Age B scale (pl. xcii). This represents the final repair of the wall and shows it as it stood during our phase III, i.e. with the added outworks at the beginning of Iron Age B.

Thirdly, the main filling of the spinal 'Y' ditch contained a handful of sherds, including two rudimentary bead-rims of Iron Age B, whilst a developed bead-rim and a counter-sunk handle occurred in the upper filling. The rudimentary bead-rims lay in material which was almost certainly replaced rampart and date therefore from its use if not from its actual construction.

On all these various grounds, it is evident that phase III represents the adaptation of phase II on the first arrival of the Iron Age B culture. Before discussing the origin and character of that culture, it will be convenient to consider its more developed and more enduring manifestation at Maiden Castle, in phase IV.

II. THE DEVELOPED IRON AGE B PHASE

(Fig. 3, Iron Age phase IV, beginning of the first century A.D.)

This phase represents the work of a master-mind, wielding unquestioned authority and controlling vast resources of labour. The whole plan is now knit together into a single unit, with a single personality. The ditches and ramparts added during phase III are remodelled on the same prodigious scale as the main line of defence; the awkward and hesitant adaptations of the entrances are boldly swept aside, and original and coherent plans are brought into being. The double gateways and barbicans of Iron Age A, the multiple outworks of early B are all incorporated in the new work but are transmuted in the process. The old lines show through the new only as Holinshed shows through Shakespeare.

Of the general design the plans (pl. cxix and fig. 9) may be left to speak. Interest centres on the recasting of the entrances. Apart from the enlargement of the individual units, the chief element of the new layout is the provision of circuitous approaches, winding through the interlocking outworks and commanded by them. Of the western entrance, Thomas Hardy wrote: 'There, where all passage has seemed to be inviolably barred by an almost vertical façade, the ramparts are found to overlap each other like loosely clasped fingers, between which a zigzag path may be followed—a cunning construction that puzzles the uninformed eye' (pls. lxviii, lxix). The more symmetrical but scarcely less involved eastern entrance was unravelled by complete excavation in

1935-7. Its outermost barrier is now seen to retain, in its broken-backed outline, a reminiscence of the Y terminals of phase III. The middle barrier, overlying the barbican of phase II and blocking its central exits, is a large rampart of 'glacis' type (p. 37),

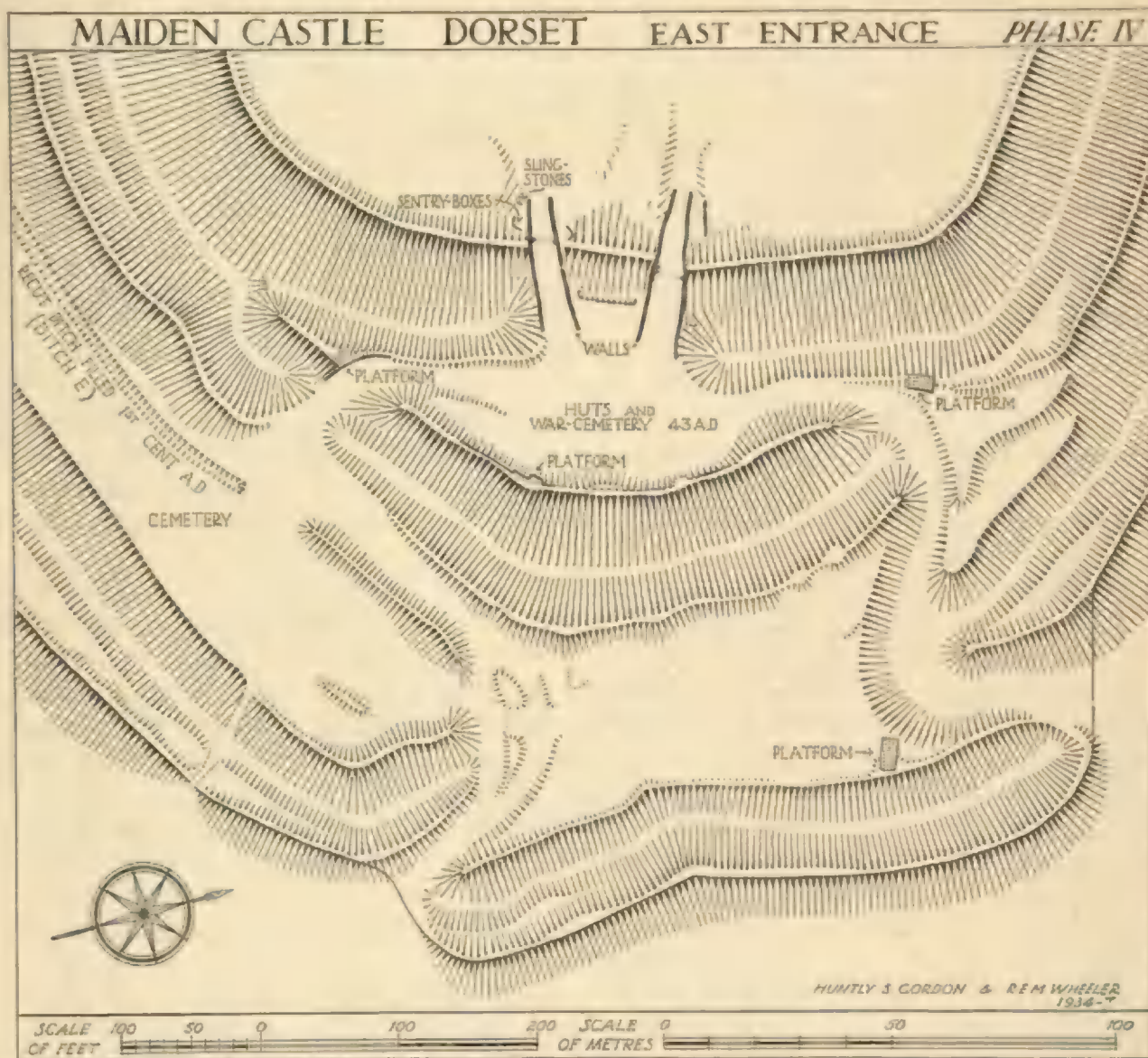


FIG. 9. Phase IV, Iron Age B (late)

stiffened, as its size demanded, on its inner or western side by two internal walls of chalk or limestone (pl. c, A); and its summit was revetted, also on the western side, by an exposed limestone wall still upwards of 2 ft. high and formerly higher. Opposite the southern portal this revetment broke forward towards the west to form an oblong rubble-filled expansion, a platform or low tower, approached apparently from the south by a

ramp or flight of steps (pls. xviii and xcix). The general symmetry of the plan suggests that a similar platform existed opposite the northern portal, at a point where excavation was not possible. In other words, the summit of this outwork was a continuous fighting platform reinforced by raised platforms giving enhanced command over the lines of approach. Nor was this all: the northern and southern extremities of the outwork, now detached by the cutting of the new flanking entrances¹ in replacement of the blocked central ones, were converted into towers by masonry revetment which still, in the case of the northern tower, stands to a height of six courses. Lastly, at the outermost bend of the northern approach were fragmentary remains of yet another platform, commanding the first 'reach' of the entrance-complex on that side.

To these platforms, and to the military problems presented by the whole system of outer lines whereof they are a feature, we shall return (p. 48). Meanwhile, reference must be made to other features of the eastern entrance which probably date wholly or partly from phase III but were certainly in existence in the present phase. It has already been remarked that the Iron Age B folk brought with them the habit of stone-building from a country where stone was abundantly available. Nowhere is this fact better shown than at the entrances. Long ago, stone walls are recorded to have been found and destroyed in the western entrance (above, p. 7), and the significance of these vague discoveries is made clear by the recent excavation of the eastern entrance. Here, at some time after the arrival of Iron Age B, the old timber revetment of the sides of the two main portals was replaced by massive dry-built limestone walls, with provision for timber gates as in the previous structure, and similarly without fixed central stop. If the road was remetalled at this time, the metalling was subsequently demolished almost completely by wear and tear, and well-marked wheel-tracks were worn into the pounded surface of the natural chalk down the centre of the gate-passage. The wheel-gauge thus indicated was from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 ft., which is comparable with the $4\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. gauge of the Marnian chariots and, indeed, with the present standard gauge of 4 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The new walls differed characteristically from the old Iron Age A walling of the barbican (above, p. 45) in the massiveness of their component stones. Whereas the average thickness of the Iron Age A wall-stones had been only 2 in., that of the Iron Age B wall-stones was 5 in., at any rate for the lowest five courses which alone have partially survived. Above these lowest courses, the flanking walls were presumably carried up in a roughly triangular elevation, conforming with the rampart-ends which they revetted. No guard-rooms of any architectural pretension were included in the design, but on the inner flanks of the southern portal—the better preserved of the two—were the bases of two stone-built sentry-boxes, crescentic in plan and little larger than an ordinary night-watchman's hutch. On the southern side of the same portal, adjoining the sentry-box, a shallow pit immediately fringing the road contained a hoard of 22,260

¹ Incidentally, the building of causeways across the earlier barbican ditch at these two points preserved beneath them short stretches of that ditch in its original unenlarged form. Like the older central portals in the barbican, the new

lateral portals were gateless. The position of the southern (and, by symmetry, of the northern) was doubtless suggested by the fact that the enlargement of the main ditch in phase III had been carried out to this point (above, p. 42).

slingstones, obviously placed there for the defence of the gate (pl. civ). The armoury had not been drawn upon, or had at least been maintained up to establishment, for the pit was full to capacity.

One minor detail may be added in regard to the plan of the eastern entrance in this phase. On the southern side the end of the outer ditch B added in phase III (plan; fig. 8) was now filled up and stretches of its rampart levelled, leaving the isolated and meaningless mound already referred to. Farther to the south-west, however, the old ditch was actually recut at the beginning of phase IV and was supplied with an abbreviated end, turning in towards the new southern causeway (see plan, fig. 9, and section, pl. xiii). The recut ditch (E on plan) was itself filled up before the middle of the first century A.D., for a cemetery of that date extended across the top of it (below, p. 343).

The western entrance has been only slightly explored, but there too it has been shown that the curvilinear approaches, though less symmetrical than those of the eastern entrance, represent a precisely similar process of evolution (see sketch-plans, fig. 24).

The date of this phase is appreciably later than that of phase III. Within the new rampart which envelopes the old hornwork of the eastern entrance, and in the first occupation-layer on the back of it, the latest sherds are bead-rims of the beginning of our type Biii, or the transition Bii-iii (for these categories, see below, p. 207). Similar bead-rims were found in the layer of material on which the stone platform was built on the margin of the main ditch at the northern end of the gateway-plan. At the southern end of the plan, a bead-rim pot of Biii type was found on the natural chalk, under a considerable mass of silt, at the bottom of the recurved end of the outermost ditch, and this recurved end belongs to the remodelling of phase IV. Two fragments of Roman amphorae, which are not likely here to antedate the first century A.D., were incorporated in work of this phase: one deep in the counterscarp bank of the remodelled hornwork, the other deep in the filling over the old roadways at the back of it. On the other hand, there was a clear interval between the reconstruction and the overlying Belgic stratum, to which a date within the last quarter-century before the Roman Conquest must be ascribed (below, pp. 57 and 209). The evidence converges upon the turn of the first centuries B.C.—A.D.—perhaps the opening years of the first century A.D.—for phase IV.

12. 'WESSEX HILL-FORT B' AS A 'SLINGSTONE-CULTURE'

Before leaving the defences of Maiden Castle as refashioned in the successive phases of Iron Age B, it is desirable to explore their distinctive features in more detail from the standpoint of function. What was the purpose of the carefully built rampart-walk, and of the masonry towers or platforms which form a remarkable feature of the eastern entrance (p. 46)? The path along which the answer should be sought is easy to see. It is an axiom that defence is conditioned by attack; and it is safe to infer that the lavish extension of the defensive system of Maiden Castle by the new Iron Age B dynasty implies either that the new-comers brought with them entirely foreign tactical methods

or that they were equipped with a more efficacious weapon than the native Iron Age A population possessed. It seems certain that the latter was the case, and that the weapon can be identified. It was clearly *not* the bow: scarcely a single Iron Age arrow-head was found in the four years' work. It was the sling, or rather the developed use of the sling—possibly of an improved variety. The evidence is as follows.

Countless slingstones were found on every site during the work of excavation, and, to fortify general observation as to their cultural distribution, an actuarial analysis was made of certain areas. The range of variation is well represented by two of them: in one, no slingstones were found in association with the A culture, as against 150 slingstones with the B culture; in another, 7 slingstones occurred with A, and 150 with B. Hoards apart, the proportion of scattered slingstones as between the two cultures is approximately 1 of A to 30 or 40 of B. But *all* the numerous hoards of slingstones are subsequent to the arrival of the B culture: thus, two hoards (one of more than 4,000 stones) occurred in Iron Age B pits on site B, a hoard of 200 or more stones lay on the floor of a B hut (DB2) on site D, a colossal hoard of 22,260 stones was assembled in readiness beside the eastern gateway in its Iron Age B phase, and three hoards (one of over 16,000 stones) lay on the inner slope of the middle outwork of the eastern entrance in this phase—near the fighting-platforms already described. On the aggregate, the proportion of slingstones in the A period shrinks into insignificance. Some type of sling was indeed known to the A folk; but to the B folk the use of the sling was a matter of routine, and, from the universal distribution of the stones, one might almost infer a population of Benjamites of whom 'every one could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss' (Judges xx. 16).

The actual slingstones were rarely of clay (pl. xxxii, B); normally they were selected beach-pebbles, their weights ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. to 2 oz., a majority approaching the higher figure. The precise nature of the slings used at Maiden Castle cannot of course be known, but it is probable that a variety of the ribbon-sling—the commonest type—was employed. The more powerful *fustibulus* or staff-sling was indeed known to Vegetius in the fourth century A.D.¹ and may have been in use at a considerably earlier date, but is unlikely to have reached Dorset by the first century B.C. The simpler ribbon-sling appears to have been capable of considerable accuracy and to have outranged the bow.² The effective range of the ribbon-sling is difficult to ascertain; something over 100 yards would appear to be a fair average. Modern slingers of Fiji or Hawaii are said to have been able to hit a stick at 50 paces with smooth pebbles the size of hens' eggs, and this gives a considerably greater range for less accurate fire. In New Guinea, where the light throwing-spears have a range of 'some thirty yards', the slings throwing a pebble 'about the size of a billiard ball' (i.e. similar to the Maiden Castle stones) are said to have an 'effective range . . . up to 200 yds. on the level'.³ This extreme range would of course be reduced slightly uphill and increased slightly downhill. Accordingly, in the hill-villages of New Guinea stone towers are built to give the slingers additional

¹ *Epitoma rei militaris*, iii, 14.

² Examples cited in *Archæologia*, xxxii (1847), 99, 102.

³ C. A. W. Monckton, *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* (1921), p. 38.

command and to enable them, incidentally, to swing a longer sling. They are thereby able to outrange the attackers.¹

Now let us return to Maiden Castle. On the northern side, where the natural slope is about 14 degrees, the over-all distance from the foot of the outermost rampart to the inner margin of the main rampart is 100 yds. On the southern side, where the average natural slope is only 9 degrees, the equivalent measurement is 140 yds. To these distances and angles must be added the considerable factor of the height of the main rampart; and, when all is done, it will be seen that very little is left of the maximum 200-yd. range of New Guinea. In other words, the lines of defence are spread sufficiently to render the interior of the town immune from sling-fire from beyond them, save for an occasional 'over'. On the other hand, the flat-topped main rampart and the similarly equipped middle outwork at the eastern entrance, raised in each case to a maximum height by the revetment already described, would provide a commanding platform for the defending slingers who, throwing downhill, would be able slightly to outrange the attackers; and the towers or platforms at the eastern entrance, so arranged as to cover successive stretches of the approach, add a further touch of actuality, recalling as they do the slingers' towers of New Guinea. It may be that the towers of Maiden Castle were likewise designed to give clearance to a longer and more powerful sling.²

The anxiety of the designers of the new Maiden Castle to maintain a rough ratio between the slope of the ground and the spread of the defences is also particularly well illustrated at the eastern gateway. Immediately to the south and south-east of this gateway the ground is more nearly flat than anywhere else in the close vicinity of the main defences. Accordingly, the outermost line of the Iron Age B additions is spread to a distance of over 150 yds. from the inner margin of the main rampart, and, to fill some part of the proportionately large intervening space, the recut main ditch, instead of being carried round to the gateway, is continued outwards along the line of the Iron Age A barbican-ditch (figs. 8, 9). On the northern side of the gateway, where the natural slope is steeper and the extreme spread therefore unnecessary, the main ditch is deepened continuously to the gateway.

In these variations, the conditioning factor can only have been *range*. Visibility mattered scarcely at all. If the enemy was invisible, he was for the moment himself unseeing and harmless; the deeper he descended into the depths of the ditch-system, the higher he had to mount before reaching his objective and the more blown and helpless was he when he got there. And that the distancing bore relation to a weapon with an effective range of something more than 100 yds. on the level is borne out by the dimensions of other defences in our Wessex area. At Badbury Rings in Dorset the average over-all range is 100 yds., extended at the entrance. At Pilsdon Pen in the same county, where the greater part of the defences is on a very steep slope, the over-all measurement is 70 yds., equiva-

¹ Ibid. For the sling generally, see W. Hawkins, *Archæologia*, xxxii (1847), 96 ff., and Demmin, *Arms and Armour* (trans. 1877), 466. I gladly acknowledge help also from Dr. H. S. Harrison.

² A number of other Iron Age earthworks have been thought to include special vantage-points in the design of their entrances. See A. Hadrian Allcroft, *Earthwork of England* (1908), pp. 190-6.

lent probably to not less than 100 yds. on the level; and at the main entrance, where the ground is nearly level, the over-all is in fact upwards of 100 yds. At Eggardon, also in Dorset, the over-all is 80-90 yds. on a considerable slope. At South Cadbury in Somerset, it is upwards of 100 yds. At Hembury Fort, Devon, it is 60-80 yds., again on a notably steep hill-side; and at Hod Hill, Dorset, it is about the same. At the Bredon Hill camp, Gloucestershire, on a level site, the over-all varies from 100 to 150 yds.¹ These instances will suffice. They show that, with due relation to the angle of the hill-side on which the defences in any given example are placed, the lines are constantly so extended as to keep the attacker at the approximate equivalent of a level 100 yds., i.e. at the approximate effective average of a ribbon-sling.

When the time comes to consider the origin of the bringers of 'Wessex hill-fort B', it will be abundantly clear that the use of the sling and the consequent use of multiple lines of defence are evidential factors of primary importance.²

13. THE PITS, HUTS, AND TOWN-PLAN

From the defences we turn to the interior of the town. Here, to the excavator, the most striking structural relics are the barrel-shaped or bee-hive pits with which almost the whole site is honeycombed. These pits were no innovation of Iron Age B; the B pits were in fact identical with predecessors of Iron Age A (above, p. 36). But on most sites the pits of Iron Age B outnumbered those of Iron Age A, and it is convenient therefore to treat of the whole series here.

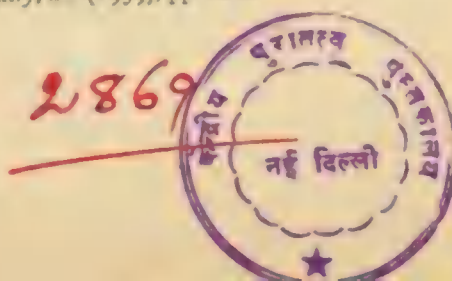
Typical pits are illustrated in figs. 10-12 A. They vary in depth and diameter, the deepest being about 11 ft. deep and the shallowest 2 ft. deep or less. Where, as is normally the case, they are cut into the natural chalk, they are not reinforced; but where they are cut through loose material they are sometimes (not always) revetted with dry-built limestone walling. A very few are cylindrical, but the great majority narrow markedly towards the top, and, in nearly every case, the opening must originally have been narrower than it is to-day. So crowded are the pits in many areas that they are sometimes cut very insecurely in the pockets of clay which occur here and there over the site, or into the loose filling of earlier pits. Even those cut wholly into the natural chalk begin to deteriorate rapidly on exposure to the weather; in particular, the overhanging upper part quickly collapses, especially after rain. It is evident that from the outset these pits were covered, and that their margins were not designed to bear regular traffic. In some cases (e.g. in hut DB2 on site D, fig. 18) they were included within the compass of a hut; but, since the town was intensely occupied for nearly half a century after the last of the pits was disused (see below, p. 58) and shallow post-holes are quickly obliterated in the friable surface of the chalk, it is rarely possible now to reconstruct hut-plans in relation to the pits. Odd post-holes and peg-holes can in fact be identified at or near the margins of many of the pits and must in many cases have carried superstructures over them, but no

¹ Incidentally, slingstones have been found here. See *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1938), 34.

² See below, p. 56, and *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), pp. 62 ff.

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constant pattern has emerged from a careful study of these vestiges and the precise nature of the superstructures remains uncertain. In some cases, however (as in some of the pits closely adjoining the eastern entrance), it is clear that the pits were separately roofed and were not comprised within a hut. An instructive series of modern storage-pits from

peasant-settlements in south-eastern Europe shows how this surface-roofing may have been constructed, and illustrates incidentally how little help is to be derived by the archaeologist from the few durable elements in the structure.¹ These modern pits, like those of Maiden Castle, sometimes occur as cellars within the cottages, and sometimes as separate units outside them. Some of them show side-openings identical in size and shape with the scoops which occur on the margins of some of the Maiden Castle pits (e.g. on site B, pits B6, B9, B14, all on pl. vii). The Maiden Castle scoops may have been caused by the constant wear of a ladder at one point on the brittle chalk, but may equally well have been designed to admit of access through a side-door in a more or less fixed roof, as in Rumanian potato-storage pits.²

The uses to which these pits were put were various. A few, notably the shallower ones, were used for cooking, and the heaped wood-ash from fires, sometimes interlarded with patches of clay or stones as hearths,³ is found thickly within them. A few, again, were to some extent used as living-quarters, or at least as dining-rooms; thus the large pit, B1 on site B, had as its original floor a level spread of earth and ash, round the fringe of which,

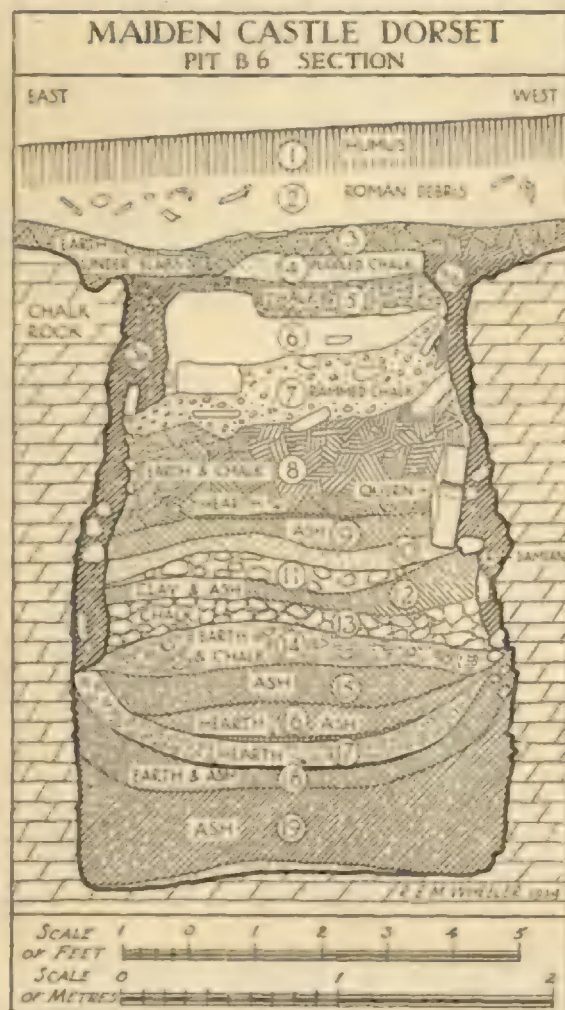


FIG. 10. Pit of Iron Age B ii-iii

at the base of the sides, was a continuous ring of mutton bones, showing how the eaters had squatted in the centre round the fire and had thrown the gnawn bones over their shoulders (pl. cviii). As the floors in these pits became unbearably foul, they were covered with layers of earth and chalk-rubble, upon which new floors were laid, until the process of renewal at last brought the flooring too near to the surface; whereupon the remainder

¹ W. Buttler, 'Pits and Pit-dwellings in Southeast Europe', in *Antiquity*, x (1936), 25 ff.

² Buttler, as cited.

³ These hearths *in situ* are to be distinguished from innumerable cases where disused hearth-material or remains of ovens have merely been shovelled into the filling of a pit.

of the pit was roughly filled and the pit abandoned. But the great majority of the pits were doubtless designed for storage-purposes—for corn and other fruits of the earth—all trace of which has now vanished, save in rare instances where the material has been carbonized (pp. 36, 375). As the pits became unduly dirty or 'sour', they were filled up, and the

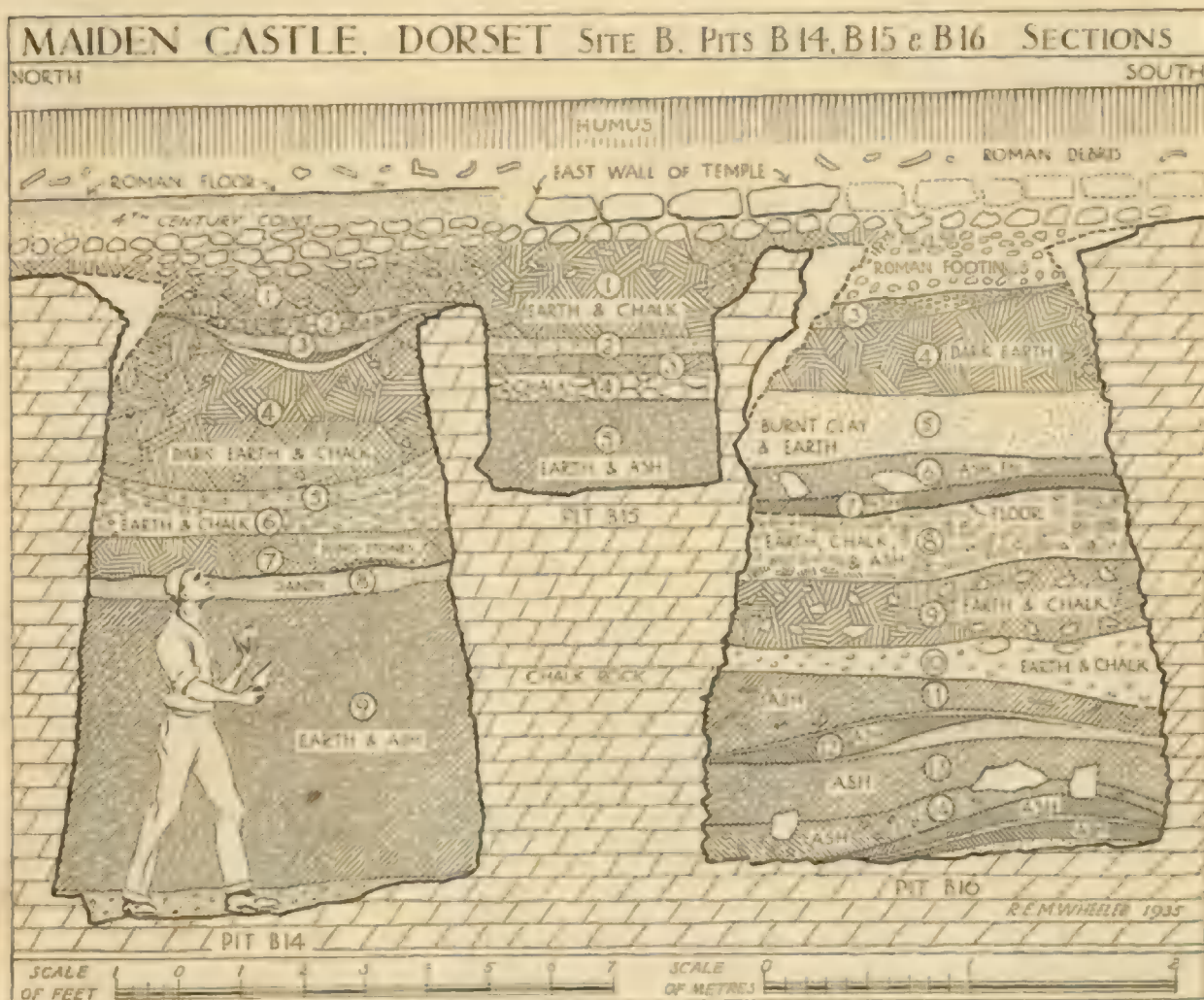


FIG. 11. Pits of Iron Age Bii

filling contained all manner of debris. Thus in many pits joints of meat, which had presumably gone bad, or other animal-remains were found. One pit contained part of a pig, another a large part of an ox, others sheep, or a horse's skull, or a dog. Fragments of human skull in one or two of the pits were included accidentally in the filling; but one pit, on site Q, contained the skeleton of a girl of about 19, placed carefully on the original floor and then covered to the ground-level with derived material—the only discovered

instance of an adult burial within the circuit of the defences. All these various skeletal remains will be dealt with in their place (pp. 337 ff., 367 ff.).

Four pits (B7, B10, and on pl. xvi) served as armouries for large dumps of slingstones, whilst another contained, amongst other things, a dozen loom-weights. But perhaps the

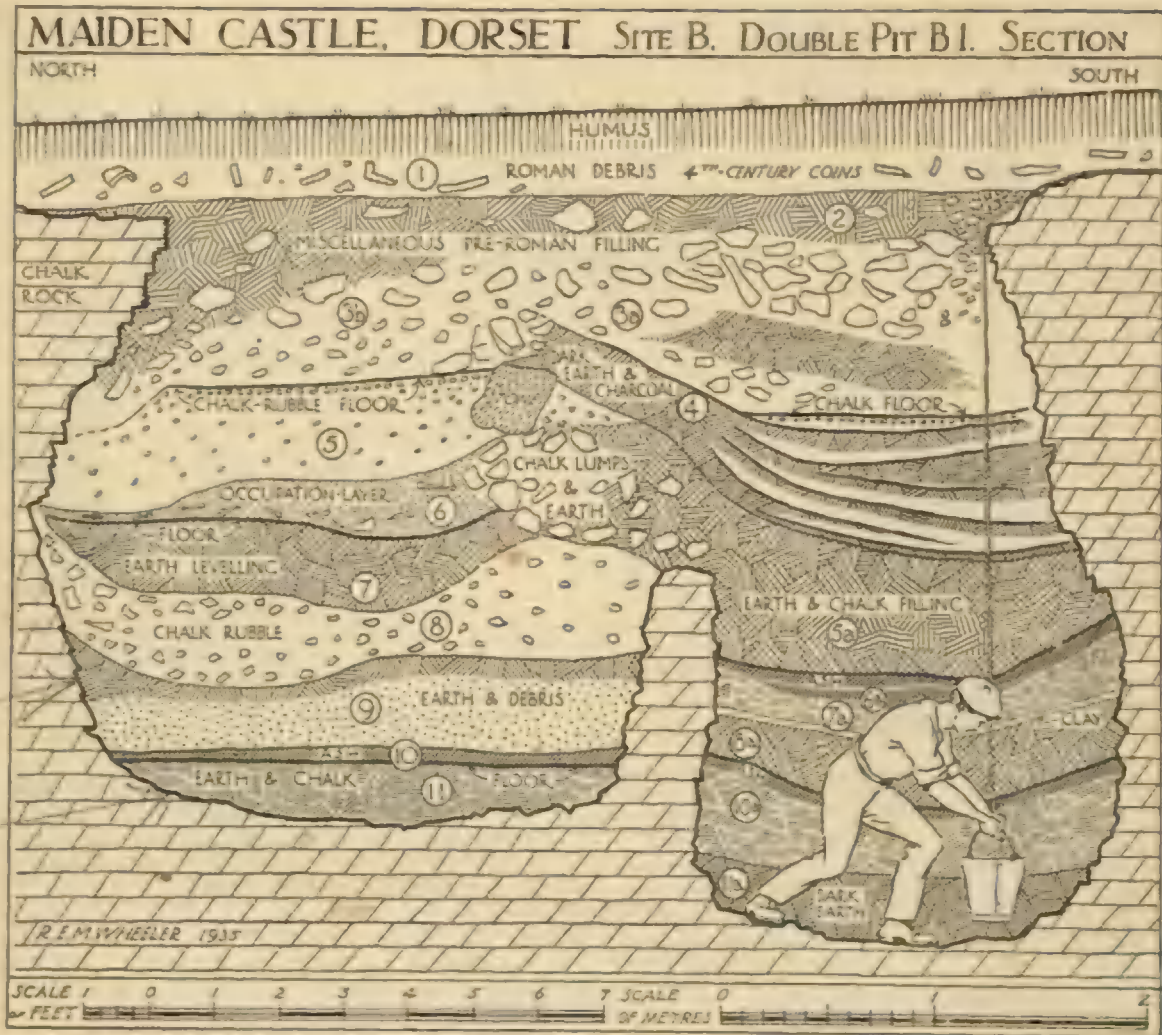


FIG. 12 A. Double pit of Iron Age B iii

most interesting use to which pits were occasionally put was that of water-storage. All sites, and notably site B, had a greater or less number of channels cut into the chalk, and these channels were, at least in some instances, designed not merely for drainage but also as a sort of catchment-system whereby rain-water was concentrated and carried into pits. The clearest surviving instance of this was on site B, where a Y-shaped channel (later cut by pit B16) originally carried surface-water into pit B9 (pl. cix). The pit was presumably lined at one time with timber or skins to contain the water, but was subsequently

used as a rubbish-dump. A glance at the general plan of site B (pl. vii) will illustrate the extent of the channel-system and will suggest how, in a climate more humid than that of the present day, a water-supply sufficient for cooking-purposes may normally have been available in the immediate vicinity of the huts of Maiden Castle.

The huts of Iron Age A have been referred to above (p. 36). Those of Iron Age B which are still wholly or partially traceable—and the impossibility, in most cases, of recovering more than a portion of their outline in this heavily trodden and honeycombed site may again be emphasized—are invariably of circular or polygonal plan. The two best examples are huts DA and DB2 on site D. The former (fig. 17) shows a floor of chalk-rubble with a central post and a ring of wall-posts. The latter (fig. 18) has an outer wall of carefully built chalk lumps, and an inner ring of posts, with larger posts opposite the entrance;¹ at one side was a hoard of slingstones, in the centre a circular clay hearth and, near by, a series of circular or oval ovens. Better-preserved clay ovens of the same general type were found elsewhere on site D and on site E. One of them (oven 3, fig. 16) was domed and had a midway floor of limestone; the other, less complete, may have had no upper floor but had a basal floor also of limestone. These ovens were apparently used, with charcoal, for drying corn and for domestic cooking—at least there is no evidence that they were industrial. They are of the widespread type which occurs both on Early Iron Age and on Romano-British sites.²

Of the general layout of the town in the Iron Age B phase little can be said. A street from the northern portal of the eastern entrance to the summit of the eastern knoll has already been described, and surface-indications point to a similar street leading from the southern portal in the direction of the original western entrance. The dense crowding of the vestiges of huts, save where streets or the eastern part of the Long Mound interrupt them, has already been emphasized. But a word of warning must be added as to the significance of this crowding: the floors, post-holes, etc., represent the accumulated evidence of several centuries, and do not indicate fairly the conditions at any given moment. Attention has already been drawn (above, p. 4) to the impossibility of reproducing at Maiden Castle any considerable portion of a unitary town-plan.

14. THE IRON AGE B CULTURE OF MAIDEN CASTLE

Lastly, something must here be said of the culture which characterizes phase IV and its introductory phase III. When that culture is examined in relation to its most significant non-structural manifestation—its pottery—it will be classified as the 'Wessex hill-fort' variety of the British Iron Age B (below, p. 203). Its most characteristic ceramic types will be recognized in the hand-made bead-rim pots and pots with 'countersunk' handles which occur at Maiden Castle first in close association with the multiple or

¹ For a similar inner ring of posts in a hut also of Iron Age B, see C. A. R. Radford, *Castle Dore, 1st Interim Report* (1937), p. 4; and cf. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, in *Antiq. Journ.* xvi (1936), 301, fig. 1, house B.

² e.g. at Hengistbury Head (*Hengistbury Report*, p. 28), Verulamium (*Verulamium Report*, p. 44), and Tilbury (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Essex S.E.*, p. 39).

enlarged defences described in the preceding sections. Details of that association will be noted in the sections dealing with the individual sites, but one or two general points may here be stressed. First, the new types are at the outset in a minority in any given group of pottery and were even on occasion reproduced in the haematite technique distinctive of Iron Age A. In other words, the usurpers were not numerous or at least did not bring many of their potters—their womenfolk—with them. They came as a conquering minority which dominated but did not evict the native inhabitants of the town. Secondly, the diffusion of this invading culture, as thus defined, is strictly limited to Dorset and the adjacent parts of the counties of Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire west of the Avon. If domestic culture may be allotted a tribal connotation, then this was the culture of the *Durotriges par excellence*. Thirdly, its chronological context is that of La Tène III; there is no reason for supposing that it arrived before the beginning of the first century B.C., and its comparatively simple processes of typological evolution were complete at the time of the intrusion of Belgic influence shortly before the Roman Conquest (below, p. 57).

To these three factors a fourth, of no less significance, may be added. Whatever motive may have brought the new-comers to Wessex, that motive cannot be identified as trade. The economic isolation of Maiden Castle, and of the region to which it belongs, in Iron Age A will be demonstrated when the 'small finds' are considered at a later stage (below pp. 69, 186, 269, 381, etc.). That isolation continues to characterize the opening phase of Iron Age B and is indeed scarcely modified until the Belgic invasion of the first century A.D. The Iron Age B intruders came as settlers, not as prospectors.

The invaders, then, were a minority in their new home, they arrived in what may best be described as 'light marching order', and they came to the Dorset downs to settle, not to trade. The picture is amplified somewhat by other particles of evidence. The 'counter-sunk' or 'eyelet' handle which is a distinctive feature of their pottery is a Breton fashion¹ which does not seem to occur, during the Iron Age, anywhere else in Britain or northern France. The liberal use of the sling and the consequent habit of building multiple lines of defence is found overseas in southern Brittany but not consistently elsewhere in northern France. In southern Brittany dwelt the famous Veneti, who are recorded to have traded with Britain in pre-Caesarian days and were the spearpoint of Gaulish resistance to Rome in 56 B.C. It was the Veneti who were accordingly singled out by Caesar for exemplary punishment after his hard-won victory in that year.

Of the general locale of the pre-Caesarian Venetic trading-stations in Britain there can be no doubt. It was the tin-producing area of Cornwall where to-day can be seen cliff-castles identical with those of the Venetic homeland.² But the rugged landscape of western Cornwall is not the easiest environment for outcast chieftains whose markets have been snatched from them. The urban peasantry of Dorset, or at any rate of Maiden Castle, comfortably ensconced in their ancient and decaying hill-fort, offered a more attractive prize to the homeless vikings of Brittany; and it is to the survivors of the masterful Veneti in the folk-wandering which may be supposed to have followed Caesar's ven-

¹ Examples are known from five sites in Finistère, Morbihan, and Loire Inférieure. See below, p. 212. ² See below, p. 386.

geance in 56 B.C. that, on all grounds, I find it easiest to attribute the new 'Iron Age B' régime at Maiden Castle.

These matters will be considered further elsewhere in this report (pp. 206, 209, 217) and in another report dealing specifically with the French side of the problem.¹ Meanwhile, it is only fair to make brief reference to an alternative historical context which cannot be omitted from consideration. During the years following 113 B.C. the Cimbri and the Teutones (the former from Jutland), driven from home, it was said, by inundations, marched and countermarched through Gaul, joined from time to time by other Germanic tribes. In the south they carried all before them, and only in the north-east do we hear of successful resistance. After a Cimbric foray into Spain in 103 B.C., the marauding host moved northwards to find its way blocked at last by the Belgae, whose territories lay primarily between the Seine and the Rhine,² although Strabo extends them westwards to Brittany.³ For the rest, in the words of Caesar, 'all Gaul was harassed'. Even amongst the victorious Belgae it is likely enough that the Germanic inroads helped, directly or indirectly, to stimulate the exploratory migrations which brought Belgic tribesmen into south-eastern Britain during the first half of the first century B.C. But, in spite of Caesar's words, it is not easy to believe that the Cimbric horde, in its almost feverish long-distance forays between Gaul, Spain, and even Italy, penetrated effectively to the remote sea-cliffs of south-western Finistère and there evicted the sturdy sea-faring Veneti so lastingly as to compel their permanent settlement overseas; or that a Breton tribe which had thus lost so heavily should within the next half-century be within an ace of shattering Caesar's legions. Furthermore, on grounds of general probability I find it more than difficult to take the typological development of the Maiden Castle B pottery back to the end of the second century B.C. (see below, p. 209). I therefore mention the possibility of the Cimbric invasion of Gaul as a causative factor in the formation of our Wessex Hill-fort B, only to reject it.

15. IRON AGE C: THE BELGAE AT MAIDEN CASTLE (c. A.D. 25-44)

In the previous section the Belgae have already appeared upon the scene as victors over the Germanic invaders of Gaul, and subsequently (perhaps about 75 B.C.) as colonizers of south-eastern Britain. It was not, however, until the first century A.D. that they spread westward into Dorset. When the time comes to examine their pottery and coins at Maiden Castle (below, pp. 230 and 330), it will be seen that, from the outset, the former is itself late in type and is mingled with Roman amphorae; whilst the associated coinage is of that devolved south-western kind which in some cases actually 'continued down to the second half of the 1st century A.D.'⁴ and is unlikely to have circulated for more than two or three decades before the Claudian invasion. On all grounds, A.D. 20-30 may be regarded as a fair estimate for the date of the first appearance of Belgic culture on the site,

¹ To be published by this Society.

² It has been suspected, on the strength of an emendation by Mommsen of a passage in Livy, *Epit.* 67, that the attack occurred through the territory of the Velocasses of the lower

Seine valley. The emendation is doubtful, but does not materially affect the issue. The main fact is given plainly by Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 4.

³ *Geog.* iv, 4, 3.

⁴ G. C. Brooke, in *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 274.

and there is at present no evidence from any other part of Wessex to indicate an earlier intrusion of that culture west of the line of Southampton Water and the River Test.¹ Before suggesting inferences from this conclusion, however, we may glance at certain other aspects of the Belgic² phase at Maiden Castle.

For the arrival of Belgic influence was signalized by more than new fashions of pottery and currency. Everywhere in association with the Belgic stratum is evidence of a new civic discipline. The main rampart, in its then-existing form three-quarters of a century old, was in a state of disrepair; its stone-faced summit was a tumbling ruin, and the stones from it lay scattered over the inner slope. The ruin was now covered by a thick new jacket of earth, and in place of the stone revetment the Belgic engineers, coming from the forested and often stoneless lands of the south-east, built along the inner crest a line of stout wooden posts (sites E and G), doubtless linked originally by wattle. In the eastern entrance, and likewise in the interior of the town (site B), the hollow-worn streets were now carefully remetalled, and the metalling was maintained constantly in repair, conveniently interleaved with late Belgic coins for our better information. And, within the town, the innumerable Iron Age B pits, which must have stunk to high heaven, were now everywhere filled up, clearly by general order; Belgic sherds appear in the overlying stratum but scarcely ever in the occupation-layers of the pits themselves. The town was 'cleaned up'. A new authority reigned. The various circumstances are such as to suggest certain conclusions which may reasonably be supposed to have a validity beyond the limits of Maiden Castle and even of Dorset.

1. The first of these conclusions relates to an hypothesis, put forward some years ago on the more limited evidence then available, that in the time of Commius, *c.* 50 B.C., the original Belgic settlers of south-eastern Britain were augmented by a second group of Belgic immigrants who settled in Hampshire and the adjacent counties of Wessex, i.e. on the western flank of their predecessors.³ The distinctive trait of these later Belgae was thought to be a wheel-turned, high-shouldered pot with a bead-rim, and analogies to this type of pot were believed to occur in Normandy. A fuller discussion of the ceramic evidence is reserved for a later section; here it will suffice to emphasize certain main points in the light of present evidence, and in doing so it is pleasant to record the ready concurrence of the former protagonists of the hypothesis in question.

A re-examination of the supposed analogies from Normandy has, in the first place, failed to confirm their affinity with the British material either in type or in date.⁴ The

¹ Conditions in eastern Hampshire and western Sussex at this period are not yet clear, but may be found to present somewhat different problems. For the purposes of this Report, Southampton Water and the Test are regarded as the eastern limit of Iron Age 'Wessex', although the eastern limit of Wessex hill-fort B was probably as far west as the Hampshire Avon (see above, p. 16).

² The term 'Belgic' is hereinafter used to indicate the mixed Iron Age 'B' and 'C' culture of the first century A.D.

³ This hypothesis, first hinted at by J. P. Bushe-Fox,

Swarling Report (1925), p. 34, was subsequently developed by C. F. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930), 150 ff.

⁴ Thus, of eleven French examples chosen for illustration (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 1930, p. 274, fig. 24), three or four lack the essential bead-rim, one or two are admittedly Roman, two are sub-Hallstatt bead-rim situlae, and the remainder are also in greater or lesser degree unlike the British type. These comments are made on a re-examination of most of the actual pots represented.

chronological difficulty was freely admitted, indeed, in the original statement of the hypothesis, but it was hoped that further exploration in Wessex, on sites such as Maiden Castle, would produce British evidence equating more closely with the French examples. In fact, the reverse is the case; the mass of evidence from Maiden Castle has emphasized the disparity.

On the other hand, a fuller recognition of the character of the 'Wessex hill-fort B' pottery, and, in general, of the essential continuity of the basic hill-town population through successive cultural phases, has now confirmed beyond all doubt the alternative supposition that the Wessex wheel-turned bead-rim pots of Iron Age C represent little more than the bead-rim tradition of Iron Age B modified by the intrusive potter's wheel.¹ There is, in short, little in the Wessex Iron Age C ceramic that cannot convincingly be explained as the product of a westward spread of Belgic culture from eastern Britain, bringing with it an improved technique and details such as the emphatic footstand or the everted rim. Incidentally, a proportion of the traditional 'B' hand-made pots remained in use alongside their better-made successors.

The evidence of the pottery now thus tallies generally with that of the related southwestern coinage, which Dr. Brooke held to indicate that 'Belgic culture came to the Poole-Cranborne region not directly from Gaul, but from Kent'.² The Belgic material at Maiden Castle and, it would appear, of the Dorset region as a whole represents, not a second Belgic invasion from Normandy, but a westward spread of British Belgae at a date not likely to be much earlier than A.D. 20-30.

2. The second conclusion is that the arrival of Belgic elements at Maiden Castle was the result of no mere 'culture creep' but came suddenly in the train of new masters, whose handiwork may be recognized clearly in those significant structural changes to which reference has been made (p. 58). Belgic Maiden Castle was the product of a Belgic *invasion* from some region east of Southampton Water and the Test; the change was dynastic no less than cultural. Only so can we explain the immediate rearming of the town in a new fashion, and the new discipline everywhere apparent at the Belgic level.

3. From the two previous conclusions, a third emerges easily on reference to the familiar history of Belgic Britain at this time. The period to which we are compelled to ascribe the Belgic occupation of Maiden Castle was one of peace and consolidation in northern Gaul; but in Britain it was a period of dynastic rivalry and unrest,³ of which the focus was the jealous tyranny of Cunobelin, with his headquarters at Colchester. Cunobelin was a constant thorn in the sides of his contemporaries: his brother Epaticcus would seem to have been a mere 'wanderer in search of a kingdom, driven out of his father's land by his more powerful brother',⁴ and his son Adminius fled as a suppliant to Caligula. Cunobelin died between A.D. 40 and 43, and, allowing for an ample margin of error, the Belgic occupation of Maiden Castle must be supposed to have occurred during his long

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), 25 ff.

² *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 274.

³ e.g. the monument of Ancyra records the petition of

British princes for Roman aid.

⁴ G. C. Brooke, in *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 286.

reign. May we not see in that event the result of a westerly trend of the minor Belgic princes and their followers under pressure from the expanding régime of the ambitious Cunobelin? Such at least would appear to be a reasonable explanation of the new evidence from Maiden Castle and the new recension of the coins. It has often been suggested that the name 'Belgae', applied by Ptolemy without further definition to the inhabitants of the region stretching from central Hampshire westwards into Somerset, was an early Roman portmanteau-name for an aggregation of smaller tribal groups. Nothing could more readily explain its bestowal in the circumstances than a somewhat heterogeneous collection of Belgic princelings and their followers who had found political salvation in an essentially non-Belgic region, beyond the limits of the established Belgic tribes and beyond the reach of the *Britannorum rex* at Colchester.

This new hypothesis fits in well with Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes's recently suggested interpretation of the rather different material east of our Wessex boundary at the Hampshire Test.¹ In reviewing the evidence from the sites known in the Winchester district and elsewhere, Mr. Hawkes concludes that during the latter half of the first century B.C. in the time of the Gaulish refugee-king Commius and his sons, Belgic dominion spread as far west as the line of the steep and difficult Test valley running north from Southampton Water, but there came to a standstill in the face of the great Iron Age B hill-fort zone of our Wessex as here defined. In, and for half a century after, the time of Commius, the Iron Age B hill-forts of Wessex were in the full flush of power and were invulnerable. But it may be that some hint of the coming storm is already reflected in the final Iron Age B reinforcement of Maiden Castle, described above. Belgic encroachment may then already have threatened the Wessex hill-forts; and it only needed the final stimulus of a jealous Belgic autocracy in the east to drive counter-ambition westward into the hill-fort territory, much as, at a far later date, Harald Fairhair spurred spirited but lesser chieftains of Norway to find salvation in the colonization of Iceland and the Scottish Isles. The western limit of this last Belgic 'push' has perhaps been identified at Hembury Fort in eastern Devon, where also the Belgae have left structural as well as ceramic evidence of their presence.²

The territorial extent and the intensiveness of Belgic domination in the Wessex hill-fort area cannot be envisaged in detail without much further excavation. Digging in 1939, showed that Poundbury, on the outskirts of Dorchester, was refortified at this time (see above, p. 12), presumably in connexion with the annexation of Maiden Castle. It clearly does not follow, however, that the usurpation of general administrative control by the Belgae over a considerable area will necessarily be reflected in every town and village within that area to an equal degree. If, for example, the levelling of the Iron Age B pits at Maiden Castle represents a constant practice of Belgic urban administration, then Dorset hill-towns such as Eggardon and Hod Hill, where the pits are still sufficiently

¹ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiii (1936), 160 ff. and 210.

² Miss D. M. Liddell, *Proc. Devon Expl. Soc.* ii (1935), 164. Belgic pottery has been found at Exeter and at the

Milber Down Camp at Newton Abbot, but whether it is there earlier or later than the Roman Conquest cannot be said on the evidence available.

evident on the surface to suggest that they were not systematically levelled in ancient times, would appear to have escaped 'Belgicization'. A very little exploratory work would settle this and other points of the kind, and would be well worth the undertaking.

We leave the Maiden Castle of the Belgae, then, as a disciplined city, with ordered defences and well-paved streets, with huts (sites D and L) of circular or polygonal plan similar to those of Iron Age B but without the noisome underground storerooms and kitchens. New ceramic types and, above all, the new technique of the potter's wheel, imply some small leavening of immigrant craftsmen, but the dominance of traditional B and AB forms, sometimes intact and sometimes modified by the use of the wheel, betrays that basic continuity of the local population that is a constant feature of the Iron Age town through all its vicissitudes.

16. THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD (c. A.D. 43-70)

And so we reach the Roman invasion of A.D. 43. That part of the army of conquest wherewith we are concerned in Dorset had as its nucleus the Second Augustan Legion, whose commander, at any rate in the earlier campaigns, was the future Emperor Vespasian.¹ Precisely how soon the invaders reached Maiden Castle can only be guessed, but by A.D. 47 the Roman arms had reached the Severn, and Dorset must already have been overrun. Suetonius affirms that Vespasian reduced 'two very formidable tribes and over twenty towns (*oppida*), together with the Isle of Wight', and it cannot be doubted that, whether or no the Durotriges (as is likely enough) were one of the tribes in question, the conquest of the Wessex hill-fort system is implied in the general statement. Nor is it improbable that, with the hints provided by the mention of the Isle of Wight and by the archaeological evidence for the subsequent presence of the Second Legion near Seaton in eastern Devon, a main line of advance lay through Dorset roughly along the route subsequently followed by the Roman road to Exeter. From that road to-day the traveller regards the terraced ramparts of the western entrance of Maiden Castle; and it requires no great effort of the imagination to conjure up the ghost of Vespasian himself, here confronted with the greatest of his 'twenty towns'. Indeed, something less than imagination is now required to reconstruct the main sequence of events at the storming of Maiden Castle, for the excavation of the eastern entrance has yielded tangible evidence of it. With only a little amplification it may be reconstructed as follows.

Approaching from the direction of the Isle of Wight, Vespasian's legion may be supposed to have crossed the River Frome at the only easy crossing hereabouts—where Roman and modern Dorchester were subsequently to come into being. Before the advancing troops, some 2 miles away, the sevenfold ramparts of the western gates of Dunium towered above the cornfields which probably swept, like their modern successors,

¹ Dio, ix, 20; Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 4; and G. Teuber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eroberung Britanniens durch die Römer* (1909), p. 37.

up to the fringe of the defences. Whether any sort of assault was attempted upon these gates we do not at present know; their excessive strength makes it more likely that, leaving a guard upon them, Vespasian moved his main attack to the somewhat less formidable eastern end. What happened there is plain to read. First, the regiment of artillery, which normally accompanied a legion on campaign, was ordered into action, and put down a barrage of iron-shod ballista-arrows over the eastern part of the site. Following this barrage, the infantry advanced up the slope, cutting its way from rampart to rampart, tower to tower. In the innermost bay of the entrance, close outside the actual gates, a number of huts had recently been built; these were now set alight, and under the rising clouds of smoke the gates were stormed and the position carried. But resistance had been obstinate and the fury of the attackers was roused. For a space, confusion and massacre dominated the scene. Men and women, young and old, were savagely cut down, before the legionaries were called to heel and the work of systematic destruction began. That work included the uprooting of some at least of the timbers which revetted the fighting-platform on the summit of the main rampart; but above all it consisted of the demolition of the gates and the overthrow of the high stone walls which flanked the two portals. The walls were now reduced to the lowly and ruinous state in which they were discovered by the excavator nearly nineteen centuries later.

That night, when the fires of the legion shone out (we may imagine) in orderly lines across the valley, the survivors crept forth from their broken stronghold and, in the darkness, buried their dead as nearly as might be outside their tumbled gates, in that place where the ashes of their burned huts lay warm and thick upon the ground. The task was carried out anxiously and hastily and without order, but, even so, from few graves were omitted those tributes of food and drink which were the proper and traditional perquisites of the dead. At daylight on the morrow, the legion moved westward to fresh conquest, doubtless taking with it the usual levy of hostages from the vanquished.

Thereafter, salving what they could of their crops and herds, the disarmed townsfolk made shift to put their house in order. Forbidden to refortify their gates, they built new roadways across the sprawling ruins, between gateless ramparts that were already fast assuming the blunted profiles that are theirs to-day. And so, for some two decades, a demilitarized Maiden Castle retained its inhabitants, or at least a nucleus of them. Just so long did it take the Roman authorities to adjust the old order to the new, to prepare new towns for old. And then finally, on some day towards the close of the sixties of the century, the town was ceremonially abandoned, its remaining walls were formally 'slighted', and Maiden Castle lapsed into the landscape amongst the farm-lands of Roman Dorchester.

So much for the story; now for its basis. First, scattered over the eastern end of Maiden Castle, mostly in and about the eastern entrance and always at the same Romano-Belgic level, were found upwards of a dozen iron arrow-heads of two types: a type with a pyramidal point, and the simple flat-bladed type with turn-over socket (fig. 93). Arrow-heads occurred at no other Iron Age level, but both types are common on

Roman military sites where *ballistae* but not hand-bows are to be inferred.¹ There, then, in the relatively small area uncovered, are the vestiges of the bombardment.

Secondly, the half-moon bay which represents the Iron Age B adaptation of the Iron Age A barbican, close outside the portals of the eastern entrance, was covered with a thick layer of ash associated with the post-holes of three or more circular or roundish huts (pl. xvi). In and immediately below this ash were quantities of late Belgic or 'Belgicizing' pottery. In the surface of the ash was similar pottery with scraps of pre-Flavian Samian. There are the burnt Belgic huts, covered by the trodden vestiges of the continued post-conquest occupation for which more tangible evidence will be offered shortly.

Thirdly, into this ash a series of graves had been roughly cut, with no regularity either of outline or of orientation, and into them had been thrown, in all manner of attitudes—crouched, extended, on the back, on the side, on the face, even sitting up—thirty-eight skeletons of men and women, young and old; sometimes two persons were huddled together in the same grave. In ten cases extensive cuts were present on the skull, some on the top, some on the front, some on the back. In another case, one of the arrow-heads already described was found actually embedded in a vertebra (pl. LVIII, A), having entered the body from the front below the heart. The victim had been finished off with a cut on the head. Yet another skull had been pierced by an implement of square section, probably a ballista-bolt. The last two and some of the sword-cuts were doubtless battle-wounds; but one skull, which had received no less than nine savage cuts, suggests the fury of massacre rather than the tumult of battle—a man does not stay to kill his enemy eight or nine times in the *mêlée*; and the neck of another skeleton had been dislocated, probably by hanging. Nevertheless, the dead had been buried by their friends, for most of them were accompanied by bowls or, in one case, a mug for the traditional food and drink. More notable, in two cases the dead held joints of lamb in their hands—joints chosen carefully as young and succulent. Many of the dead still wore their gear: armlets of iron or shale, an iron finger-ring, and in three cases bronze toe-rings, representing a custom not previously, it seems, observed in prehistoric Britain but reminiscent of the Moslem habit of wearing toe-rings as ornaments or as preventives or cures of disease. One man lay in a double grave with an iron battle-axe, a knife and, strangely, a bronze ear-pick across his chest. The whole war cemetery as it lay exposed before us was eloquent of mingled piety and distraction; of weariness, of dread, of darkness, but yet not of complete forgetfulness. Surely no poor relic in the soil of Britain was ever more eloquent of high tragedy, more worthy of brooding comment from the presiding Spirits of Hardy's own *Dynasts*.

The date of the cemetery was indicated by a variety of evidence. Most obvious is the Roman arrow-head embedded in the vertebra, but other associated relics point to the same conclusion. The seventeen pots put into the graves at the time of burial are all of that Wessex 'Romano-Belgic overlap' class which has long been recognized at Jordan

¹ e.g. the legionary fortress of Lauriacum (*Der römische Limes in Österreich*, Heft vii, 1906, col. 28, fig. 11, 8); and Kastell Ulmus (*ibid.*, Heft vi, 1905, p. 54, fig. 26); etc.

Hill, Weymouth, and elsewhere (below, p. 119). The gear with one of the skeletons included, as has been remarked above, a Roman 'ear-scoop', the use of which may or may not have been understood more clearly by its Belgic possessor than by the modern antiquary; at least it implies Roman contacts which, in Wessex, appear not long to have anticipated the Roman Conquest. One grave, moreover, contained a late British coin, and though it was impossible to say safely whether the coin was inserted at the interment or was incorporated in the loose ash into which the grave was cut, at least it was dropped within a very short time of the event. And, finally, the materials included in the strata which 'bracket' the cemetery are themselves, as noted above, sufficient to indicate a date at the end of the pre-Conquest period.

There, then, is the climax of the more human side of the story of conquest. But on the structural side the evidence for that event and for its sequel is no less vivid. On the top-most Belgic road-metal, in both portals of the eastern entrance but particularly in the southern, excavation revealed the tumbled stones from the massive walls that had formerly flanked the entrances (pl. c1). Here and there the fallen stones lay overlapping, like a collapsed pack of cards, in the sequence in which they had formerly stood as a vertical wall (pl. c1, b). With them was no cascade of rampart-earth such as might have implied a fall through subsidence, even could one presuppose the coincidence of the simultaneous fall of every part of the structure; the walls had been deliberately pulled down and no attempt had been made to replace them. But that was not all. Over the débris in each portal a new road had been built, metalled like the Belgic roads now buried beneath them. The new roads partially covered the surviving bases of the flanking walls, showing that the condition of these to-day is identical with their condition at the time of the road-building and confirming the permanence of the structural ruin. No provision of any kind was made in the new scheme for a gate; not a single post-hole was associated with the new road, and indeed the mutilated rampart-ends would have provided a poor setting for a fixed barrier. The implications of all this are evident. The entrance had been systematically 'slighted' and its military value reduced permanently to a minimum; but traffic through it did not cease, no interval occurred in the continuity of the occupation.

That this dramatic episode should be ascribed to the Roman invader is proved by a liberal supply of associated evidence. The road-surface underlying the tumbled side-walls in each portal is the last of a series of three or more which are all interleaved with British coins of the late 'south-western' type, and with the coins were Belgic or cross-bred 'BC' sherds, and fragments of Roman amphorae. Samian pottery was not found in these levels. On the other hand, in and on and beside the new road-surface which was laid down *over* the fallen walls, Samian sherds began to occur with some freedom. Where identifiable, these sherds are mainly of pre-Flavian type or fabric, and, in the whole of the eastern entrance, only *two* Samian sherds (both of them from the surface-soil) are later than the Flavian period. A detailed analysis, by Dr. T. Davies Pryce and Mr. J. A. Stanfield, will be given below (p. 241), but may here be summarized in anticipation:

Samian sherds from the eastern entrance

Datable fragments are assignable as follows:

To the pre-Flavian period	.	.	.	.	.	.	45
" " Nero-Vespasian period	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
" " Flavian	"	.	.	.	.	.	4
" " Antonine	"	.	.	.	.	.	2

Many small fragments, which do not admit of approximate dating, appear to be pre-Flavian.

Dr. Pryce concludes that the Samian from the entrance 'indicates a definite occupation in the pre-Flavian period. The evidence for its continuation into the Flavian period is slight.' It should be emphasized that seventeen of these Samian sherds, all ascribed by Dr. Pryce to the time of Claudius and Nero, were found embedded either in the road-metal of the new road in the southern portal (where the structural evidence was clearest) or in the layer of trodden mud upon its surface. On the other hand, the two Antonine sherds were both, as already remarked, in mixed top-soil.

Two conclusions emerge from this structural and ceramic evidence. First, the destruction of the side-walls of the entrance occurs exactly between the Belgic and the Claudian occupation of the site: i.e. at the moment of the Roman invasion. Secondly, the occupation of the site continued, in spite of this interruption, to the beginning of the Flavian period, i.e. to c. A.D. 70, whereafter a break supervened. Other evidence amplifies this result.

A test-section cut through the rampart between the portals of the entrance revealed one of the large post-holes of the Belgic palisade or revetment (post-hole 4 on section, pl. xi). The post, like its equivalents on site E, had been about a foot in diameter, and its socket was 4 ft. deep. At a depth of 2 ft. in the filling of the socket (and 4 ft. from the present surface) occurred a Samian sherd of distinctively early fabric, and in the same filling were two bronze scales of a Roman cuirass (fig. 95, 4). These objects indicate that the socket was empty in early Roman times, and the complete uniformity of the filling indicates rather the uprooting of the post than its gradual decay. There is at least a strong probability that the slighting of the entrance was accompanied by a removal of the stockade along the rampart.

Further, on sites L and Q, on the summit of the eastern knoll within the camp, a considerable quantity of Samian pottery was brought to light. The sherds from the unsealed surface-deposits will be dealt with later; those from the main occupation may be considered in summary here, prior to their more detailed analysis (below, pp. 242 ff.). On this site, the thick layer of Belgic occupation passed, without structural division, into the early Roman, and its topmost portion contained Samian pottery. This has been examined by Dr. Pryce, who reports that every sherd is Flavian or pre-Flavian, with a strong predominance of the latter: the evidence for occupation actually within the Flavian period is 'very meagre'. In other words, the evidence here—and, it may be added, elsewhere in Maiden Castle—tallies exactly with that of the eastern entrance.

The picture is now complete in outline. Disarmed at the Roman Conquest, Maiden

Castle remained in use for about a quarter of a century after the invasion, a pre-Roman city still in all essentials, partaking only a little of the cultural equipment of its conquerors. The picture is a reasonable and convincing one. The first generation of Roman rule was preoccupied with the subjugation of the difficult hill-countries of the north and west, with the development of mining areas, the planning of arterial roads, the founding or development of those few towns which had an immediate military or commercial function. Dorset offered, it is true, iron ore on a modest scale; but between Sussex and the Mendips there was little mineral wealth to attract the Roman prospector in the first flush of conquest. Wessex could wait. There was no urgent need to upset the traditional economic basis of the urbanized peasantry which crowded the downlands. To do so would have been to court added political difficulties at a time when difficulties were already manifold. It was better that, under surveillance, the Wessex farmers should for a time (and doubtless in return for the periodical payment of just or unjust dues) be allowed to maintain themselves in the fashion which they knew. The removal or, alternatively, the ennoblement of their rulers would rob them of independent leadership. A few police-patrols would do the rest.

Here, too, the evidence fits comfortably into place. The famous little Roman fort set in a corner of the Iron Age town on Hod Hill near Blandford—some 20 miles from Maiden Castle—has not been scientifically excavated, but pottery and other objects have been recovered at various times from it or its immediate vicinity. This material includes many Roman weapons and some Samian pottery dating from the time of Claudius and Nero.¹ The occupation, in other words, was something more than transitory, and would appear to have lasted approximately from the time of the Roman invasion to c. A.D. 60 or a little later. With this supposition the comparatively elaborate plan of the Roman earthwork agrees: it is not that of a mere 'marching camp', but rather that of a 'semi-permanent' work possessing some of the attributes of a permanent fort.² At its strategic point above the valley of the Stour, this little Roman hill-fort was a fitting centre for the policing of a part of the native hill-town region during the interval between conquest and romanization.

The period of guarded *status quo* came to an end, it seems, in the reign of the actual conqueror of Maiden Castle. Under Vespasian and Domitian, notably in the governorship of Agricola, the systematic development of the civil life of Roman Britain was at last undertaken throughout the lowland region. Hitherto such development had been in a large measure opportunist; it now became an avowed part of the official policy for the final and complete subjugation of the provincials. Towns were rebuilt in the comfortable Roman fashion or were newly founded; and amongst the new foundations—if the available evidence is representative—would appear to have been Dorchester, Durnonovaria or Durnovaria of the Itinerary. Of seventy-five Samian sherds from Dorchester, examined

¹ Some of the weapons, which have not been published, are in the British Museum. For the site, see O. G. S. Crawford and A. Keiller, *Wessex from the Air* (1928), p. 36. For some of the Samian pottery, see H. B. Walters, *British Museum*

Catalogue of Roman Pottery (1908), index, s.v. 'Hod Hill'.

² For the type, cf. I. A. Richmond, in *Arch. Journ.* lxxxix (1932), 70, dealing with the Cawthorn camp D.

by Dr. Pryce in the Dorchester Museum, four or less are likely to be earlier than Ves-pasian. The proportions of early and late sherds, on a comparison of the groups from Dorchester with those from the main occupation of Maiden Castle, are thus approximately reversed; and, on the evidence, it may be affirmed provisionally that the occupation of the two sites is complementary. Dorchester begins where Maiden Castle ceases, i.e. c. A.D. 70. The sequence is doubtless significant. In Gaul under Augustus the process of romanization had entailed the removal of the more inaccessible hill-populations to new Roman cities founded under official auspices in the valleys.¹ In Britain it is reasonable to suppose that, in the equivalent régime of the Flavians, a similar procedure was followed: that Flavian Caerwent, for example, became the Roman focus for the little native towns of Llanmelin and Sudbrook, that Uriconium was (then if not earlier) the heir of the *oppidum* on the Wrekin, and similarly that Roman Dorchester inherited something of the population and the prestige of Maiden Castle. Certain it is, at least, that after the beginning of the Flavian period the eastern entrance of Maiden Castle fell into disuse. A layer of humus 7-9 in. deep was found to overlie the early Roman road-surfaces, implying that the site was, at the end of the first century A.D., as overgrown as in modern times. When we come to examine the final phase of Maiden Castle (below, p. 77), it will be seen that this layer of barren mould intervenes between the first- and the fourth-century levels, so that its context is not open to doubt. In the second and third centuries A.D. Maiden Castle had reverted to downland or to tillage.

Of the actual moment of the official abandonment of the site, a vestige may indeed be recognized with some probability at the fruitful eastern entrance. Reference has been made in a preceding section (p. 47) to the stone-faced platform or bastion on the western flank of the southern causeway cut through the original barbican in phase IV (c. end of first century B.C. or beginning of first century A.D.). As excavated in 1936, this revetment was preserved to a maximum height of five courses; but the remainder of the wall still lay piled up alongside, upon the metalling of the roadway (pl. C, A). The evidence compelled certain inferences:

- (i) The wall had been *deliberately* pulled away from the bank which it revetted, for the bank itself stood firm and had not fallen forward with the masonry, as would have been the case if the latter had been thrust outwards by pressure from the bank.
- (ii) The wall had not been demolished for the re-use of its stonework, since the fallen stones lay untouched where they had fallen.
- (iii) The fallen stones lay on, and in contact with, the actual metalling of the road: i.e. they had fallen when the road was still in use and unencumbered with the covering of wind-blown earth which (as experience shows) accumulates within a month on exposed surfaces at Maiden Castle.
- (iv) Both the road and the adjacent city went out of use immediately after the fall,

¹ Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* ii, pt. 3, 951.

since the débris blocked a good half of the roadway and—an important point on a stoneless site where stone is proportionately valuable—had not been appreciably plundered for its useful building-material.

It is fair to infer that this important and striking structural feature of the entrance had been 'sighted' deliberately at the precise moment when the population was finally moved down from the ancient city to the new Roman town which must now have been prepared in the valley below. It is not difficult to imagine something of the pomp and circumstance with which this revolutionary incident in the history of the region was carried out—the solemn procession of civic and religious authorities, perhaps with some rather anxiously important emissary of the provincial government in attendance; and the ultimate ceremonial defacement of a work which had already, a generation previously, received its first and more drastic disarming at the moment of conquest—the earlier slighting carried out, perhaps, at the actual order of Vespasian, commander of the Second Legion, and the later slighting under the remote eye of Vespasian, now emperor of Rome.

17. MAIDEN CASTLE AS AN IRON AGE TOWN: SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS, AND THE SEQUEL

We have now, in the latter part of the first century A.D., reached a term in the history of Maiden Castle. The subsequent uses of the site have been episodic or irrelevant; and, before turning to them, we may pause to reflect for a moment upon certain general problems and implications which have not found a place in the preceding sections.

Throughout these sections, Maiden Castle has been referred to as a 'town' or even as a 'city', and these terms may at first sight seem a little extravagant if we recall that the area enclosed is approximately that of a fair-sized modern village. In reality the use of the more grandiose terms is adequately justified, provided that their context be clearly understood. It is evident that the whole enclosure was packed as closely as might be with dwellings and storage-pits; the place was wholly urban in the density of its population and had nothing of the straggling character of village-settlement. The actual numerical strength of the population can indeed only be guessed: the allowance of 100 persons to an acre, with a total therefore of something over 4,000, is probably not excessive.¹ Relative to the population of Britain at the time—probably less than a million persons all told²—a concentration of 4,000–5,000 is proportionately equivalent to the population of the greater provincial cities of England at the present day. But it is not necessary to conjure up such abstract calculations to justify the status of the major Iron Age hill-settlements. Their great fortifications, with the permanence and dignity and local sove-

¹ Without pressing the analogy, attention may be drawn in this connexion to calculations relating to the population of Bronze Age hill-towns in Palestine.—See J. Garstang, *Joshua, Judges* (1931), p. 167. The estimate for Palestine has here been nearly halved for tentative application to Iron Age Britain.

² Professor R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (2nd ed., 1937), p. 180, estimates 'a round million' as a likely total for the population of Britain in the Roman period. On that reasonable basis, the Early Iron Age total would be something under a million.

reignty which these proclaim, are sufficient in themselves to establish the civic title. And if a final claim to that title be sought, it is at hand in the classical usage—notably in the abundant witness of Caesar's Commentaries. Amongst the Gauls, Caesar distinguishes *vici* or open villages, *castella* or, apparently, 'camps of refuge' and guard-posts, and *oppida* or *urbes*,¹ which are fortified towns and nothing less. *Oppidum*, a word which Cicero might apply to Antioch and Livy to Rome itself, is an unequivocal term; and when Suetonius, in a passage already cited (above, p. 61), describes Vespasian as reducing more than twenty *oppida* in his march through southern England, he has in mind without a doubt the great permanently occupied hill-cities of the Maiden Castle series.

In southern Britain of the Early Iron Age, then, we are confronted with the picture of a nucleated society, controlled in considerable groups by a civic discipline which, by token of vast fortifications and well-paved streets, was not incomparable with the civic discipline of the Middle Ages. It is at least no longer possible to maintain, without qualification, that the Romans were the first to furnish Britain with towns. On the other hand, if we are to understand fully the vicissitudes of the towns of the Roman province, it is necessary to bear in mind the limited nature of the native urban traditions which they were in part designed to replace. This is not the context for a detailed discussion of the problem, but a summary review of its salient features is appropriate alike as an epilogue to the previous sections of this Report and as an introduction to the section which follows.

The permanence, dominance, coherence, and relative size of the native *oppidum* have just been cited as justifications for urban status. In these qualities, the *oppidum* and its Roman successor are at one. Where a momentous difference emerges is in the economic basis of the native and the Roman foundations. The economic basis of the native *oppidum* was agricultural, that of the Roman town was commercial. It is indeed surprising to find how parochial the economic outlook of Maiden Castle was until the very eve of the Roman invasion. This matter will be mentioned at a later stage (p. 381) but cannot be altogether omitted from the present context. I have already emphasized the scarcity of imported objects or materials amongst the mass of relics recovered from the site (p. 29). Shale would be brought some 16 miles from Kimmeridge Bay; slingstones from the beaches of Weymouth Bay or West Bay, 5 or 6 miles away; iron from the neighbourhood of Puddletown, a similar distance; stone from Upwey, little more than 2 miles away. For the rest, bronze or its constituents were imported from farther afield, but bronze was rare. Rarer still were occasional scraps of coral. Gold scarcely occurs. Clay, bone, horn, and leather were obtainable on the spot. It is abundantly evident that the economic outlook of the inhabitants was defined almost entirely by the productivity of the surrounding countryside in relation to a limited agricultural and industrial equipment. A working balance was established between local need and local supply; but the conditions were not such as to produce a negotiable surplus for export. There was little or nothing wherewith to support an import trade. Movements of population from overseas, dynastic ambition, and other disturbing accidents broke the routine of the place from time to time, but

¹ Caesar, *B.G.* ii, 29; vi, 32; vii, 15, 16, 36, 47, 68, &c. See also Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* ii, pt. 3, p. 947.

neither caravans nor argosies linked it permanently with worlds beyond its local horizon.

This local, agricultural economy accounts, of course, for the astonishingly varied and local character of the British Iron Age cultures (again, see below, p. 186). Save on the very broadest lines, it is impossible to generalize in respect of those cultures, and I would incidentally make it plain that, except in a few specified instances, no general validity for southern Britain as a whole is claimed in this Report for the results of the Maiden Castle excavations. Problems of the Iron Age can only be solved with continuous reference to the local environments which in considerable measure created them.

The economic isolation which is here claimed for the units of Iron Age Britain may seem at first sight to be at variance with the familiar statement of Strabo, at the beginning of the present era, that Britain exported corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, slaves, and hunting-dogs. The statement is quickly modified by the same writer when he refers also to the small worth of the British exports. The bulk of this export trade was in any case confined doubtless to the Belgic states of the south-east,¹ whose cities, often beside river-fords, are in fact related to traffic-lines to a degree not apparent in the downland *oppida* of the west. In Wessex such intermittent overseas trade as may have existed scarcely penetrated perhaps beyond a few coastal sites such as Hengistbury Head. The real importance of this rudimentary commerce in its later phases was in any case political rather than economic; it linked southern and, in particular, south-eastern Britain, however vaguely, with Roman Gaul or even Italy, and so prepared the way for the Claudian annexation.

On the process of annexation and romanization in the West, Maiden Castle has thrown a fresh light. It is clearer now than previously—although hints were already forthcoming—that save at a few nodal points the development of the new province was not immediate. Foreign capital had to be attracted into it, foreign business-methods had to be naturalized, foreign craftsmen had to revolutionize the homely architecture of the native. In so far as the towns are concerned, the age of the Flavians saw the real beginning of this process and the real end—if Maiden Castle be typical in this respect—of the major native settlements. The age of Hadrian and the Antonines saw the full fruition of romanization. The age of the Constantines saw its decline and fall. And since it is in that last age that Maiden Castle once more comes into the picture, the circumstances of the failure of the Roman urban system and, as it seems, the resultant re-convergence of interest upon the country-side demand a moment's consideration.

The adversities which afflicted the cities of Roman Britain in and after the age of the Constantines were in part universal throughout the Empire. They were aggravated, however, by local conditions. Successful town-life such as was contemplated in the design of the Romano-British cities implies the creation of a considerable and prosperous middle-class. Such a class subsists on commerce and industry; and that is where the romanization of British town-life failed. The time was not yet ripe for so drastic a revolution. The tradition of the urban yeomanry of Iron Age Britain had, as we have seen, little of the tradesman or the merchant-venturer in its composition. In the absence of the complete

¹ Caesar, *B.G.* v, 13.

excavation of the interior of a major Iron Age hill-town, it is not possible to generalize with safety; but there is no hint in the evidence available that there was in Iron Age urban society anything equivalent to what we should to-day call a *bourgeoisie*. Whether he lived in a capital city such as Maiden Castle or in some obscure hamlet, the house and furniture of the Iron Age householder seems scarcely to have varied in quality. An individual here and there might be marked by the possession of finer gear or some object of vertu, but these rare variations do not (at present) differentiate a substantive middle class, distinguishable economically from classes above and below. Such distinctions as existed may provisionally be inferred to have been based rather on tribal grade than on personal wealth. Upon this simple social system the Roman régime attempted in vain to impose the differentiations and responsibilities of a developed commercialism.

Artificially reinforced by an imperial exchequer and by imperial prestige, this foreign system produced in Britain for a moment—during the second century A.D.—some semblance of success. But it was insecurely founded; it lived on capital and collapsed in bankruptcy. Nor are the reasons far to seek. Rome had effected a political and social revolution in Britain without achieving the necessary counterpart, an equivalent economic revolution. At no time was the productivity of the Roman province increased to an extent commensurate with the cost of a huge garrison and the whole paraphernalia of an imposed and radically foreign civilization. True, lead-mines, iron-mines, even an occasional gold-mine were opened up or developed here and there, and must be supposed to have produced some small revenue. Other industries were established, but mostly of a local and trifling character, insufficient to return interest on the capital invested in the province by the city-builders of the spacious days of Hadrian and the Antonines. Basically the province remained agricultural, and, in spite of the partial introduction of the Roman estate-system and some slight improvements here and there in agricultural machinery, there is no evidence for doubting that Romano-British agriculture remained essentially pre-Roman in its equipment and environment. The general map-pattern of Romano-British country-life is still pre-Roman in its main lines, and shows no real similarity to that of the evolved country-side of the Middle Ages.

Roman Britain failed, then, not merely because of the increasing corruption and mutability of imperial authority, nor yet merely because of barbarian onslaught. It failed equally because it was designed by its masters as a closely co-ordinated commercial province, whereas at heart it remained what it had been in the pre-Roman era—a province of nucleated but poorly equipped agricultural folk, capable of providing for their own needs but with little margin wherewith to balance a sustained import trade and so to subsidize a permanent urban middle class. Already in the fourth century, carts passed carelessly over the fallen columns of the market-place of Uriconium, and the public theatre in the midst of Verulamium was a rubbish-dump. The urban populations, after living awhile in a fool's paradise, were drifting steadily into pauperism, and by the latter half of the century—if the examples cited are typical—their cities were slums.

But if the Romano-British towns failed, it has long been recognized that, within the

limits already defined, Romano-British country-life succeeded. When the towns were already *in extremis*, country-houses, as at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire,¹ farms and villages such as Woodyates in Dorset,² were sufficiently flourishing to indulge in occasional rebuilding. And in the country-side—whether or no in some degree by way of a conscious reaction from the break-down of urban authority—shrines and centres of pilgrimage such as the remarkable temple-complex at Lydney in Gloucestershire³ were now rebuilt or built anew. This ostentatious maintenance or even recrudescence of paganism post-dates Julian and has nothing to do with his apostasy. At first glance it is a surprising phenomenon in an age when Christianity had been the official religion of the Empire for more than half a century. But it is on other grounds apparent that, in spite of the recognition of the Church and the Christian complexion of the literary tradition, Christianity gained only a modest foothold in Roman Britain. A single tiny chapel served the needs of Christian Silchester; another, even smaller, would appear to have served Caerwent. A short list includes the tangible relics of Christianity from the whole of Roman Britain. The poverty of Romano-British Christianity faithfully reflects the poverty of the urban populations which were its primary vehicle. There were bishops in certain of the larger cities, but it cannot be without significance that the three British bishops who attended the Council of Ariminum in A.D. 359 were, alone of the four hundred delegates, in such a condition of pauperism that they became a charge upon the rates.⁴ The flocks of such shepherds must have been, for the most part, the city rabble. Ultimately, in the tumult of the Dark Ages, it was this christianized rabble that was cast forth into the wilds, where Celtic Christianity and Celtic romance were thereby founded on the *disjecta* of urban faith and fevered memories of urban splendour. Meanwhile, in the country-side of the fourth century, paganism, unreached or at least uncontrolled by the urban religion, achieved a last efflorescence, and sometimes, at Maiden Castle as at Lydney, assumed new shape in an old, pre-Roman environment. For in those latter days the eastern part of Maiden Castle took to itself a new lease of life as the precinct of a Romano-British temple, and to that temple and its associations we must now turn.

18. THE LATE ROMAN TEMPLE AND ITS ENCLOSURE

Structurally, the three centuries between the beginning of the Flavian period and the latter part of the fourth century A.D. are a blank at Maiden Castle. During those centuries, as to-day, the site was visited from time to time, and farmers or picnickers occasionally broke their crockery there or dropped their pence. Amongst the Samian sherds found during the four years' excavation, thirty-eight—all from surface-soil—are late or post Flavian, covering the whole of the second century and extending into the third. Very little 'coarse' pottery can be ascribed to the same period, partly perhaps because

¹ Helen E. Donovan, in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.* lvi (1934), 108.

² Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Bokerly Dyke* (1892), p.

152, &c.

³ *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1932).

⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* ii, 41.

small sherds of coarse ware, reduced by the plough, lend themselves less readily to diagnosis. But it is the very fact that these Middle Empire sherds come without exception from the surface-soil of the site, and are in no case associated with a definite occupation-layer, that gives them their proper perspective. They represent visitation, not occupation. An annotated list of the Samian sherds—two from the eastern entrance, the remainder mostly from the considerable area explored in the vicinity of the temple—has been prepared by the late Dr. Davies Pryce and Mr. J. A. Stanfield and will be found below (p. 241). The coins, of which a dozen represent the second and third centuries prior to the Gallic emperors (whose coins continued to circulate in the fourth century), tell the same story, and are tabulated below (p. 338) by Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil.

That the circumstances which led to the scattering of these relics upon the surface included the processes of agriculture is rendered likely by a piece of evidence to which reference has already been made (p. 22). On site Q, at a depth of about a foot from the present surface, a track, metallised with flints and discarded slingstones, was found passing obliquely across the southern half of the eastern end of the neolithic Long Mound, in the vicinity of the temple (plan, pl. iv). This track had been laid down at a time when the Long Mound was already reduced to its present lowly proportions, i.e. with an average surviving height of only 1 ft. of mound-material along its central axis. On the other hand, the original height of the Long Mound had been upwards of 5 ft.: and the complete absence of Iron Age pits or floors over the eastern third of the mound proves that it was still upstanding and, to that extent, still respected until the end of the pre-Roman period. The destruction of the mound therefore took place after the Belgic-Roman period, at a time when the site was no longer occupied as a town.

The date of the intruding track is indicated by the fourth-century New Forest ware and coins incorporated in its structure. Embedded within and sealed by the metallising were an 'Urbs Roma' coin of A.D. 330-7 and two 'Gloria Exercitus' coins of A.D. 337-342. The track is therefore not earlier than *c.* A.D. 340. On the metallising lay a layer of road-mud and stones which similarly contained late New Forest ware and a 'Gloria Exercitus' coin, together with a hoard of seventy coins contained in a small four-handled pot of unusual form (below, pp. 248 and 334). The coins of the hoard extend from Licinius I to Constans, with a majority of A.D. 330-7, and cannot have been buried until after A.D. 340. On the other hand, the paucity of issues minted after the death of Constantine I suggests that the hoard was collected soon after the beginning of the fifth decade of the century. With reasonable allowance for time-lag between the composition and the deposition of the hoard, it is fair to infer that the underlying track was laid down before the end of that decade. In other words, the date of the metallising is *c.* A.D. 350, and the destruction of the Long Mound had been completed by that date.

The levelling of the Long Mound may thus be attributed to Romano-British agriculture in the second, third, or early fourth century A.D.

The original function of the metallised track can only be guessed, since the date here ascribed to it (if not too early) implies that it antedated the construction of the temple

by some twenty years.¹ Towards the west it is probably represented by a late layer of metalling found in 1934 (site C) across the filling of the western ditch of the earliest Maiden Castle; and towards the east it seems to have joined the line of a prehistoric street and, with it, to have passed out of the camp through the northern portal of the eastern entrance.

Of the three Roman buildings which are known to adjoin it (pl. xxii), the most primitive in construction is an oval hut situated some 15 yds. from its northern fringe (site L) and 12 yds. south-west of the temple. This hut has a major axis internally of 23 ft., and was roofed with the aid of posts distributed along that axis. The covering had been of clay roof-tiles of the normal Roman type, but the walls were built in an astonishingly primitive fashion of very rough dry-built masonry (pl. cxvi, B), most of which was found in a complete state of collapse. The floor had been paved with large limestone slabs and with re-used hexagonal stone roof-'slates'. The doorway, which faced east, retained its pivot-stone, and in front of it was a slabbed area containing a carefully built pit-hearth lined with four roof-tiles and full of fine wood-ash.

Within the building, with large quantities of late Roman pottery, were 171 Roman coins, mostly of the fourth century and including one of Honorius. In the side of one of the Roman post-holes lay a fragmentary pigeon's egg, a worn coin of Tetricus I, a leaden steelyard weight, and an ornamented bronze pedestal bearing the imprint of the feet of a standing statuette (fig. 97, 1). Elsewhere in the debris on the floor was the basis of a statuette of Italian marble, bearing the feet apparently of Diana and a hound (pl. xxxi, A).

Further consideration of this remarkable little building may be deferred until the two adjacent buildings have been described. The larger of these was a temple of the normal square 'Romano-Celtic' plan long recognized as characteristic of Gallia Comata and Britain.² It consisted of a cella 16 ft. square internally, within a veranda which had walls at least 3 ft. high, designed possibly to carry dwarf-columns. The structural details of the building may mostly be relegated to the site-report (below, p. 131). Here it will suffice to observe that the entrance had been in the eastern side; that the walls of the veranda had been plastered and painted both internally and externally; the veranda had originally been paved wholly or partly with red tesserae; and the cella, the original flooring of which had perished anciently, had possibly contained a masonry pedestal. This last feature is inferred from the fragmentary record left by Edward Cunnington, who discovered and partially excavated the building in 1882 (p. 131). The whole of the flooring of the building had been renewed during its lifetime by hexagonal stone roof-'slates', possibly derived from the original roof of the building. In its last phase the building had evidently been roofed with clay tiles.

Two series of shallow post-sockets, placed at 13 ft. intervals, built partly of Roman

¹ Certainty on this point is impossible since all the associated coins described above could equally well have been in circulation at the later date (after A.D. 367) when the temple had come into being. It is only the absence of later coins from the hoard that renders the earlier date more likely, but against

this is the possibility that the hoard was not deposited until twenty years or more after its accumulation.

² For the type, see *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 300; and *Verulamium Report* (1936), p. 133.

brick and alined respectively with the eastern and western walls of the temple, evidently represent a former fence round the building. The entrance was approached from the east by a well-made road of pitched slabs.

The date of the building was securely indicated by a number of coins sealed by the primary cement flooring: Constantine I (1), Magnentius (1), Constans (1), Constantius II (2), barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type (1), Valens (3), Valentinian (1), Gratian (1). Equally significant was a number of coins found under the compact mortared foundation of the road adjoining and contemporary with the temple: Claudius Gothicus (1), Crispus (1), Constantine I (1), Constans (2), Constantius II (4), Constans or Constantius (1), barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type (1), Magnentius (2), Valens (1). The latest coins lost prior to the completion of the temple were thus four of Valens (A.D. 364-78) and one of Gratian (A.D. 367-83). The temple is therefore not earlier than A.D. 367.

Its secondary floor sealed other fourth-century coins, including one of Theodosius, and was therefore not earlier than A.D. 379.

The further occupation of the building was represented by eighty fourth-century coins, including eight of the House of Theodosius, together with a small hoard of four gold coins of Honorius and Arcadius found with a gold finger-ring close outside the east wall.

In the absence of an inscription, the dedication of the temple is unknown, and the variety of the cult-objects found in and near it is more puzzling than illuminating. Cunningham unearthed a small and indeterminate fragment of a bronze statuette approaching life-size, and a 'feathered' bronze votive plaque bearing a repoussé figure of Minerva and an inscription which is now too fragmentary for interpretation (pl. xxxix, B). In 1934 a small votive three-horned bull of tinned bronze, surmounted by three human busts (probably all female, but one with the head missing), was found in disturbed soil within the south-eastern corner of the veranda (pl. xxxi, B). Mention has already been made of the fragmentary marble Diana in the adjacent hut.

Of these objects, the most interesting is the bull. It belongs to an extensive group of three-horned bull-gods characteristic of north-eastern Gaul but represented also on at least four sites (Stoke Abbott and Maiden Castle in Dorset, and Colchester, and Leicester) in this country. The three-horned bull is doubtless *Tauros Trigaranus*, so named on reliefs at Trier and Paris, and is a type which occurs with varying detail on between forty and fifty sites, most of which have been listed in a recent recension by Dr. Fritz Heichelheim.¹ The distribution converges upon the Belgic area, and may indicate a Belgic variation of a widespread bull-god associated with water. Dr. Heichelheim sees in the occasional conjunction of human forms, male and female, with the bull-god a sort of duplicate presentation due to the impinging anthropomorphism of the classical world, and compares our Maiden Castle bull and 'nymphs' with other composite

¹ See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, iv A, 2453 (s.v. *Tauros Trigaranus*), and *ibid.* xvii, 2, 1593 (s.v. *Nymphae*). The three-horned bronze bull found in 1936 at Leicester is here added, and others from Baden (R. Laur-Belart, *Aarg.*

Heimatgeschichte, p. 150, cited by F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, 1931, p. 510) and from Lillebonne (Musée arch. at Rouen).

groups from Moulins (two three-horned bulls and two female figures) and, more doubtfully, from Trier (a male and a female figure with a now-headless bull). Whatever the precise significance of the human adjuncts, the identification of the bull with springs or rivers is likely enough, and the trinity is at least as much at home in the Celtic as in the classical world.

If we now consider the assemblage of these various divinities at the Maiden Castle temple—Diana, a Celtic water-god, Minerva—the literal interpretation of the cult is not easy. On the other hand, it is relevant to recall the increasingly composite and transcendental character of paganism under the later Empire—a complexity which is similarly indicated, for example, by the varied relics from the late fourth-century temple of Nodens at Lydney.¹ It is not impossible to suppose that more than one element relating to nature-worship and rural craftsmanship found a home in this hill-top shrine within the last generation of Roman rule.

Close to the northern side of the temple lay a small, two-roomed building, with the entrance at the northern end. No coins were found here, but the associated pottery was of the same fourth-century types which occurred in the temple. The building was presumably the residence of the attendant priest.

The three buildings—temple, residence, and hut—form an odd group on this isolated spot. The contrast between the primitive plan and construction of the hut and the normal Roman sophistication of the adjacent structures is sufficient to suggest possibilities which are incapable of proof. The relative date of hut and temple cannot be determined since the loose construction of the former militated against the close sealing of the associated coins. The contents of the hut proved that it was used during the lifetime of the temple, and the use of hexagonal roof-slates in its flooring recalls the secondary paving of the latter. But the coins found within the hut are consistent with (though without proving) a somewhat earlier date for it;² and it was observed that the fourth-century floor had been levelled into that of a slightly larger but otherwise equivalent hut of Belgic period (see plan, pl. xx). The pre-Roman hut had been built astride, or at the head of, one of the main streets of the prehistoric town: no less indeed than a street leading down to the east gate. Its prominent position suggests that the pre-Roman hut was a building of some distinction. And here imagination leaves the rails: was there a tenuous continuity between the pre-Roman and the Roman huts, and does the thin scatter of Middle Empire relics already referred to represent that continuity? It is easy, if extravagant, to recall the famous *casa Romuli*, the primitive hut of thatch and wattles which was religiously preserved on the Palatine in honour of the founder of Rome and, when necessary, rebuilt in its archaic fashion. No emphasis is laid upon this line of thought: the Maiden Castle hut may well have been a mere kitchen or storehouse. But the almost ostentatious barbarism of the little building, standing in the shadow of the four-square temple and containing so

¹ *Lydney Report*, p. 43.

² They included, amongst many late third- and fourth-century issues, three coins of Hadrian, one of Faustina I, one

of Lucilla, and two of Severus Alexander. These odd coins may of course have been dropped into the collecting-box of the temple at any later period.

comparatively rich an assortment of objects, justifies perhaps the passing fantasy that here at last we may have a tangible witness to that continuity of cult which has often enough been suggested in regard to Romano-Celtic temples, and very rarely proved.

To the temple-group on the hill-top, the main rampart of the original Maiden Castle formed a ready-made precinct-wall, through which the obvious approach was by way of the ancient eastern entrance. Accordingly, that entrance was adapted by the temple-builders by the construction of mortared screen-walls across the portals. The southern screen-wall was solid and completely blocked its portal; the northern was pierced by a gateway 10 ft. wide, barred originally by a double gate. Through the gateway a contemporary road-surface of pounded chalk, pebble, and brick was laid down, covering thickly the layer of humus which had accumulated on the site during the Middle Roman period (pl. cxvii). It would appear that the actual gates were normally kept closed, since the road-surface immediately adjoining them on the eastern or lower side was well preserved, whereas on the western or upper side, where closed gates would tend to pond back the rain-water, the road had sunk and had been roughly pitched. On the new road lay a number of horseshoes and, at one point, wheel-ruts indicated its usage by small vehicles with a gauge of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Within the gate and at a distance of 15 ft. from it in the more northerly part of the road was a contemporary oblong foundation, 4 ft. by 3 ft. Its purpose is unknown, but it was presumably built to carry an inscription or other monument which would confront the visitor on entering.

Incorporated in the material of the road was a coin of Constantine I, and on its surface lay two worn late Roman coins, one probably of Constans. But the date of the whole structure was more adequately indicated by evidence from the blocking-wall of the southern portal. Here the chalk blocks and rubble of which the wall was partially built had been quarried from the ancient causeway in front of it, the Roman date of the quarry being indicated by Roman material from the bottom of it. Beneath the wall, as in the northern portal, was the 9-in. layer of humus representing the 'blank' centuries of the Middle Empire; and on this humus, at the building-level of the wall and partially sealed by mortar-spread *in situ*, were eight coins extending into the third quarter of the fourth century (one of Constantine I, c. A.D. 313; two 'Urbs Roma', A.D. 330-7; two of Constantine II, respectively of A.D. 335-40 and 335-7; one of Constans, A.D. 340-8; one of Magnentius, A.D. 350-3; and one unidentified but of the second half of the fourth century). This evidence is sufficient to indicate that the Roman adaptation of the eastern entrance was approximately contemporary with the building of the temple. The general arrangement is comparable with that at Lydney, where, shortly after the building of the temple-group, a precinct-wall was added and a stone gateway inserted in the prehistoric entrance.

One other point calls for mention. Close inside the line of the original western rampart of Maiden Castle and overlying the line of the southern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound was found a line of four burials oriented east and west, with the heads towards the west. The only indication of date, apart from the high level of the graves, was the

accidental inclusion of a fragment of fourth-century New Forest ware in one of the graves. The orientation does not prove a Christian rite, and it may be supposed that the burials are those of persons connected with the service of the temple, or of adherents who had somehow obtained the privilege of burial in the precinct.

Of the nature of the final destruction of these various late Roman buildings no hint was forthcoming. The fact that not only was the temple first erected within the last thirty years of the fourth century but that its tessellated floor was crudely replaced at some subsequent date suggests an existence prolonged well into the fifth century. Thereafter all is blank save for one minor incident which may claim the prestige of a separate section.

19. THE SAXON BURIAL

Near the eastern end of the neolithic Long Mound, which here survived to a height of less than a foot, a human skeleton, lying with the feet towards the east, was found just below the surface. The head had apparently been tilted upwards and had been completely removed (doubtless by the plough) save for the lower jaw: The bones were those of a strongly built man in the prime of life, about 5 ft. 9 in. in height; and across the left thigh lay an iron scramasax with a small knife which had apparently been enclosed in the same sheath, somewhat on the principle of a Highland sgian-dubh (fig. 12, B and pl. LXIV).¹ Fragmentary remains of iron belt-fittings could also be detected about the waist. The scramasax is of the early 'Frankish' type which cannot typologically be dated more narrowly than to the late sixth to eighth centuries A.D., but a date at the end of the sixth century or in the first half of the seventh would be reasonable in the present context. The pagan Saxon occupation of Dorset has left very few tangible remains.² The conquest here was tardy, and even as late as Domesday only half the county was under cultivation.³ This solitary hill-top burial, within the shadow of the Roman temple, is unlikely to represent more than some band of pioneers or brigands who may have sheltered momentarily in the ruins and there have interred a casualty in a clumsy and shallow grave.

For the rest, the only relic of Saxon or medieval date from the hill-top is a small iron knife, found in the upper filling of the main western ditch (site E; see fig. 12, B). This may be fitted into the general agricultural scene which is continued and more amply illustrated by the remains of a long brick-and-timber barn found over the burnt Belgic huts at the eastern entrance with sixteenth-century pottery and a half-groat of the years 1558-61; and lastly by a square dew-pond built in the middle of the camp

¹ Cf. a similarly equipped burial found at Frilford, Berks., in 1938.—*Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 38.

² Two Saxon burials were found as secondaries in a barrow on Oakley Down (Warne, *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, part 3, pp. 12, 13, and 22, quoting Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts.* I). The objects found are in the Devizes Museum (*Devizes Mus. Cat.*, *Stourhead Coll.*, pp. 52, 53, 62). And from one of a group of four small barrows on Hardown Hill, Morecambe-

lake, between Chideock and Charmouth, have been summarily extracted nine spear-heads, a shield-boss, an axe-head, a tanged knife, and a little square-headed brooch, all now in the Lyme Regis Museum (poorly reported in *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* liii, 1931). This short list of pagan Saxon things from Dorset, if not complete, is nearly so.

³ R. W. Eyton, *Domesday Book of Dorset* (1878), p. 35.

in the sixties of the nineteenth century, and long since nullified by the destruction of its lining. The circular depression known on the maps as a 'well', near the southern rampart, remains an unexplored mystery, but may be nothing more than a swallow-hole. And below the defences at this point was formerly a cavity, now filled in by a farmer, where a spring may once have flowed upon the hill-side. If so, the water has long vanished; but the memory of the 'cave' is kept green in local legend by the story that ducks, driven into it, have been known to emerge at the public pump in Dorchester, over 2 miles away. With this very proper marvel, our introductory survey of Maiden Castle may be concluded.

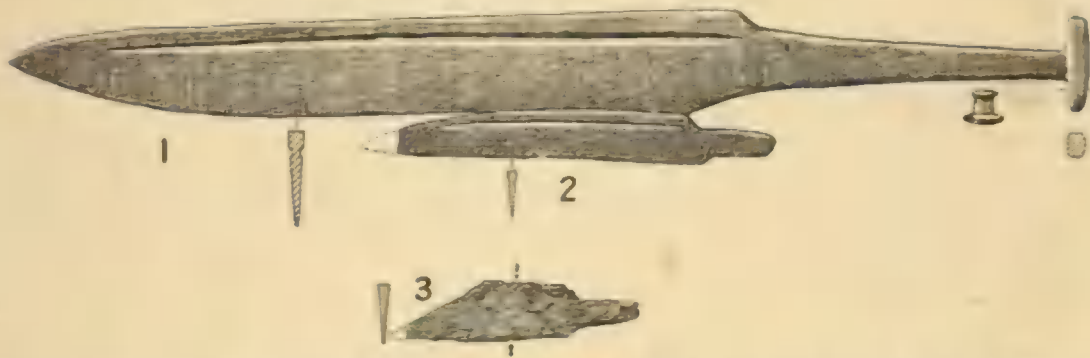
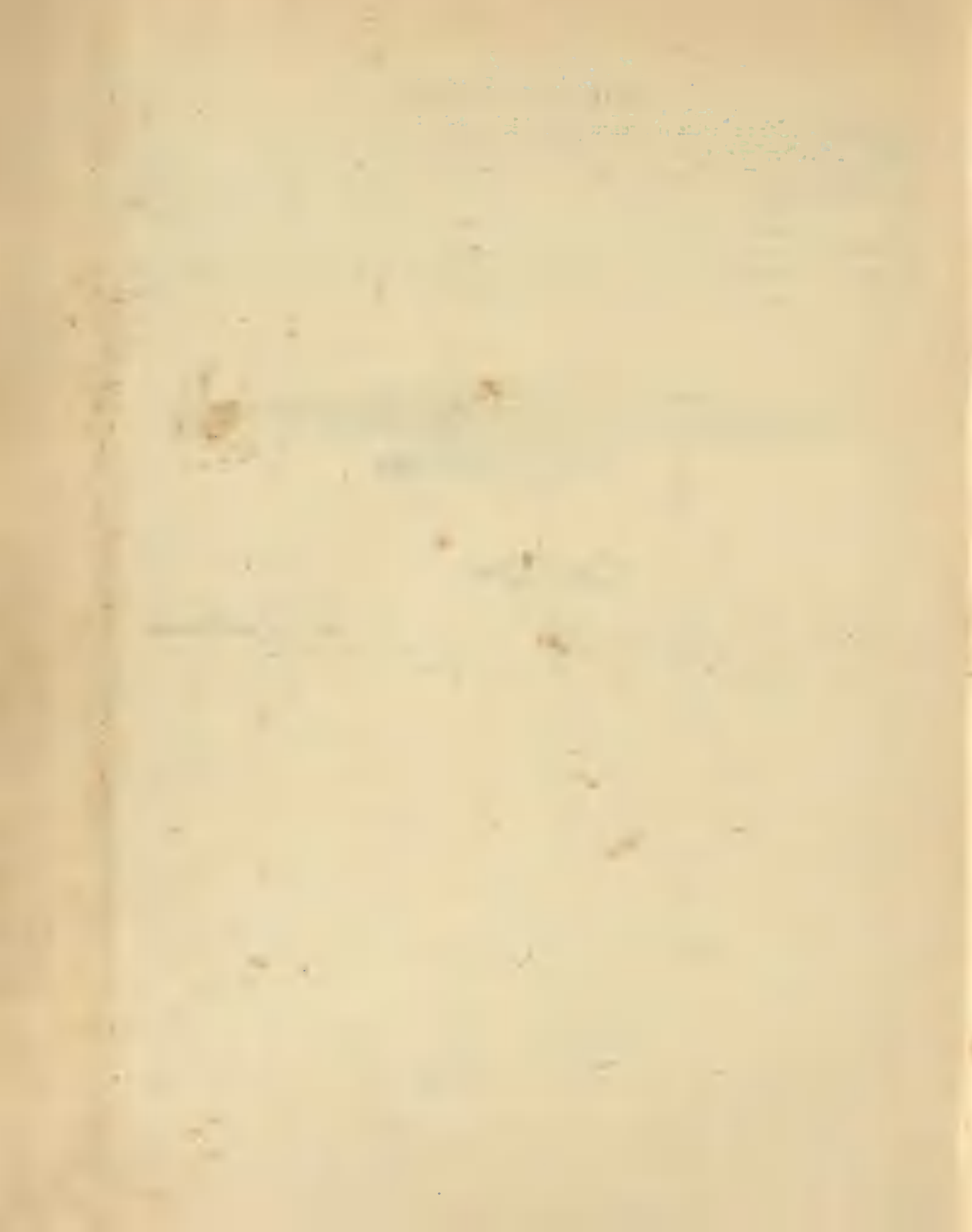
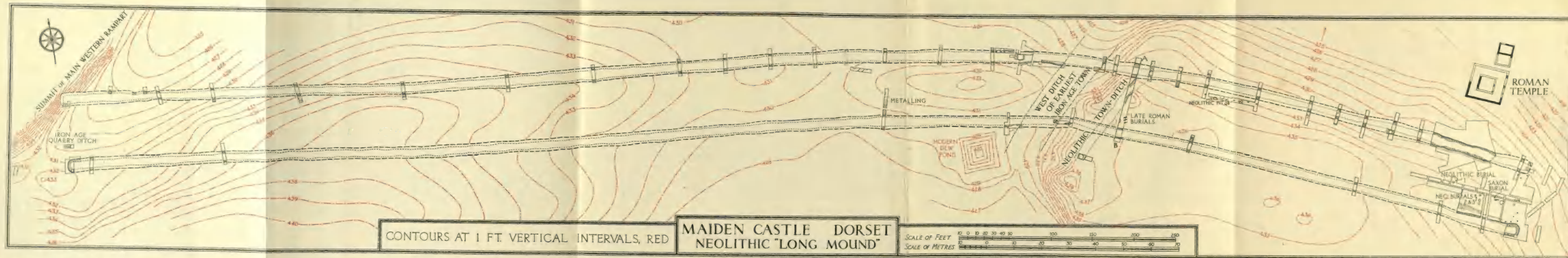


FIG. 12 B. 1 and 2, scramasax and knife from Saxon burial on Site Q; 3, late Saxon or medieval knife from upper filling of main ditch on site E. (1).

(See pp. 78 and 106, and pl. LXIV.)







PART II

SITES EXCAVATED

IN this section of the report each of the principal sites explored is described in sufficient detail to indicate the character and significance of the evidence used summarily in Part I. Most of the sites are described *seriatim*, but it has been found convenient to treat separately the neolithic village on sites A, F, G, L, Q, and R, the neolithic Long Mound on sites L and Q, and the Roman buildings on sites B and L. Objects found are dealt with separately in Part III.

1. THE NEOLITHIC VILLAGE (Sites A, F, G, L, Q, R)

For convenience, the remains of a neolithic village ditch-system, found under the Iron Age deposits on various sites, are here grouped together. (See also above, p. 18.) Collectively, they indicate a settlement situated on the eastern hill and approximately coincident with the earlier Iron Age A camp. The settlement was surrounded by two parallel ditches of the irregular, square-bottomed, and steep-sided neolithic type, both about 5 ft. deep, the inner 8-12 ft. broad and the outer about 7 ft. broad. The interval between the two was about 50 ft. 'Causeways' or interruptions normal to neolithic ditches of the 'Windmill Hill' series were observed in the outer ditch on sites F and R. Within and without the enclosure a few pits, a thin occupation-layer, and possibly a few post-holes (though these may all belong to the Long Mound, p. 88), all on sites L, Q, and T, represent the actual occupation. To these may be added a flint working-floor which was partially uncovered on site E (p. 100).

By sites, the structural evidence was briefly as follows.

Site A

Four pits or ditches on this site (pl. vi, A1, A2, A7, and A23) contained Neolithic A sherds (below, p. 159 and figs. 35-6), and it was at once suspected that A2, which was 11 ft. wide, 5½ ft. deep, and square-bottomed, had formed a part of an intermittent ditch-system of the familiar 'Windmill Hill' type. This conjecture was subsequently proved to be correct (sites F, G, Q, and R), A2 forming a part of the inner ditch of the neolithic settlement. The upper filling of this ditch is now known, from other cuttings, to date from periods when Neolithic B and, subsequently, Beaker pottery had arrived, but the only hint of the later phase in this cutting was the discovery of a derivative *petit tranchet* flint arrow-head at a high level (see below, p. 173, fig. 43, 57). Dr. Grahame

Clark has shown that this type of implement is normally of the period of Neolithic B-Beaker pottery,¹ and the present example is no exception.

Within the ditch A2, a hearth capping the rapid silt indicated actual occupation, whilst the pits A1, A7, and A23 had been used wholly or largely for cooking. They contained, like most of the neolithic pits and ditches of Maiden Castle, large numbers of primary flint flakes, together with a number of hazel nuts (*Corylus avellana*) in A23 and bones of sheep, pig, and a large ox of distinctively neolithic type (below, p. 362).

The neolithic pits were filled up and were sealed by a well-marked layer of turf before the Iron Age earthwork was built over and through them (pl. LXXI, layer B). This turf-line represents the Middle and Late Bronze Age, when the hill-top appears to have been devoid of habitation. Possible reasons for this hiatus are discussed above (p. 24).

Sites F and G (under the Iron Age eastern entrance)

During the excavation of the main portals of the Iron Age eastern entrance in 1935-6, a neolithic ditch similar to, and doubtless a further part of, the ditch discovered on site A was revealed in the actual portals and under the mound which divides them.

In the portals the ditch had been almost completely cut or worn away, but it appeared in a reasonably intact condition in the lateral sections. Both in type and in content the complete section uncovered beneath the dividing mound (pl. XI) was representative, and its description will suffice.

The ditch was sealed by the vestiges of a horizontal turf-line showing that here, as elsewhere at Maiden Castle, the neolithic ditch-system was entirely obliterated before the Early Iron Age. At the base of the turf-line (pl. XI, Neo. layer 1) was a great scatter of Beaker sherds of early AC type (pl. XXIII), representing at least half a dozen different vessels in a cutting only 3 ft. wide. No neolithic pottery occurred with the Beakers and, conversely, no Beakers occurred in the lower (i.e. neolithic) strata. Whilst there was no stratigraphical indication of any appreciable lapse of time between the neolithic and Beaker levels, there was here a complete cultural cleavage.

The two closely related occupation-levels in the top of the ditch-filling (Neo. layers 2 and 3), immediately below the old turf-line, contained sherds of the Neolithic A and B cultures intermingled. Below these layers the more rapid silting of the ditch contained only Neolithic A pottery, representing the phase to which the whole of the effective life of the ditch belonged.

Beneath the outer margin of the northern Iron Age portal, at a distance of 50 ft. from the neolithic ditch just described, was found a second square-bottomed ditch, 4½ ft. deep and 2 ft. wide at the bottom (pl. LXXIII). Immediately south of the portal the ditch showed a slight interruption, but details were here obscured by Iron Age cuttings. In the ditch were a few sherds of Neolithic A pottery, and fragmentary ox-bones.

In the space between the ditches, on the flanks of the Iron Age portal, were two neo-

¹ *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), 56.

lithic cooking-pits which produced leaf-shaped arrow-heads, scrapers, and many flint flakes, with scraps of Neolithic A pottery.

Sites L and Q

These sites, on the summit of the eastern hill, are noteworthy rather for the remains of the neolithic Long Mound (p. 86) than for the neolithic settlement. Nevertheless, a number of shallow pits and scrapings under the Long Mound, together with a thin layer of occupation-débris containing flint implements and flakes and some sherds of Neolithic A pottery, were sealed by a 'turf' layer before the mound was built, and precede it therefore by a considerable interval. Attention has been drawn above (p. 20) to the importance of this evidence.

The most striking demonstration, however, of the differentiation in time between the neolithic settlement and the neolithic Long Mound was provided on site Q at the point where the former was crossed by the earliest Iron Age western rampart, which retained in its structure an intact fragment of the mound (pls. v and LXXV). By a fortunate coincidence the Long Mound at this point crossed in turn the inner ditch of the neolithic settlement, and the section thus provides a series of neolithic and Iron Age sequences which is probably unique. It shows clearly that the neolithic town-ditch was already filled before the mound was built; and this, combined with other evidence for a time-interval between the two (above, p. 20) and the fact that both mound and village belong to the Neolithic A culture, has an obvious significance. Pottery from the town-ditch is illustrated in figs. 26-8. Unfortunately it must be supposed that some of the pottery incorporated in the Long Mound, whether in position or in the down-wash in its flanking ditches, is itself derived from the earlier phase, so that something of the value of the superposition must, in this respect, be discounted.

The outer neolithic ditch on this site is swallowed by the original western Iron Age ditch.

Site R (original western Iron Age entrance)

The exploration of the site of this entrance revealed both the inner and the outer neolithic town-ditches, 50 ft. apart (fig. 13). Both were very irregularly cut, and the outer ditch shows a characteristic 'Windmill Hill' interruption, 20 ft. wide.

A length of 25 ft. of the inner (eastern) ditch was cleared (fig. 14), and showed a sequence similar to that already noted at the eastern entrance (above, p. 82). The lowest third of the ditch-filling, belonging to the effective use of the ditch, contained only Neolithic A pottery. The middle filling included Neolithic B, and the uppermost third incorporated Beaker, collared food-vessels, and other Early Bronze Age types, all of which must be ascribed to a partial reoccupation of the hill-top after the building of the Long Mound. The pottery of the middle and upper fillings presents an interesting mixture of neolithic and Early Bronze Age fabrics (see below, fig. 34).

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET SITE R NEOLITHIC DITCHES UNDER ORIGINAL IRON AGE WEST GATE

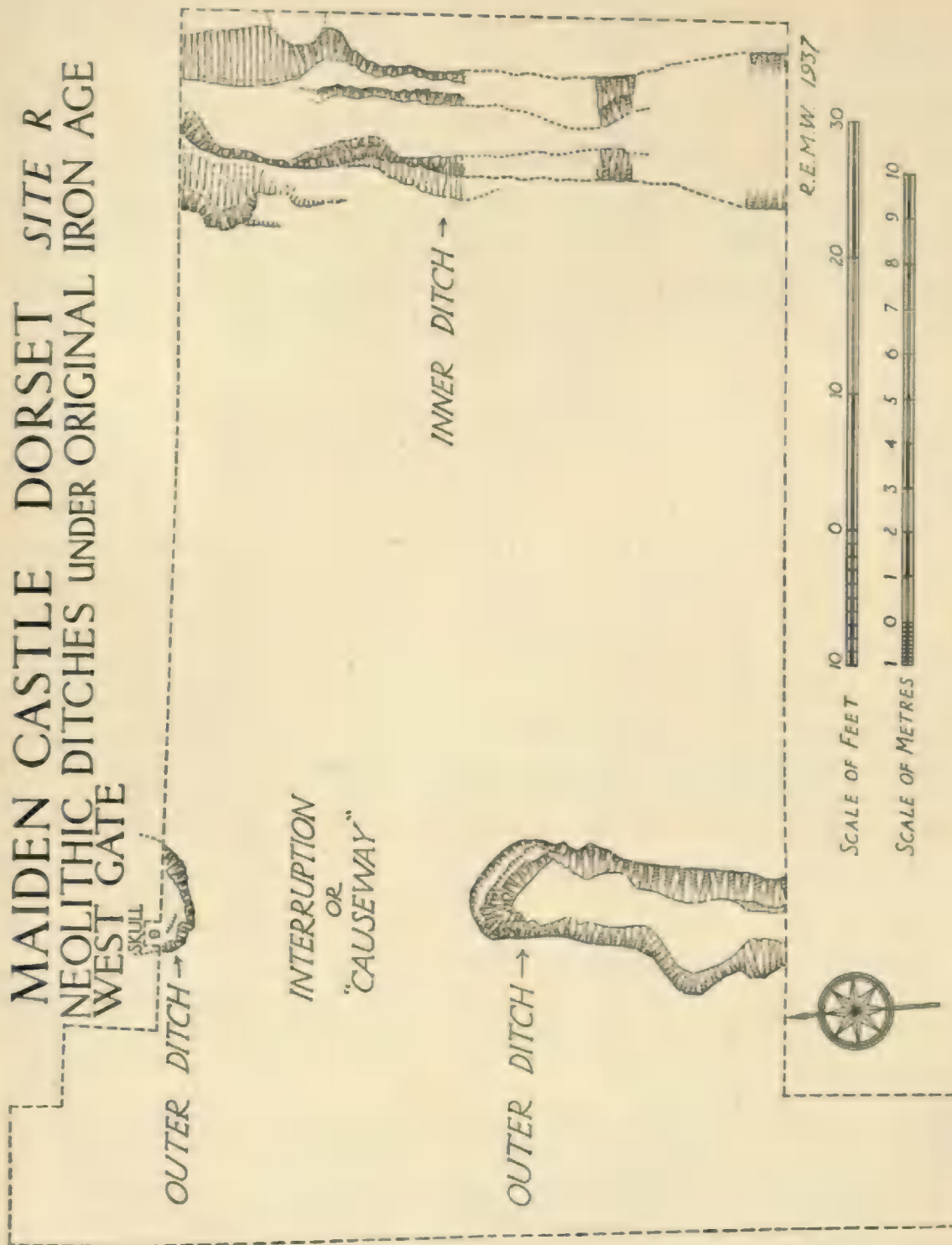
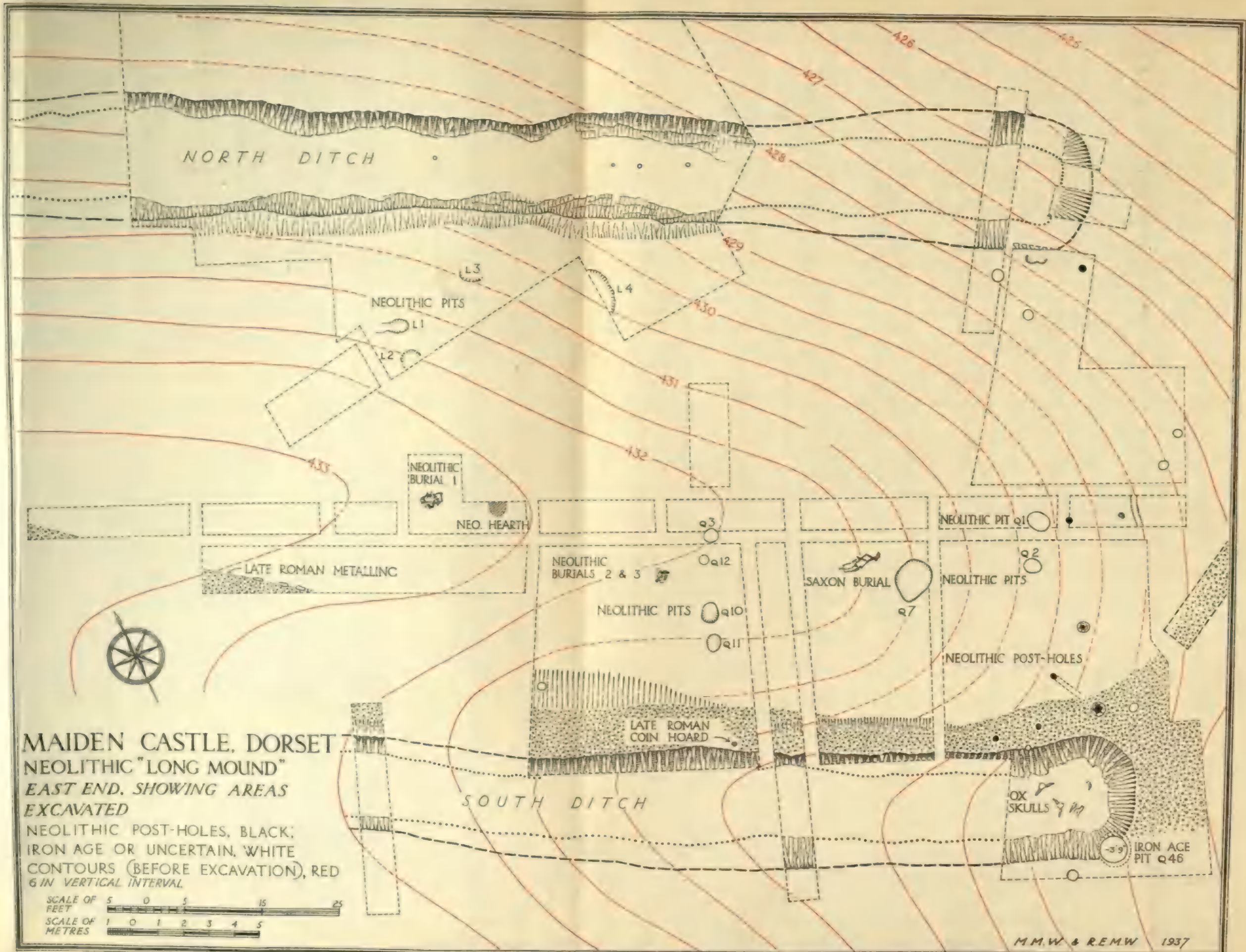


FIG. 13



Part of a dolichocephalic human skull was found in the filling of the outer ditch (p. 344).

Outside the ditch-system, amongst the outworks of the Iron Age eastern entrance, eight neolithic pits were found, and represent a sporadic occupation of this comparatively level area. Their positions are shown on pl. cxix.

In detail, these pits were as follows.

Neolithic Pit T₁, in trench LXXX, was 7 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. 8 in. deep and contained four layers under the sealing turf-line. The chalk figurine, fig. 49, was found in the lowest layer together with Neolithic A pottery, a saddle-quern and a scallop-shell,

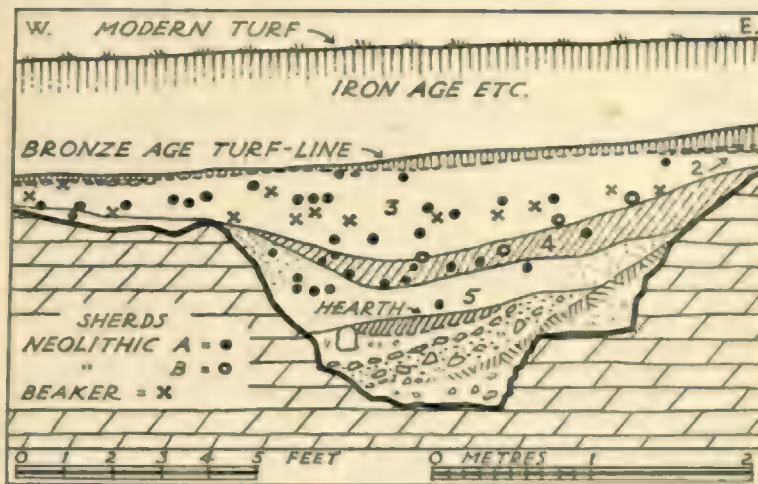


FIG. 14. Inner neolithic town-ditch, site R, showing pottery-distribution

while a dark occupation-layer above this contained Neolithic B and Beaker sherds. Another layer over this contained Beaker and Neolithic A, and just under the turf-line was a hearth in which many flint flakes were found.

Neolithic Pit T₂, in trench LXXXVII, was a small pit 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter and about 1 ft. 2 in. deep, situated near the centre of a neolithic chipping-floor. The filling was of brown mud and not stratified. It contained Neolithic A sherds, an unworked antler, a well-made axe, fig. 40, 15, and a roughly made axe, fig. 41, 25, together with a rubbing-stone and many flakes.

Neolithic Pit T₃ was situated in trench CII under the buried Iron Age rampart. It was irregularly cut and approximately 7 ft. 9 in. in diameter and 2 ft. 3 in. deep, and contained Neolithic A pottery, flint scrapers, and other flint implements. There were two layers, but the lower consisted of fallen chalk and was barren.

Neolithic Pit T₄ was a small pit 2 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. 10 in. deep, in trench LXXX. The lowest occupation contained Neolithic A pottery. This layer also contained Beaker sherds, a greenstone axe (fig. 38, 7), a scraper, and neolithic flakes.

Neolithic Pit T₆, in trench CXXIV, was 6 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. deep. It was

clearly stratified, the two principal occupation-layers being nos. 3 and 5, but contained exclusively Neolithic A pottery. Layer 6 consisted of red fire ash, and contained a hammer-stone, a goat's horn, and limpet-shells; and two neolithic dog skeletons were found in layer 4. Layer 3 contained a greenstone axe.

Neolithic Pit T7, in trench CXIII, was 8 ft. 9 in. in diameter and 3 ft. 9 in. deep. One Beaker sherd was found in the turf-line sealing it, but otherwise it contained exclusively Neolithic A pottery. The shale object (fig. 52) and two lugs came from layer 5, while bugle handles and a bead-rim, arrow-head (fig. 42, 40), querns, together with hammer-stones and scrapers came from layer 4. Layer 3 contained lugs and bone points, also a flint core and scrapers. Limpet-shells were found in all layers.

Neolithic Pit T8, in trench CXIII, was a small pit 3 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. deep. It had two fillings, the lower containing Neolithic A sherds and many serrated flakes.

Neolithic Pit T9, in trench CXXXI, was 2 ft. 9 in. in diameter and 4 ft. deep. It contained four layers, but only the lowest produced any finds. This was a dark occupation-layer and included large lumps of quarried flint, some sliced, which were possibly a flint knapper's raw material. A large saddle-quern (fig. 38, 2) was bedded in the bottom, and lug handles, bead-rims, a rubbing-stone, and limpet-shells were also found in this layer.

2. THE NEOLITHIC LONG MOUND

(Sites L and Q)

It is convenient to treat as a single unit the neolithic Long Mound or Long Barrow which first appeared obscurely on site L in 1936 and was subsequently disclosed more fully, in 1937, on the adjacent site Q. For this purpose the neolithic features of the two sites are here grouped together.

In 1936 an 80-ft. length of square-bottomed and steep-sided neolithic ditch, 5 ft. deep, 14 ft. wide at the top, and 8 ft. wide at the bottom, was uncovered on site L (pl. LXXVI and fig. 15). The rapid silt, and a black hearth-layer immediately overlying it, contained sherds exclusively of Neolithic A; the middle content of the ditch included sherds of Neolithic B; whilst the uppermost stratum of the filling contained Beaker sherds and Early Bronze Age elements. Over all, and underlying the Iron Age deposits, was a 6-in. band of clay representing the turf and humus which sealed the ditch between the Early Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

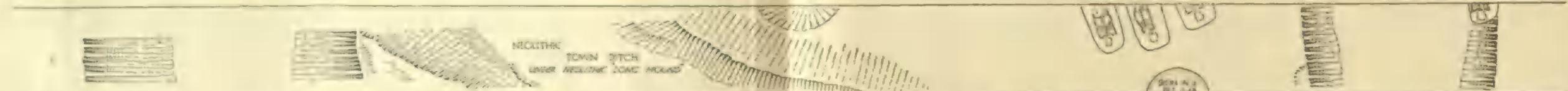
Incidentally, an absence of Iron Age deposits was observed along the southern margin of the ditch, although the filling of the ditch itself was riddled with Iron Age pits and post-holes.

In 1937 a succession of upwards of thirty-four cross-trenches traced this ditch to a squarish eastern end a short distance to the east of site L, and to a western end under the main Iron Age rampart north of the western entrance to the camp, thus proving

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET



R.E.M. Wheeler mens. & del.
1937



SECTION AND PLAN OF CUTTING THROUGH NEOLITHIC "LONG MOUND", SHEWING
NEOLITHIC TOWN-DITCH BELOW AND IRON AGE "A" RAMPART ABOVE



the astonishing length of 1,790 ft. for the ditch (pl. III). At the same time, 60 ft. farther south, a second, parallel, ditch of similar dimensions was found and followed; and between the two, in that portion of the ditch-system which lay within the original Iron Age camp, there was a foot-thickness of compact earth containing some Neolithic A pottery but no Iron Age intrusion of any kind. This suggested the former presence of

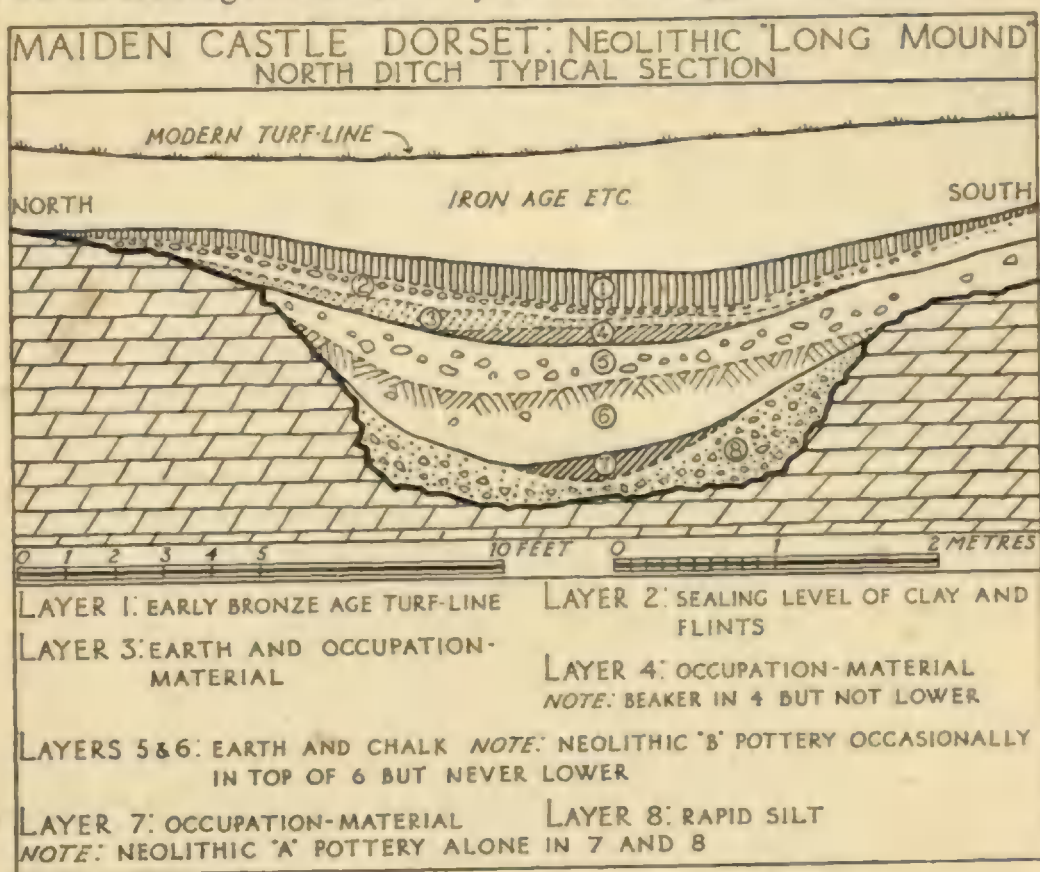


FIG. 15

a mound or bank between the ditches, and the supposition was confirmed at the point where the ditches underlay the original western rampart of the camp, near site C. At the crossing the Iron Age rampart had incorporated and preserved a section of the neolithic mound in the condition in which it remained at the beginning of the Iron Age (pls. v and LXXV). The mound is there seen to retain a height of 5 ft. above the ground-level, and its 'turf-line' is continuous with that already referred to as covering the neolithic and Early Bronze Age filling of the flanking ditches.

The structure as a whole, therefore, consisted originally of a long mound, upwards of 5 ft. high and no less than 1,790 ft. in length, flanked by parallel flat-bottomed ditches which did not return round the ends. On plan, it is slightly broken-backed, the change in direction occurring at the point where there is a slight dip in the ridge on

which the mound stands. Otherwise the mound forms the backbone of the almost continuous ridge, and its length was doubtless determined in part by the length of that ridge.

In detail, it may be observed that, with due allowance for differential weathering, the ditch is tolerably regular in shape. The only hint of a partial interruption was near the bend, north-north-east of the modern dew-pond, where a 'promontory' of natural chalk projects into the ditch from the northern side. There is no indication, however, of any significant hesitation in the digging of the ditch at this point, and the irregularity is in fact no more than is constantly found in neolithic ditch-cutting.

Near the eastern end of both ditches bones and horn-cores of a domesticated long-horned ox or urus (*Bos primigenius* Boj., see pl. LXV and p. 361) occurred frequently in the lower filling. In particular, at the end of the southern ditch, parts of four or five fine skulls or cores lay in the black hearth-layer immediately over the rapid silt, and belong therefore to Neolithic A. The concentration of these remains at the eastern end suggests the possibility of ceremonial use.

Whether the mound was originally retained by a continuous palisade, as in the case of the Skendleby long barrow,¹ could not be determined. Occasional post-holes attributable to the neolithic period occurred along the inner margins of the ditches, but not in a sufficiently consistent array to prove that they belong to a revetment rather than to huts preceding the building of the mound. At the eastern end, however, there was a suggestion of a concave revetment, represented by four surviving neolithic post-holes, with a fifth cut obliquely to support a diagonal strut at the south-eastern corner (see pl. IV). The surface had been much denuded hereabouts, and other post-holes may easily have disappeared.

Within the eastern end, on the axis of the mound, an oval pit (Q₁), 2 ft. 3 in. deep and apparently belonging to the period of the mound, contained Neolithic A pottery (fig. 29, 40-9), limpet-shells, and minute fragments of bone, and may be equated with the 'ritual pit' noted at Skendleby and elsewhere in this position.² Other shallow pits (Q₂, 10, 11, 12, &c.) under the mound belong, not to the mound itself, but to the underlying neolithic settlement.

On the axis of the mound and 74 ft. west of its eastern end, a very remarkable human burial (Neo. skeleton 1) lay on the ground-surface under the remains of the mound, here about 1 ft. in thickness. This skeleton showed extensive trephination and mutilation immediately after death, and is discussed elsewhere in this report (pp. 20 and 344). The position and elaboration of this burial may be taken to indicate that it was primary, and the stratigraphic evidence was consistent with this supposition.

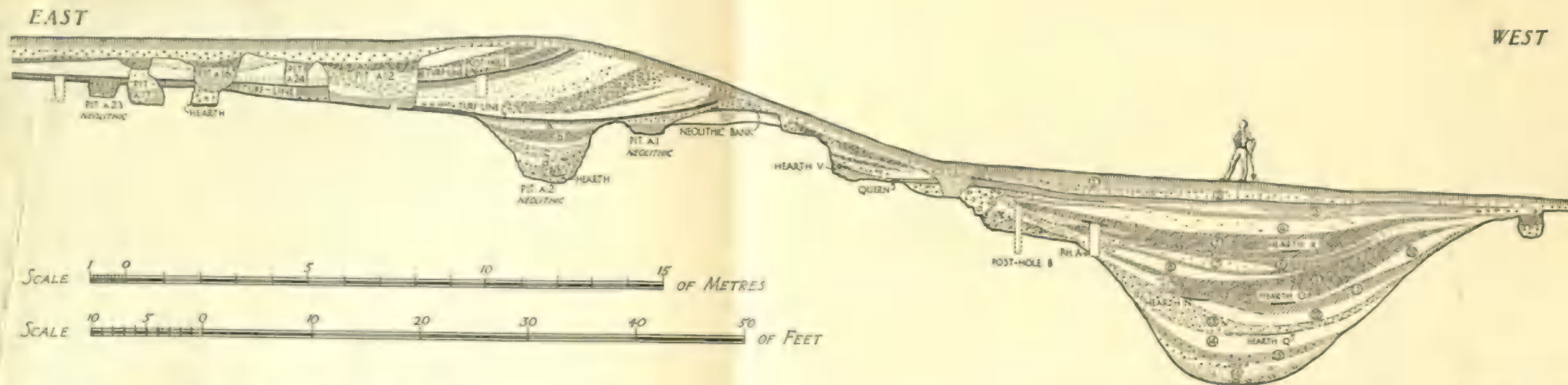
At a distance of 30 ft. to the south-east of this burial the huddled skeletons of two small children, six or seven years old, were found buried head to tail, with a minute Neolithic A pot (fig. 29, 50) by the shoulder of one of them. This may also have been a primary burial, but the surviving thickness of the mound was insufficient for proof.

¹ C. W. Phillips, *Arch.* lxxxv (1935), 49.

² Ibid. 50 and 87. To the examples there cited should

now be added that on Thicket Down, Dorset (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iii, 1937, p. 7).





MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET
SECTION & PLAN OF CUTTING "A"
ACROSS ORIGINAL WESTERN DEFENCES



A Saxon burial, 22 ft. farther east, is referred to elsewhere (p. 78). By that time the mound had assumed its present lowly proportions, as the result of ploughing in the Romano-British period (above, p. 22).

The date of the Long Mound is indicated by two factors. First, at the point where it underlay the western rampart of the original Iron Age camp, it also overlay the filled-up main ditch of the neolithic village (p. 83). The latter was of Neolithic A, and had apparently been abandoned before the building of the Long Mound. On the other hand the Long Mound, though itself of Neolithic A, and in its first years associated only with that culture, had not long been in existence before Neolithic B sherds began to find their way into the ditch-filling. This admixture was shortly followed by Early Bronze Age sherds, and it is evident that on this site Neolithic B did not long precede the Bronze Age. (See section, fig. 15.) The Long Mound is not likely therefore to be earlier than the twentieth century B.C.

Other aspects of this, the longest of all long barrows, are discussed above, p. 23.

3. SITE A (pls. vi, LXXI, LXXVII)

A trench 10 ft. wide and 211 ft. long was cut through the western defences of the original Iron Age camp in order to determine their extent, character, and date. In the process were revealed the first traces of the neolithic settlement which occupied approximately the same eastern part of the ridge (see p. 81).

The contour of the Iron Age earthwork is not well represented in the section (pl. vi). After the extension of the camp towards the west, the original western defences were mutilated by a partial destruction of the rampart and the complete filling of the ditch. An incidental result of this was that our exploratory trench was laid out slightly askew, so that the contour of the ditch, as illustrated, appears blunter and less shapely than in fact it was. A truer picture of the ditch is provided by the cutting on site H (below, p. 122, and pl. xix).

From cuttings at the eastern entrance and on sites H and Q, it is known that the original Iron Age rampart of Maiden Castle was revetted front and back, in a well-known Hallstatt fashion (above, p. 31), by lines of posts linked, presumably, by wattles. On site A two of the inner posts were represented by post-holes, each 1 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. deep in the tail of the rampart. All traces of the outer posts had been removed by later Iron Age pits and floors, but four of them were later found a little farther north, on site Q.

In the filling of the Iron Age ditch, the nine lowest layers (8-16)—more than half the total filling—contained pottery exclusively of Iron Age A type. The sherds were numerous but too fragmentary and amorphous to justify either close dating or separate illustration. They occurred partly in layers of silt or tip and partly in occupation-levels, sometimes associated with hearths. The latter are important in showing that the ditch was not deliberately filled in, e.g. by throwing the bank into it, but was gradually choked by the processes of occupation. This utilization of the shelter of the ditch during Iron

MAIDEN CASTLE
DORSET

SITE B 1934

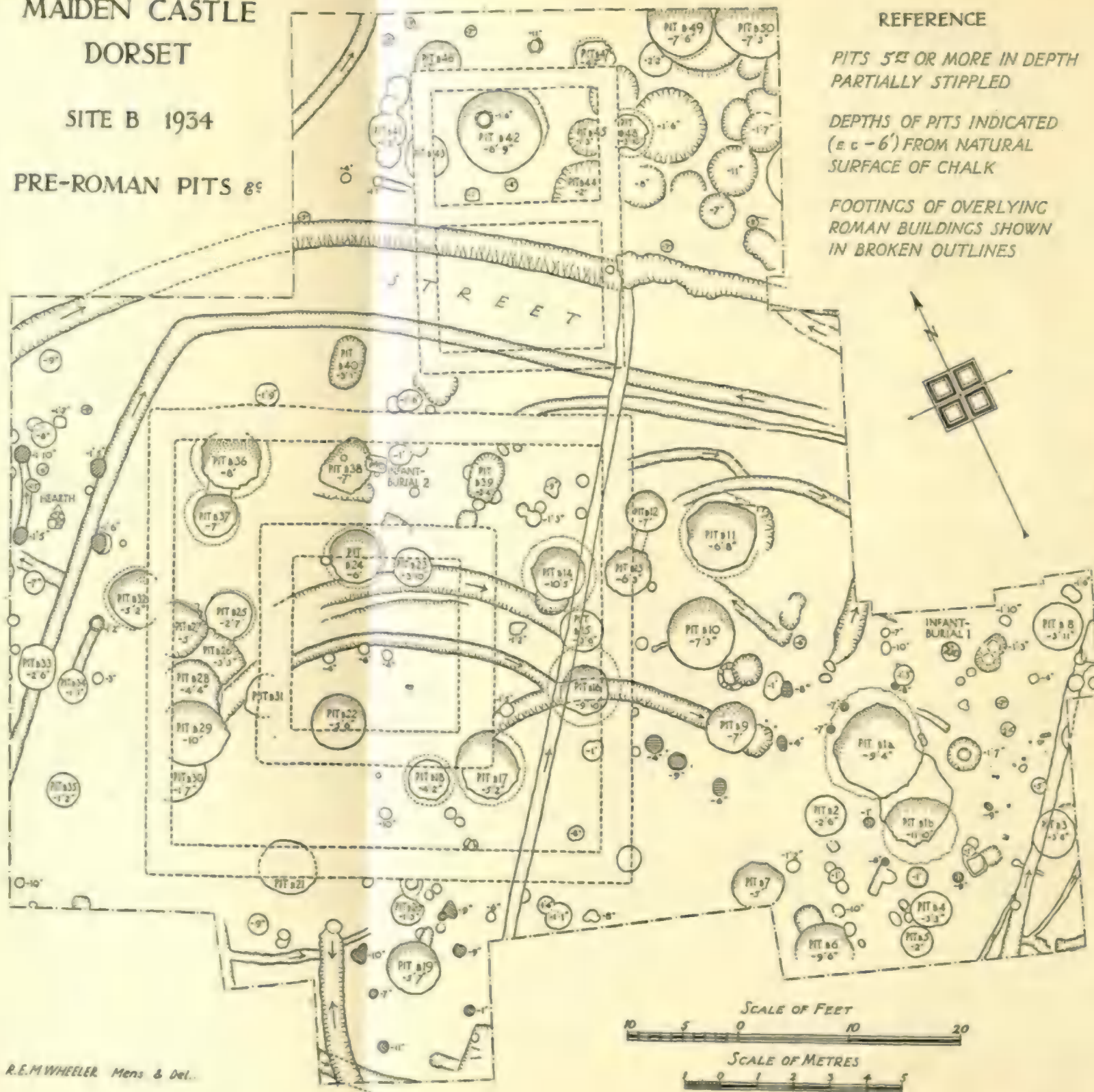
PRE-ROMAN PITS &c

REFERENCE

PITS 5' OR MORE IN DEPTH
PARTIALLY STIPPLED

DEPTHS OF PITS INDICATED
(E.G. -6') FROM NATURAL
SURFACE OF CHALK

FOOTINGS OF OVERLYING
ROMAN BUILDINGS SHOWN
IN BROKEN OUTLINES



pit (B12) contained over 4,000 sling-pebbles, and pit B7 produced a somewhat smaller hoard. Another pit, B17, contained a hoard of seven chalk loom-weights. These three pits were all of Iron Age B.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the site was the extensive series of gullies which interlaced it. In many cases these gullies had been filled up or interrupted by new pits during the prehistoric occupation; but it was evident that, in some instances at least, they had originally been designed for conducting rain-water to storage-pits. A clear instance of this was provided by pit B9, which was fed originally by a Y-shaped system of gullies, as shown on the plan. It is of early date, and the pottery in its subsequent filling was exclusively of Iron Age A. Pit B15, of Iron Age B, probably provides another example. The pits were presumably lined with timber or skins to prevent percolation, but no trace of these materials had survived.

Of the pits which produced a significant quantity of pottery, twelve (B3, 8, 9, 10, 19, 23, 25, 29, 32, 47, CW and R) were of Iron Age A, twenty-six were of Iron Age B, and only one (B48) contained Iron Age C or Belgic sherds in its filling. This conforms with the rule at Maiden Castle that scarcely any pits were retained in use in the Belgic period (above, p. 58).

Two crouched infant burials were found (see plan), both in superficial levels and in one case (burial 1) with a wheel-turned bead-rim bowl of the Belgic period (see fig. 73, 192 below). The skull (cephalic index 80) and incomplete skeleton of a woman, between 40 and 60 years of age, were found in the lower filling of pit B42 with Iron Age B pottery.

5. SITE C

On this site, adjoining site A, work was restricted mainly to a narrow trench driven along the line of the original western Iron Age ditch to find whether, at the highest and most obvious point, there was an original entrance in the camp on the west. The trench proved that there was no original causeway here or hereabouts, and subsequent search in 1937 discovered the original western entrance at a point farther south (site R, p. 127).

The trench on site C, however, showed that above the processes of filling already described in the case of site A the western ditch had been straddled by successive causeways of chalk rubble, the uppermost having a carefully constructed kerb on the southern side, including a fragment of a Roman quern. This late causeway was probably used in conjunction with the fourth-century Roman temple farther east, and doubtless formed a part of the late Roman metalled trackway found to the south of that temple on site Q (see p. 73).

6. SITE D

(i) *The Hutments* (pl. VIII)

Site D was an area-excavation within the southern defences adjacent to the south-western corner, selected at a spot where the height of the rampart might be thought to

Age A presumably occurred for the most part after the extension of the camp in the latter part of that period.

Of the Iron Age storage-pits with which the rampart and the margins of the ditch were honeycombed, two (A15 and A16) were of Iron Age A; the remainder were wholly or mostly of Iron Age B.

4. SITE B (pls. vii and cviii)

The area trenched by Edward Cunnington in 1882 was fully cleared in 1934 and was extended to cover about one-third of an acre. In this area the soil was everywhere removed down to the undisturbed chalk except where Roman masonry still existed.

The Roman (4th century A.D.) remains on this site are described below (p. 131) in conjunction with those on the adjacent site L.

The northern part of the site was traversed from east to west by an early street or path which had been carefully metalled or re-metalled in the Belgic period, in the usual fashion of ramming or rolling pebbles into the surface of the chalk. For the rest, the whole area was honeycombed with pits, post-holes, and gullies. The pits ranged, as usual, from shallow depressions to holes 10 ft. deep beneath the surface of the natural chalk, and no less than twenty-six of them were upwards of 5 ft. deep below this datum. The general character of these pits and their probable functions are discussed above (p. 51). It will suffice here to recall that the top was normally contracted, producing an overhang round the lip that can only have survived under cover. Whether that cover was commonly the hut itself or whether it was a separate lid is less easy to say. Doubtless both methods were employed, but the usual difficulty was experienced of identifying related systems of post-holes on a site so long used and so extensively disturbed superficially in the Roman period.

It is clear, however, that some at least of the earlier huts or shelters were oblong on plan. Thus the hut which included the Iron Age A pit B19 is marked by two parallel rows of contemporary post-holes (hatched on plan, pl. vii). Moreover, a hearth on the western fringe of the site was similarly flanked by parallel lines, each of two or more post-holes (also hatched on plan). The use of the oblong plan has been observed on other Iron Age sites in this country (above, p. 36; below, p. 124).

In one instance a larger pit (B1a) had been supplemented by the digging of a second pit alongside and partially into it (B1b). A section of this double pit is shown in fig. 12a. Large pits such as these were sometimes used for habitation; thus the lowest floor of pit B1a had a continuous ring of mutton bones round its periphery (pl. cviii), suggesting that the family had squatted round their hearth in the centre and had thrown the gnawed bones over their shoulder. This pit was of late Iron Age B date (c. A.D. 25).

A majority of the pits had doubtless been designed primarily for storage. Some of the smaller ones were used for cooking, but most of the ash, broken clay hearths, and other debris were thrown into the pits after their disuse. Parts of animal carcasses (*Bos longifrons*, sheep or goat, pig, and occasional dog) occurred frequently in the filling. One



afford shelter for settlement. Excavation showed that the successive generations of the population of Maiden Castle here crowded thickly under the lee of the bank. Within an area of 110 ft. by 20 ft. (in part, 40 ft.) nine hutments were wholly or partially excavated and twenty-five pits were investigated. A 10-ft. section was carried from this area-excavation into the adjacent rampart, first to act as a check upon the major rampart-section (site E) and secondly to connect the various levels of occupation with the six successive phases of rampart-building which, as on site E, were here identified.

Surface-indications suggested that material for some part of the rampart at the south-western corner had been obtained from within and adjacent to the lines of the defences; and excavation showed that a great quarry-ditch, upwards of 7 ft. deep and 67 ft. wide, had indeed supplied both chalk and clay for the construction of rampart 4.

It was within the continually rising levels of this quarry that huts, closely adjacent and/or superimposed, were found. The importance of the material remains associated with the successive phases of hut-construction is that they are all subsequent to the building of rampart 4 and can be equated in turn with the subsequent ramparts 5 and 6. A number of the pottery types are illustrated below in Part III.

In all, five distinct occupation-levels were identified, one in relation to rampart 4, three in relation to rampart 5, and one in relation to rampart 6. Six hut-floors, all representing circular or polygonal plans, were wholly or partially explored at the various levels.

(a) *Activities associated with rampart 4 (i.e. the first large rampart)*

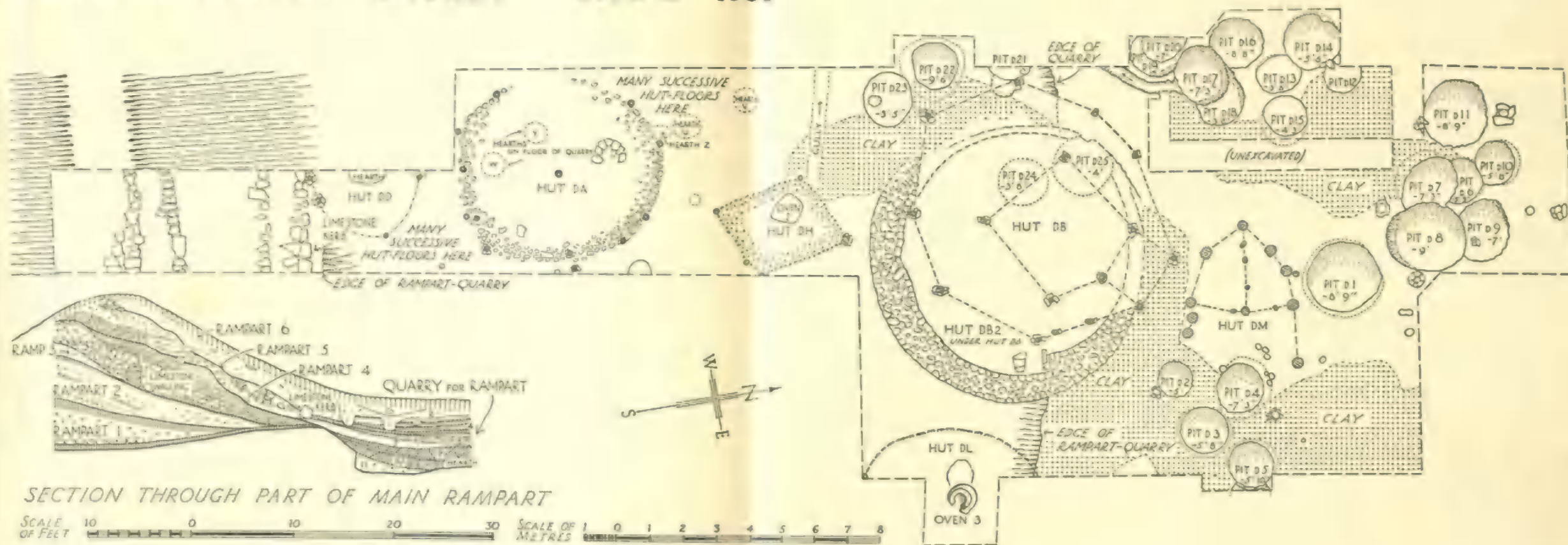
On the floor of the quarry-ditch (the source of the material for rampart 4), six oval or circular hearths were used, presumably by the workmen engaged in building rampart 4. All contained wood-ash, one had a crude limestone flooring; but only in one was there any associated pottery. This, mostly of A type, included a handled vessel (fig. 60, 70), not countersunk, and an early bead-rim; while in the level which accumulated over these hearths lay a fragment of a bead-rim pot carried out in the haematite technique of the A culture, together with other vessels showing B influence among many sherds of A type.

Only in the latest level associated with rampart 4 was there any indication of building activity. This was part of a slender oval hut (hut DK—not shown on plan) of which six post-holes, poorly lined with limestone slabs, were identified. The timbers were set only 4–8 in. deep and were from 4 to 6 in. in diameter. The floor was ill defined and showed very little trace of occupation. The structure was presumably of a very temporary nature. The complete absence of any small objects, save a number of flint flakes from the levels which accumulated over the tail of rampart 4, is suggestive of rapidity in accumulation.

(b) *Activities associated with rampart 5*

1. It was not until the completion of rampart 5 that settlement on any considerable scale was undertaken, and then by a population which crowded thickly within the area.

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET SITE D 1935



Parts of three huts, each, as far as ascertainable, circular in plan, were identified. Of these, only hut DL was significant. The floor was of yellow clay, slightly sunk below the surrounding level. No trace of walling was found and only one post-hole, formerly holding a substantial and squared timber approximately 10 in. in scantling, was associated with the hut. On the floor had stood a small clay oven, but this had been de-

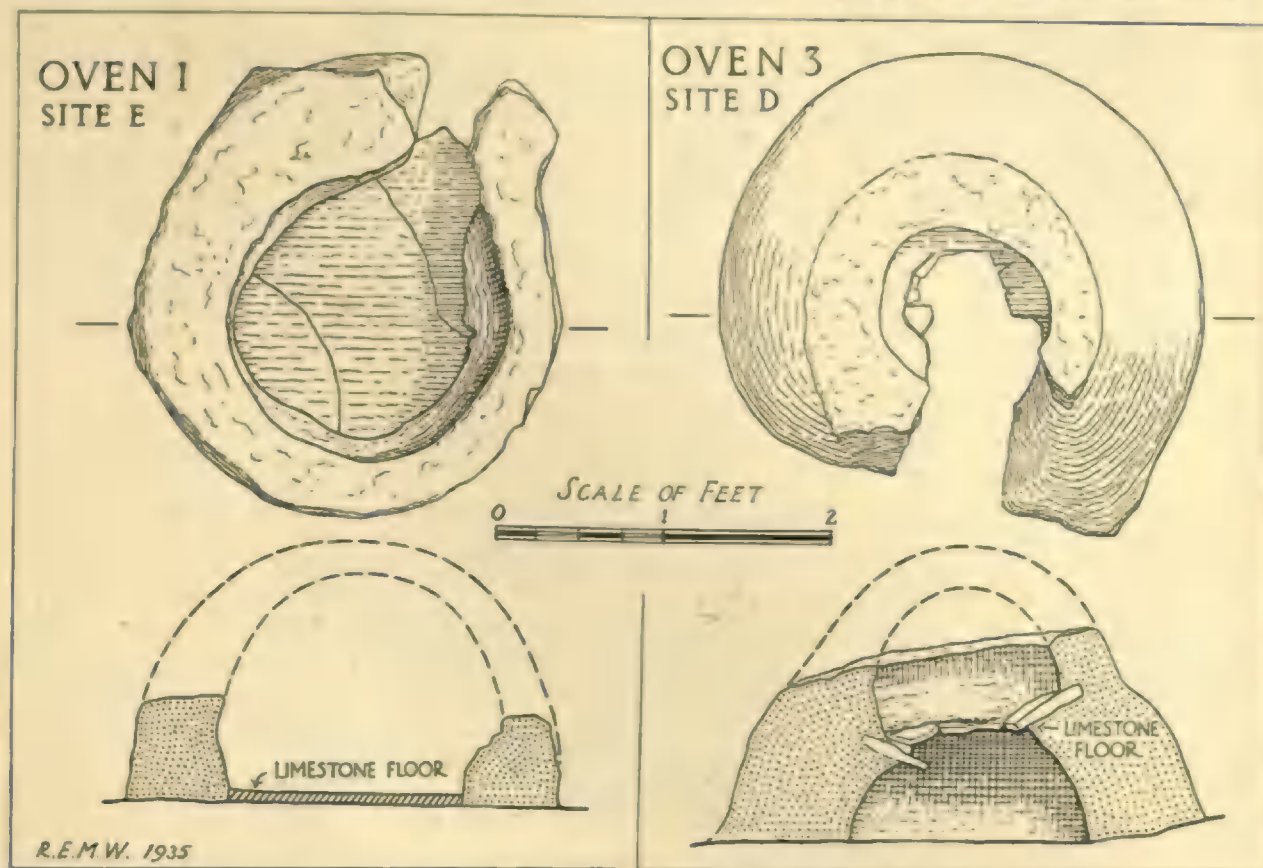


FIG. 16. Clay ovens, Iron Age B

molished and replaced by another, 2 ft. to the east, of which a considerable portion survived. The soot and charcoal from the fire in this oven spread thickly over the clay floor and contained a loom-weight and a considerable mass of pottery contemporary with its use. Special mention may be here made of a large pot with scroll decoration (fig. 68, 138) and another, a bead-rim and countersunk-handled vessel with meander and dimple ornament (fig. 65, 85), within a level which still contained many pots of Iron Age A type. The oven itself (fig. 16, and pl. cv), 2 ft. in diameter and surviving to a height of 15 in., was made of a thick wad of local yellow clay, burnt to the hardness of brick within the fire-hole and in the oven proper. In the level contemporary with the use of this oven were found considerable quantities of circular and pierced oven-bricks. The purpose of the oven is in doubt. No trace of metal was found in or near it; its

dimensions and character preclude its use as a pottery-kiln and, while its size for bread-making is insignificant, it is difficult to see for what other purpose it could have been erected.

2. Upon the demolition-level over this series of huts was found another hut only partially excavated and represented by a burnt clay-floor and two unlined post-holes. It is noteworthy that the level covering its demolition was substantially free from pottery of the Iron Age A tradition.

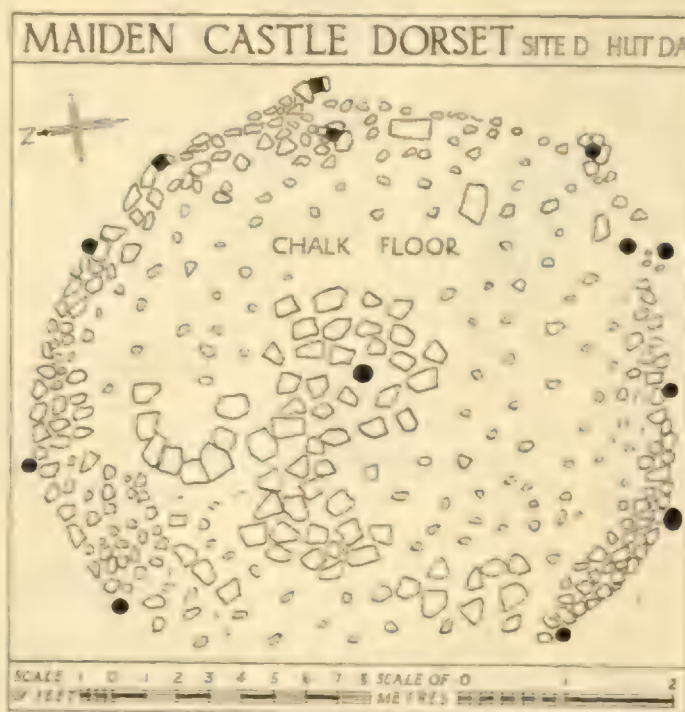


FIG. 17. Plan of hut, Iron Age B

3. On this level of demolition the third of the series of hutments in use with rampart 5 was in turn built. Huts DA, DH, and DB2, the last the most sophisticated building yet found on Maiden Castle, were now crowded within the area.

Hut DA (fig. 17) was represented by a rammed chalk-floor, 20 ft. in diameter and 4 in. thick, surrounded by at least twelve contemporary unlined post-holes with another placed centrally within the floor. The post-holes on the average were 10 in. in diameter and from 10 to 14 in. deep. No hearth was associated with this hut, but pit D22 was contemporary with it and had been used continuously for cooking.

Hut DH had the appearance of an industrial shanty. Its oblong floor (9 ft. by 8 ft.) of rammed gravel contained the base of a clay-oven with which was associated a crucible (fig. 119) containing bronze-running. Its roof had been supported on four substantial posts, standing in stone-lined sockets at each corner of the floor.

Hut DB2 (fig. 18, and pls. cx1 and cx11) is the most elaborate hut yet uncovered at

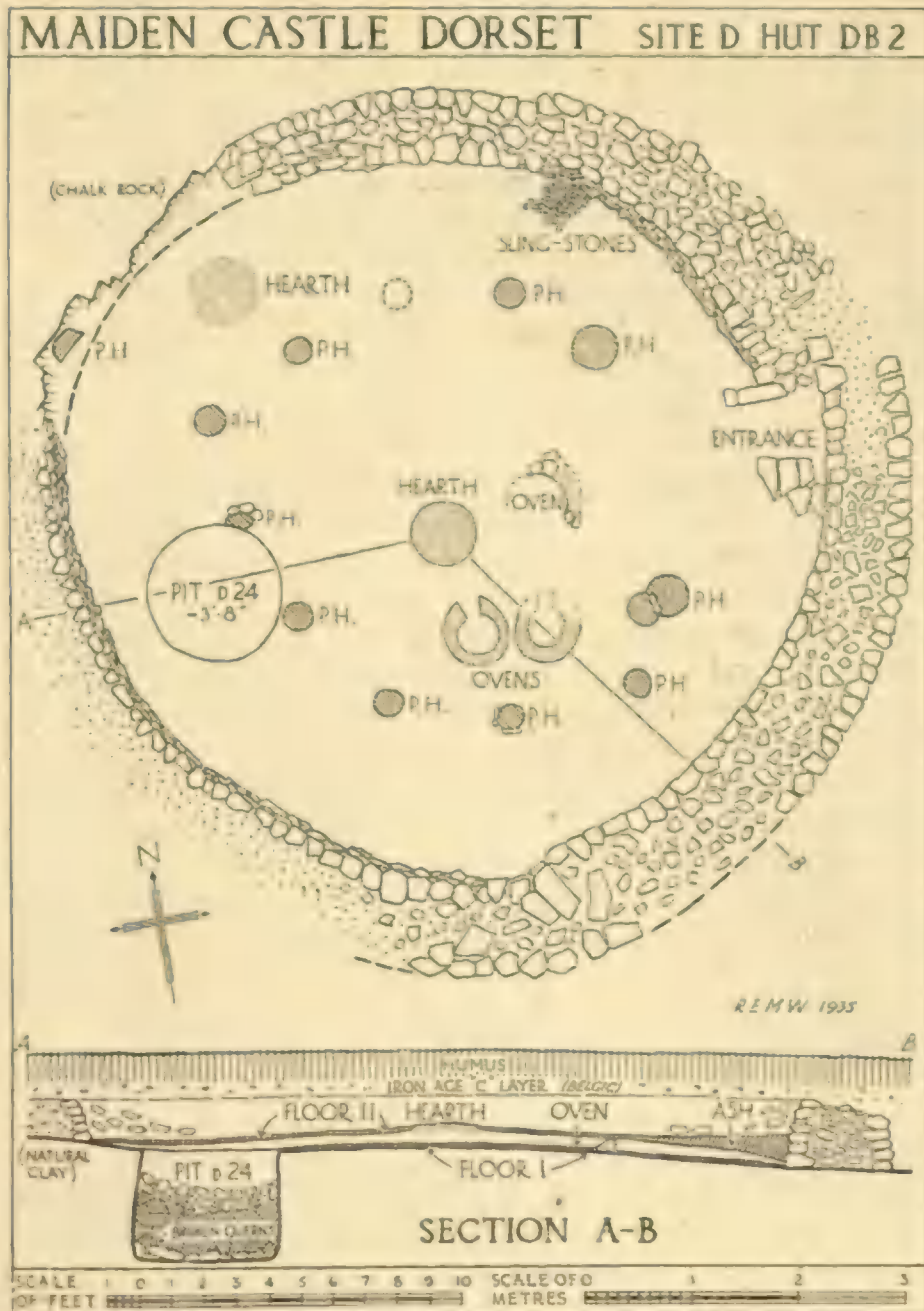


FIG. 18. Plan of hut, Iron Age B

See p. 94

Maiden Castle. Its floor was a level platform 22 ft. in diameter cut into a patch of clay, the adjacent chalk-rock being scarped away slightly on one side to accommodate it. Its outer wall, to a surviving height of 2½ ft., was carefully built of chalk rubble and was on the average from 3 to 4 ft. in width, dying out to a mere skin on the chalk-scarp. The roof had been carried, in addition, by an inner ring of stout posts, 9 in. in diameter. (For analogies, see above, p. 55). The entrance, on the eastern and more sheltered side, was marked by a check in the line of the wall, by the presence of flat floor-slabs at this point, and by the presence of extra-massive posts (in one case doubled) in the inner circuit. On the floor were remains of three circular ovens of normal type (cf. fig. 16) associated with much wood-ash, but with no indication as to their precise use.

During the occupation a pit (D14) 4 ft. in diameter was cut to a depth of 3 ft. 8 in. below the floor and was almost immediately filled with débris, including the broken lower stone of a beehive quern, fragments of baked clay and of a pierced clay-floor from an oven or ovens, together with pottery with the rather heavy rolled bead-rims of the Bi series (below, p. 208). Over this pit a fresh clay-floor was laid down, covering the circle of post-holes and thus implying that the roof was supported entirely from the outer wall. In the centre of the new floor was a well-made circular clay hearth and on the floor lay broken loom-weights, fragments of oven-brick, a considerable quantity of slag, a good iron knife, and a small crucible (fig. 119). The crucible was clean and gave no hint of its purpose. On one side of the floor lay a hoard of about 100 sling-pebbles.

Although this hut had apparently been a workshop, the sophistication of its building is noteworthy. The collapse of the chalk and clay walls, which had been mainly inwards, covered and incorporated pots with Bii-iii bead-rims, together with two pots bearing 'Glastonbury' decoration (fig. 71, 163 and pl. xxix, A).

All these huts (DA, DH, and DB2) had either fallen into decay or had been deliberately demolished before the construction of rampart 6.

(c) *Activities associated with rampart 6*

After the erection of rampart 6 a new population settled within the area under examination. The ruins of hut DB2, for example, were levelled over with material containing a large number of late bead-rim vessels and some half a dozen bases showing influence of the Belgic pedestal urn.

Into this level was built hut DB (fig. 19, and pl. cxiii), the latest hut upon the site. It was an oval structure, 27 ft. by 22 ft., and constructed upon posts, set in stone-lined sockets, with an entrance apparently towards the north-east, away from the prevailing wind. The roof had rested partially upon an inner line of posts which appear to have formed a box-like construction within the doorway. The floor was mainly of earth containing much ash supplemented by patches of chalk-rubble from the collapsed walling of the underlying hut DB2. A considerable quantity of daub, occasionally over 6 in. in thickness, indicated the nature of the walling.

Outside and only in the immediate vicinity of this hut, a level of brown gravel had

been laid subsequently to its erection. This gravel contained a number of fragments of a Roman pink amphora, sherds of 'Glastonbury' pottery, and part of a high-kicked pedestal base, together with an iron brooch (fig. 85, 33) and a small slab of limestone engraved with a spiral (fig. 106, 9). On the surface of the gravel lay a bronze brooch of Hod Hill type (fig. 85, 29). The hut may, therefore, be ascribed to the period A.D. 30-60.

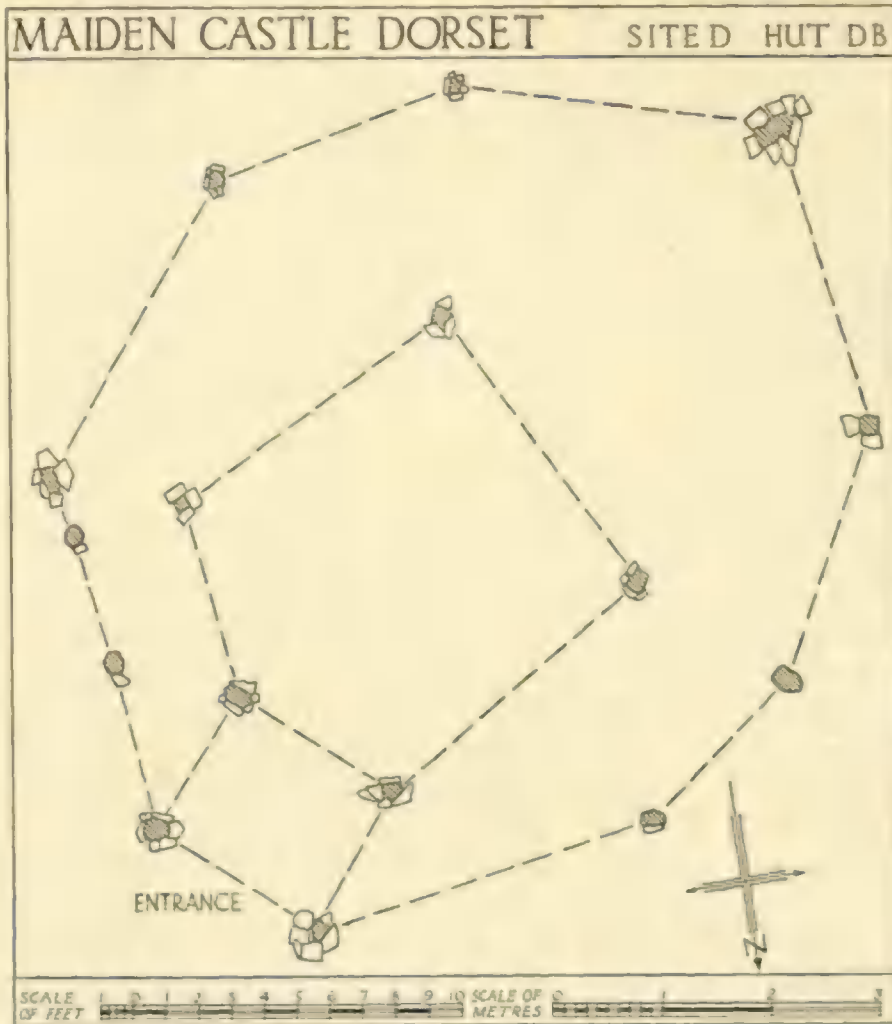


FIG. 19. Plan of hut, Iron Age C

(ii) *The Pits* (pls. viii and cvi)

Of the twenty-five pits examined, only two were found within the quarry-ditch and thus could be equated with the hut-levels within it. Pit D23 belonged to the horizon of hut DL: pit D22 was equivalent in date with huts DA, DH, and DB2. This pit had been used secondarily but extensively as a cooking-hole.

An intervening outcrop of clay and chalk to the north of the quarry-ditch was covered

only by humus and it was thus impossible to relate the hut-levels stratigraphically with the area in which the pits mainly occurred.

Two features particularly call for notice in the disposition of the pits. First, clay, notably treacherous, was not avoided, several pits being sunk wholly or partially into clay-patches. Secondly, the cutting of pits into the disused and filled-up sites of earlier pits was of frequent occurrence. For example, pit D9 was cut later than pit D8, though the upper areas of both were simultaneously in occupation; pit D8 was in its turn cut into the disused and filled pit D7; while pit D7 was in use subsequently to the abandonment of pit D6. The crowding of the pits in this fashion is indicative of the general density and continuity of the population.

Four pits, D10, D12, D13, and D15, were associated exclusively with Iron Age A pottery. Both pits D13 and D15 were used primarily as cooking-holes; pits D10 and D12 had served that purpose in a secondary capacity. It may be noted that in pits D12 and D15 limestone had been used for the basis of the hearth. On a higher floor in pit D15, eight poorly worked flints and a quantity of flakes indicated an attempted flint-industry. The technique was lamentable; only in two or three cases was there definite retouching.

The remainder of the pits were all associated with some aspect of the Iron Age B culture. The pottery within them ranged from early (Bi) bead-rim to late types of the same form (Bii-iii) in association with sherds decorated in the Glastonbury tradition. No Belgic pottery was found in any pit.

In pits D2, D6, D7, D11, D18, D20, and D24 no hearths were found; they were presumably dug as storage-pits, and some of them contained floors of chalk or clay at intervals within their filling.

Pits D1 (8 ft. 9 in. deep), D4 (7 ft. 3 in. deep), D9 (7 ft. deep), D14 (5 ft. 6 in. deep), and D25 (4 ft. deep) had all served primarily as cooking-holes and fires had occurred at various levels within their filling; while fire-débris had been deposited within all the remainder (pits D3, D5, D8, D16, D19, D22, D23). The hearth was not, in these pits of small diameter, disposed centrally but was built against one side. It was usual to find the hearth defined by a basis of puddled chalk, often ringed with limestone. On a site so swept with Atlantic gales as is Maiden Castle, it is not difficult to assess the value of these 'kitchen-pits' for domestic use.

A few pits call for special comment. Pit D4, sunk over 7 ft. into chalk and clay, had been used primarily as a cooking-hole. A well-laid hearth at the bottom was covered with a thick layer of wood-ash into which had been buried a dog,¹ carefully disposed upon its side and covered with a large flat limestone. Two subsequent floors, the lower of clay and the upper of limestone above this burial, showed that the pit had continued in use.

Pit D11, 5½ ft. in diameter only, was 8 ft. 9 in. deep and was cut in a poor fashion,

¹ Dr. Wilfrid Jackson has examined this skeleton and reports that it is of a heavy type, rather like a hound. The dog had broken a hind-toe and some ribs during its life, but had survived the accident. (See below, p. 369.)

narrowing unusually at the base to just over 4 ft. On the bottom of the pit lay discarded an immense quantity of animal bones which included several isolated heads of horse, oxen, and sheep. Above this débris a level floor of clay, still 6 ft. from the surface, indicated that the pit continued in occupational use.

New pits, as already observed, were frequently cut into the disused fillings of earlier pits. The group, D6 to D9 (pl. viii), has already been noted. The remarkable feature in the case of this particular group is the absence of any visible effort to consolidate or hold up the comparatively soft filling of the discarded pit which now formed part of the wall of the new one. In fact, it is likely that an almost immediate collapse of the filling of pit D7 into the newly dug pit D8 necessitated the expansion already noted into pit D9.

On the other hand, occasional precautions against collapse were taken. Pit D14 was cut into the disused pit D12 on the north-east and here a slab of limestone over 2 ft. in height was blocked at an angle against the earlier filling to uphold it. Pit D5 cut into a shallow pit, some 3 ft. deep, on its eastern side. Here the soft earth was raked back and the side of the new pit was made up with a wall of chalk blocks and limestone carefully laid in courses. The elaboration of this consolidation is the more remarkable in that the pit was cut largely into clay. In every case, however, where clay formed the side of a pit, the natural clay was plastered over with a skin of dirty and puddled clay which acted in some degree as a protective coat.

No pit sufficiently capacious for use as a dwelling was found on site D.

(iii) *The Rampart* (pl. viii)

In order to link up the occupation-layers of the site with the successive phases of the rampart, the excavation was prolonged into the inner two-thirds of the latter. Although on this side of the camp the steeper natural contour enabled the builders to forgo something of the height of the main western rampart (site E), the present height of the rampart on site D is about 15 ft. and must originally have been some few feet higher—perhaps 20 ft. in all.

As on site E, where the rampart-structure will be described in greater detail (below, p. 100), six phases of construction were recognized.

Rampart 1, of which only the tail was explored, was based on a layer of large chalk blocks, presumably from the ditch, and consisted of clean chalk save for a small hearth midway in its section. This hearth was not associated with any occupation-layer and was evidently a product of the builders during the progress of the work. On it stood a crude Iron Age A pot (fig. 57, 20).

Rampart 2 was an enlargement of rampart 1, of similar material and likewise associated with a small quantity of Iron Age A pottery.

Rampart 3 was a capping on rampart 2, again with a few miscellaneous fragments of Iron Age A pottery.

Rampart 4 was the first of the large ramparts, and was associated with the cutting of the large quarry-ditch along the inner margin (above, p. 92). This contemporaneity

was shown by the continuation of the surface-layer of the rampart into the base of the quarry (see section, pl. viii). There it was associated with Iron Age A pottery and the earliest forms of Iron Age B (Bi, see below, p. 208). As was further shown on site E, therefore, this considerable enlargement of the defences coincided with the arrival of the Iron Age B culture, at a date here estimated at c. 56 B.C.

Structurally, rampart 4 was distinguished by a massive internal revetment-wall, built of large limestones and situated about half-way down the inner slope. This 'hidden' walling equates with the more extensive series in the larger version of the same rampart on site E (below, p. 101). It served merely as a dump-revetment during the process of building, and as a means of stiffening the general structure; it was not intended to form a visible feature.

Rampart 5 was a further heightening and reinforcement of rampart 4, necessitated in part, perhaps, by a tendency of the latter to slip back into the quarry. To obviate this tendency, here as on site E a limestone kerb was placed along the foot of the rampart, above the lip of the quarry. Most of the sherds contained by this reinforcement were still of Iron Age A, but in the equivalent stratified layers of the filling of the quarry-ditch were sherds of Iron Age Bii (end of the first century B.C.).

Rampart 6. The final jacketing of the rampart is elsewhere associated with a strong palisade along the summit. This feature was not identified in the comparatively small cutting on site D. Here as elsewhere, however, this phase was clearly associated by numerous potsherds with the arrival of the Iron Age C or Belgic culture, about A.D. 25.

7. SITE E

This site is that of a section, 12 ft. wide, cut through the innermost western defences in the well-preserved stretch south of the western entrance. The section showed six main phases of rampart-construction, and revealed beneath the underlying turf-line a neolithic working-floor. This working-floor yielded a few minute indeterminate scraps of Neolithic 'A' pottery, a large number of primary flint flakes, and other implements represented by figs. 44, no. 67, and 45, nos. 85 and 87-90.

No neolithic trenches or pits were encountered here.

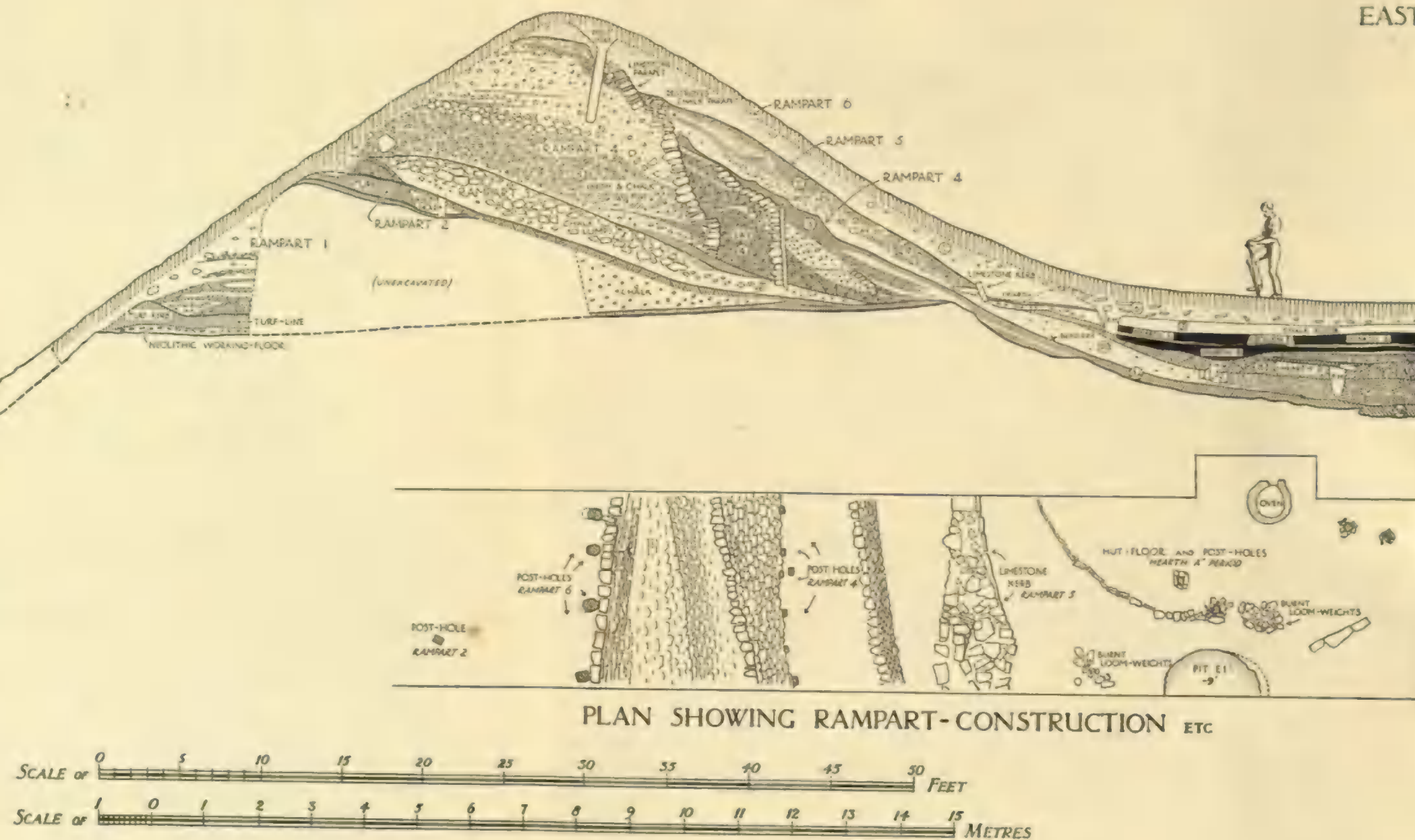
(i) *The Rampart*

The six phases: structural evidence.

Rampart 1. The earliest Iron Age rampart here was a simple bank, a little over 9ft. high, the only noteworthy detail of which was the piling-up of a kerb of turf on the lip of the ditch to catch the loose top-soil first thrown up. The presence of this kerb is important as showing that the outer foot of the bank is still preserved substantially as originally built, since such a kerb, by virtue of its function, cannot have been placed far from the lip. The ditch itself has, of course, been swallowed up in the enlarged ditch of subsequent phases (4-6); but it is safe to reconstruct the original defence of Maiden



A hand-drawn geological cross-section of a river valley. The left bank is labeled "BANK" and "TERRACE LINE". The riverbed is shown with a dashed line indicating a lower level. A figure of a person stands on the right bank for scale. The riverbed is labeled "SLACK-WATERS".



Castle as a single rampart and ditch, the former 10 ft. high and the latter about 10 ft. deep, both measurements from the natural ground-level (see pl. x). In the width of the trench—11 ft. wide at full depth—there was no trace of timbering; it is clear therefore that any system of fencing associated with this rampart can only have been of the flimsiest construction, and it is safer to infer that there was none at all.

Rampart 2. Subsequently the original rampart was heightened slightly by a capping of turf, earth, and chalk to a maximum depth of 2 ft. In the width of the trench a single squared post-hole occurred at a distance of 9 ft. back from the summit of the rampart; the post had been 7 in. by 4½ in. in scantling, and had been buried to a depth of 2 ft., i.e. its point had rested on the turf which had grown upon the original rampart. This post had presumably formed part of a fence along the back of the rampart, but, if so, the next post of the series had been more than 8 ft. distant from it. It had in any case been removed during the lifetime of rampart 2, since its socket was covered by the turf-line of this period.

Incidentally, it was observed that a great part of the turf-covering of rampart 2 had been roughly hacked away, evidently for use elsewhere, at the time of the addition of rampart 3.

Rampart 3 represented a further heightening of the rampart, this time by adding a thickness of 2–3 ft., mainly of chalk blocks derived doubtless from a slight enlargement of the ditch. A compact heap of earth and a few limestones on the summit of rampart 2 formed all the kerb that was necessary to prevent the foremost blocks from rolling back into the ditch.

A layer of earth covered the tail of rampart 3, but there was no vestige of a turf-line over this rampart and, although it is possible that such a turf-line formerly existed and was carefully skinned, the natural inference is that rampart 4 was added before turf had time to grow on rampart 3. There was no timbering within a trench-width of 11–12 ft.

Rampart 4. Ramparts 2 and 3 had been relatively trivial modifications of the original rampart 1. But rampart 4 represented a revolution alike in size and in design. From a height of less than 11 ft. the rampart now rose to a height of 18 ft. or more; and its material, partly chalk derived from a drastic enlargement of the ditch and partly clay from a large quarry now dug some 7 ft. deep into a thick patch of clay at the rear of the rampart, was consolidated by a remarkable structural arrangement. As the material from the new ditch was thrown on to the back of rampart 3, it was held up, stage by stage, at the foot of the slope by a chalk retaining-wall. Simultaneously, the retaining-wall was further consolidated on the inner side of the new bank by rammed clay and chalk from the quarry at the rear. The process of consolidation was assisted by two lesser chalk walls, the central wall being further strengthened by a close-set array of light posts (seven in a 12-ft. trench). Thus the vast work of construction proceeded at the same time from front and rear, and, furthermore, the immediate solidity and coherence of the structure were assured.

Only at one point did this elaborate structure fail. The two lesser revetment-walls

were completely covered by the chalk, clay, and earth which formed the ultimate surface of the back of the rampart. The main revetment-wall, on the other hand, was carried up into the open, so that the upper part of the rampart presented a wall-face to the interior of the camp. This procedure suggests a lack of experience in the behaviour of chalk on the part of the builders. A single winter, even a few heavy storms, are enough to crack and break up exposed chalk blocks. The exposed revetment accordingly collapsed, and the base of it, fractured and weathered, showed in marked contrast to the clean intact chalk of that lower part of the same wall which had from the outset been covered by earth and clay. This failure must have led almost immediately to the work of the next phase.

Rampart 5 is thus a rehabilitation of rampart 4, carried out probably after no more than a short interval of time. On the base of the wrecked chalk parapet was now built a parapet almost entirely of limestone slabs, and the remains of the former parapet were covered by a considerable addition of chalk, turves, and clay. This additional material was prevented from slipping down into the quarry (where huts had already been erected) by a massive kerb, also of limestone.

Rampart 6. The final remodelling of the rampart was again of a revolutionary nature, although only some 2 ft. perhaps, were added to its height. The inner side—and the inner side only—was covered with a layer of chalk and earth, entirely concealing the limestone parapet, which was now in turn in a ruinous condition. Further, along the inner margin of the summit was now driven a row of stout posts, each some 9 in. in thickness and wholly or partially squared. The intervals, centre to centre, were no more than 3–4 ft., whilst some at least of the posts were driven as much as 5½ ft. into the rampart. The function of these posts will be discussed later (p. 105).

Chronology of the six phases

No pottery or other significant object was found in ramparts 1–3. We can only say that they are structurally later than the rampart of the smaller Maiden Castle investigated on sites A, G, and H; and, of course, that they are structurally earlier than rampart 4, though, in the case of rampart 3, perhaps only a very little earlier.

Rampart 4, on the other hand, was productive. The clay with which it was partly backed, derived as has been shown from the quarry at the rear, yielded flint implements and primary flakes which indicate that the neolithic working-floor identified under the front of the rampart (see above) had extended also beyond the back of it. The other materials of which the rampart was composed produced sherds of 70–80 pots exclusively of Iron Age A, including some haematite-coated ware. It is clear therefore that no pottery of Iron Age B was lying on or near the site at the time of construction. But the relevant evidence does not cease there. It has been stated that the digging of the quarry at the tail of the rampart was contemporary with this phase of drastic enlargement. The proof of contemporaneity is that the lowest deposit in the quarry is an integral continuation of the back of rampart 4. It follows that everything in the quarry—and a

mass of material was found here—was either contemporary with or subsequent to rampart 4. Now stratigraphically the earliest sherd of Iron Age B type found on the site lay on the back of the bank-slip of rampart 4 in the base of the quarry, as marked with an X in the section, pl. ix. This sherd was a bead-rim of 'B' type, carried out, however, in the haematite-coated technique of the 'A' culture. The same layer (no. 10 in the section), together with the material (layer 2) of the make-up of rampart 5, contained about seventy-five sherds, mostly of 'A' fabric but showing in half-a-dozen cases a varying degree of influence from the 'B' culture.

The obvious inference is an important one. The construction of the exceedingly complex rampart 4 is the first of the six phases that can be associated with the Iron Age B culture. In other words, it represents the first development of the Iron Age B innovations which substantially gave us Maiden Castle as we see it to-day.

There for the present the discussion of the cultural problems of rampart 4 may be left. The closely related rampart 5 contained about seventy sherds, all of Iron Age A save half a dozen which showed Iron Age B influence. The developed use of limestone in place of chalk suggests that the new-comers had had time to acquire experience of their environment and to exploit adequately the more suitable materials which lay at some slight distance but within their reach. Rampart 6, on the other hand, with its abandonment of stone-walling and reversion to timber, suggests a considerable lapse of time and a generation forgetful of the stone-tradition which its predecessors had introduced. Consistently with this, the layer (no. 6 on section) which immediately overlies the tail of rampart 6 includes, amongst much evolved Iron Age B pottery, a number of sherds showing Belgic (Early Iron Age C) influence, together with part of an early Roman amphora. The whole of the evidence now available confirms the attribution of Belgic pottery at Maiden Castle to the second quarter of the first century A.D.; and it follows that rampart 6 is not earlier than that period. The natural inference is that it represents a reaction to a Belgic invasion of Wessex shortly before the Roman invasion of A.D. 43.

Structural problems and analogies

(a) The original form of ramparts 4-6

The original Iron Age A rampart of Maiden Castle, i.e. the rampart of the eastern nucleus of the camp, had a vertical external face, revetted with timber and later (in part) with stone, separated from the ditch by a berm or platform in the classical fashion (above, p. 31 and below, p. 109). The decay of the revetment had let down the rampart-face to a slope which obscured the berm and made the slope of rampart and ditch substantially continuous. In other words, the wall-and-berm construction had given place, in effect though not in intent, to a glacis-construction; and it was this glacis-construction that already (save at the more elaborately constructed entrance) formed the pattern of the first Iron Age A rampart of the westerly extension of the camp. This extension-rampart is rampart 1 of the present series on site E.

The essential completeness of rampart 1 is demonstrated by the survival of the turf kerb which marked its outer structural limit. It is clear therefore that the superincumbent ramparts are also essentially complete in front, save for reasonable weathering and down-wash. But the slightness of this weathering is indicated by the very moderate filling of the main ditch and by the obvious fact that on the inner slope, where denudation can be related closely to adjacent ancient strata, the rampart is seen to have lost nothing appreciable since construction.

It follows that, front and rear, the great ramparts, nos. 4 to 6, are to-day but little smaller than at the time of their building. They represent the perfection of what I have called 'glacis-construction' (see p. 37). As a defence the unrevetted front of the bank, with its steep angle of 35 degrees continued downwards by its immense fosse, is almost unscalable in wet weather and can only be climbed laboriously in dry. From a military standpoint, no built external revetment was required; indeed, such a revetment, by breaking the line of the easily commanded slope, would have weakened the defence rather than have strengthened it. Nor yet again was such a revetment needed on constructional grounds, for the tilted back of the earlier bank-system itself provided a ready-made catchment for much of the material from the enlarged ditch of rampart 4. And if more tangible proof of the absence of any former external revetment be needed, the evidence of the silting of that ditch, as hinted above, demonstrates clearly that, since its last cutting, very little material—no large chalk lumps and only a few limestones probably from the summit of the 'parapet' of rampart 5—have rolled down into it from the rampart. It cannot, of course, be proved that the ditch was not cleared or even partially redug at or even after the construction of rampart 6. But, as the present size of the ditch in relation to ramparts 4 and 5 indicates, any recutting in relation to rampart 6 can only have been of the slightest; and a slight recutting, carried out with such completeness and precision as to leave no trace of the process, is almost unthinkable in a prehistoric earth-work. Lastly, as will be seen below, an analysis of the material from the silting suggests that the ditch in its present form belongs to rampart 4.

Ramparts 4–5, and with them 6, survive, then, here in an essentially complete condition: 4 and 5 are internally stiffened on the inner side by walls, with a parapet-revetment on the inner slope towards the summit, whilst 6 has an equivalent palisade at this point.

Analogies for the 'multiple' construction of ramparts are discussed above (p. 41).

(b) *The 'parapets' of ramparts 4–6*

The function of these 'parapet-revetments' must now be considered. In ramparts 4 and 5 these features are of chalk or stone, in rampart 6 they are replaced by timber; but their relative positions, all on the inner slopes behind the summit, are similar and their functions, whatever those might be, must be supposed to have been identical.

The first instinct is to assume that these revetments formed protective parapets of the type familiar in Roman and medieval military engineering—designed to protect the defenders in action. But a closer examination shows at once the ineptitude of this ana-

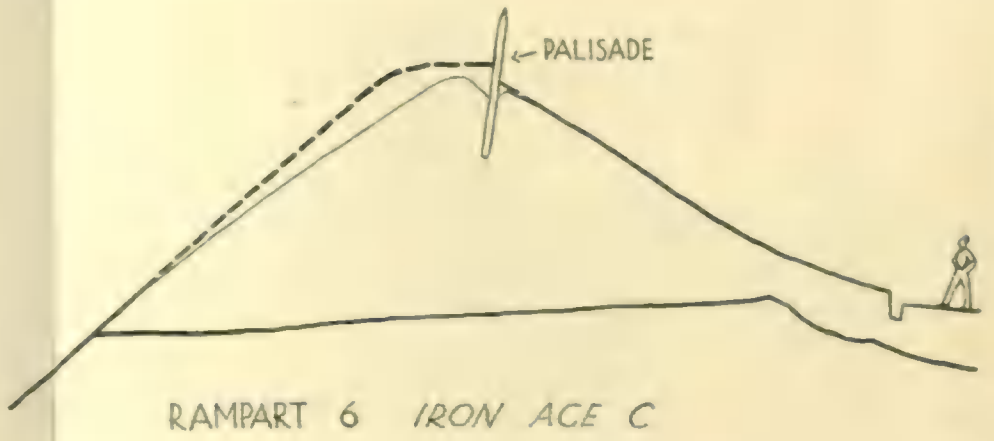
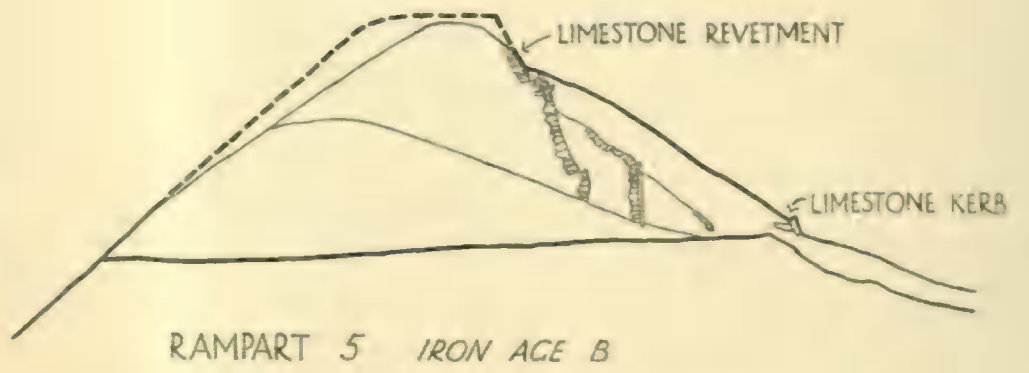
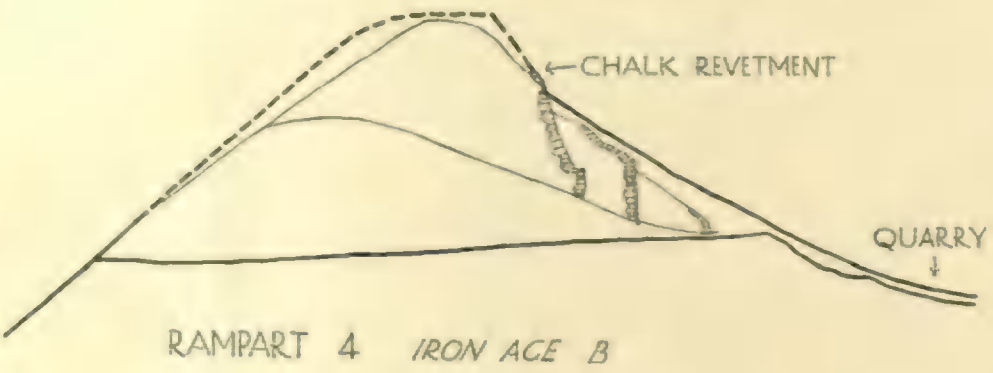
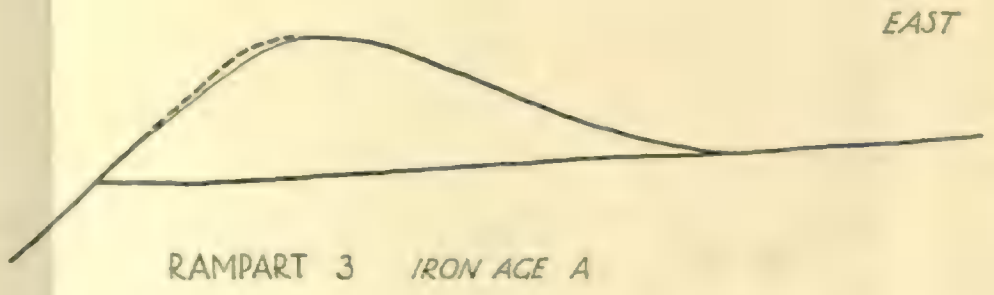
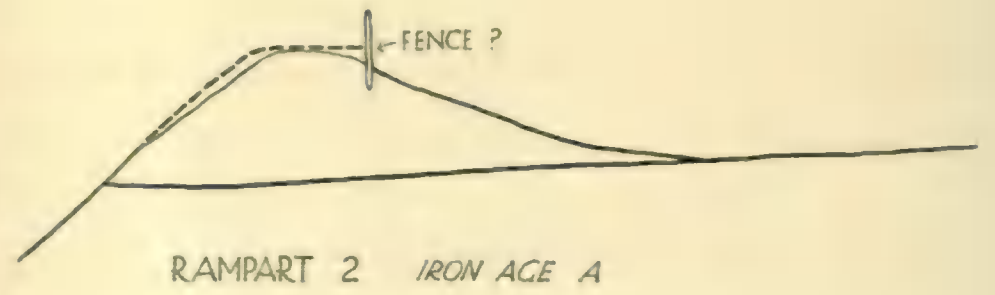
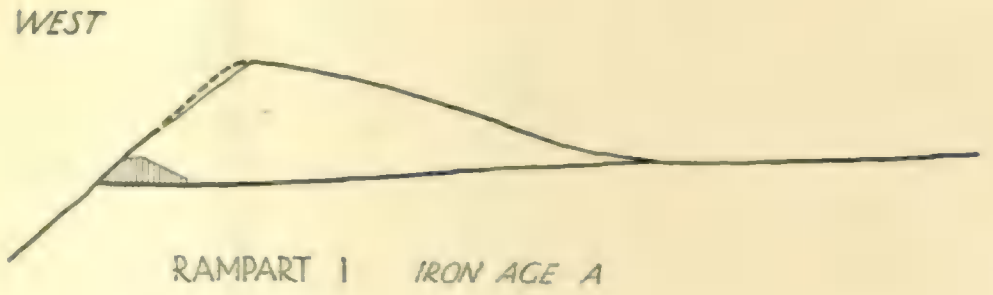


Diagram illustrating the development of the main western rampart (Site E)

logy. In the first place, there is no sort of rampart-walk behind these parapets; the bank falls sharply back from them. Secondly, the parapet of rampart 4 must have been at least 6 ft. high, and the massive timbers of rampart 6, set to a depth of 5 ft. in the bank, can scarcely have projected to a lesser height. Thirdly, to this factor must be added the breadth of the summit of the rampart, which can scarcely have been less than 8 ft. and was probably more, and must in any case have blocked the outlook of the tallest defender. The three factors combined rule out the possibility of the effective use of the parapet by the defence. What, then, was its true function?

The function of these high parapet-revetments may have been in part to enable the builders to achieve a maximum height for their rampart with the minimum material. But it is difficult not to suppose that the massive timbers of rampart 6 projected considerably above the rampart itself and were therefore something more than mere revetment. Indeed, their function—and that of the chalk and stone parapets—must be supposed to have been, at least in part, to *include* rather than to *exclude*; perhaps to keep the swarming infants and other livestock from escaping easily over the top of the rampart in unguarded moments. The 'parapet-revetment' was less a fortification, therefore, than a sort of park-wall. And if an existing and functional analogy be required for this, it can be found in Abyssinia and at no less a place than the famous Wal-Wal, which is an embanked 'camp' with just such a palisade along the inner margin of its rampart (pl. LXXXIV).¹

At the same time it is not impossible that the elevated rampart-walk served indeed a more military purpose than that of a mere 'unclimbable fence'. It may have been designed to aid the slingers who formed the main unit of defence at this time, by giving them a raised platform on which to swing their long slings. This hypothesis is not stressed but deserves consideration.

(ii) *The Ditch*

Excavation revealed the pointed bottom of the ditch at a depth of 50 ft. vertically below the present summit of the rampart, 30 ft. below the original ground-level, and 7½ ft. below the surface of the present filling. This great ditch clearly equates with ramparts 4–6. Its filling was excavated in 1935 to a length of 12 ft., and provided both clear stratification and adequate finds. A small deposit of coarse silt in the point of the ditch was succeeded by the first main stream of rapid silt, of a fine mealy character (layer 5 in the section, pl. ix). This silt, which had come exclusively from the main bank, was succeeded by a layer (4) containing limestones doubtless from the parapet-revetment of rampart 5. This level in the ditch-filling presumably antedates rampart 6 which covered and thereby preserved the remains of the limestone revetment. Above this 'limestone level' in the ditch were indications of humus and turf at more than one level, interspersed with lesser accumulations of mixed chalk and flints. These gradual accumulations were sealed by a well-marked turf-line (cf. pl. ix; layer 2), immediately under

¹ Cf. *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 481

which was a late Saxon or medieval knife (fig. 12B, p. 79). Between this turf-line and the modern grass-level was mixed material derived, doubtless, from the numerous rabbit-burrows and sheep-cuttings which formerly disfigured the ramparts.

Apart from the Saxon knife, which indicates the approximate level of the filling in or after the tenth century A.D., the significant finds occurred in the relatively low layers 4 and 5, both of which produced bead-rims of Iron Age Bii (last quarter of the first century B.C.).

8. THE EASTERN ENTRANCE

(Sites F, G, Mi, N, O, P, T)

The eastern entrance was completely explored in 1935-7 and, apart from the neolithic ditches noted elsewhere (p. 81), was found to comprise six main structural phases—four pre-Roman, one belonging to the 'Belgo-Roman overlap', and one late Roman. See above, pp. 32 and 42, and figs. 4, 5, and 8.

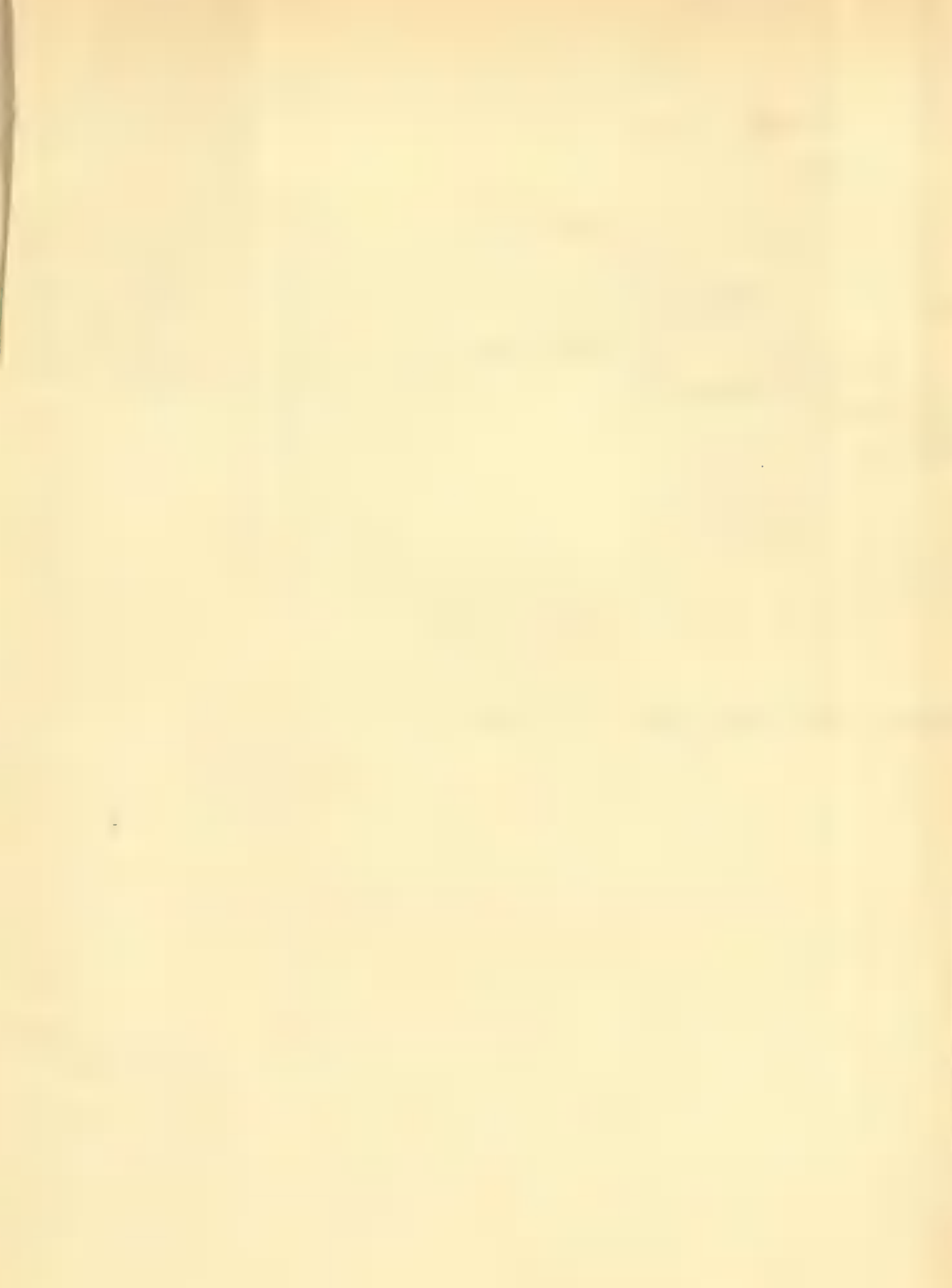
Phase I (p. 33, fig. 4)

The unravelling of the earliest plan of the two portals was not easy for two simple reasons. First, continuous use throughout the prehistoric lifetime of Maiden Castle—some three centuries—had resulted in numerous and sometimes drastic repairs and alterations. Secondly, and above all, wear and erosion had wholly or largely removed significant features of the earlier phases. The surface of the natural chalk will stand indefinitely if the normal processes of nature are allowed to cover it with a protective layer of humus and turf, but here these processes were prevented by the destructive forces of traffic, and the chalk, thus continually exposed, had been worn away by friction and weather.

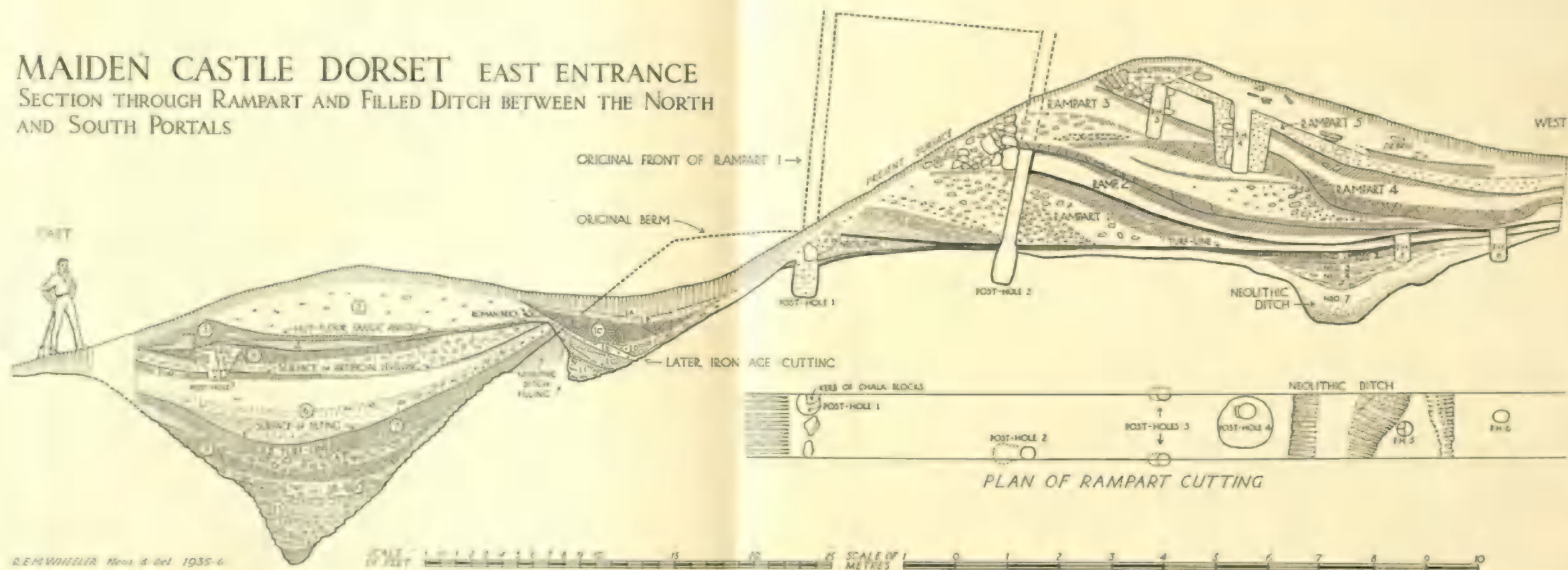
In spite of these difficulties, it was clear that in their earliest structural phase the portals had been flanked by revetments of sheathing or wattle anchored to upright posts set at intervals of 9 ft. to 12 ft. Some of the post-holes had been completely obliterated whilst others had been reduced to mere saucer-shaped depressions of bruised chalk, still distinguishable, however, from the surrounding surface. In the few cases where the hole had been preserved in its original condition it consisted of a circular excavation from $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter, and had contained a packed post, sometimes roughly squared, of about 1 ft. scantling set at a depth of 2 ft. to 3 ft.

As the wearing and deepening of the road threatened the stability of the flanking-posts, these were in several cases set farther back; hence the intermittent duplication of posts as shown on the plan.

The gates had been placed opposite the ends of the abutting ramparts and the actual gateways had been approximately 15 ft. in width. The constant renewal of the gate-post on the southern, but not on the northern, side of the northern portal might be taken to suggest a great gate of single span, pivoting at that point. In support of this rather surprising possibility is the lack of evidence of a structural central stop in the gateway



MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET EAST ENTRANCE SECTION THROUGH RAMPART AND FILLED DITCH BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH PORTALS



R.E.H. WHIFFLER, Nov. 4, Oct. 1935-6.

at any period; indeed, the absence of such a stop is accentuated by the fact that the centre of the road in each portal shows the maximum wear. If the gate was, in fact, double, it is evident that both leaves were normally opened to admit the passage of

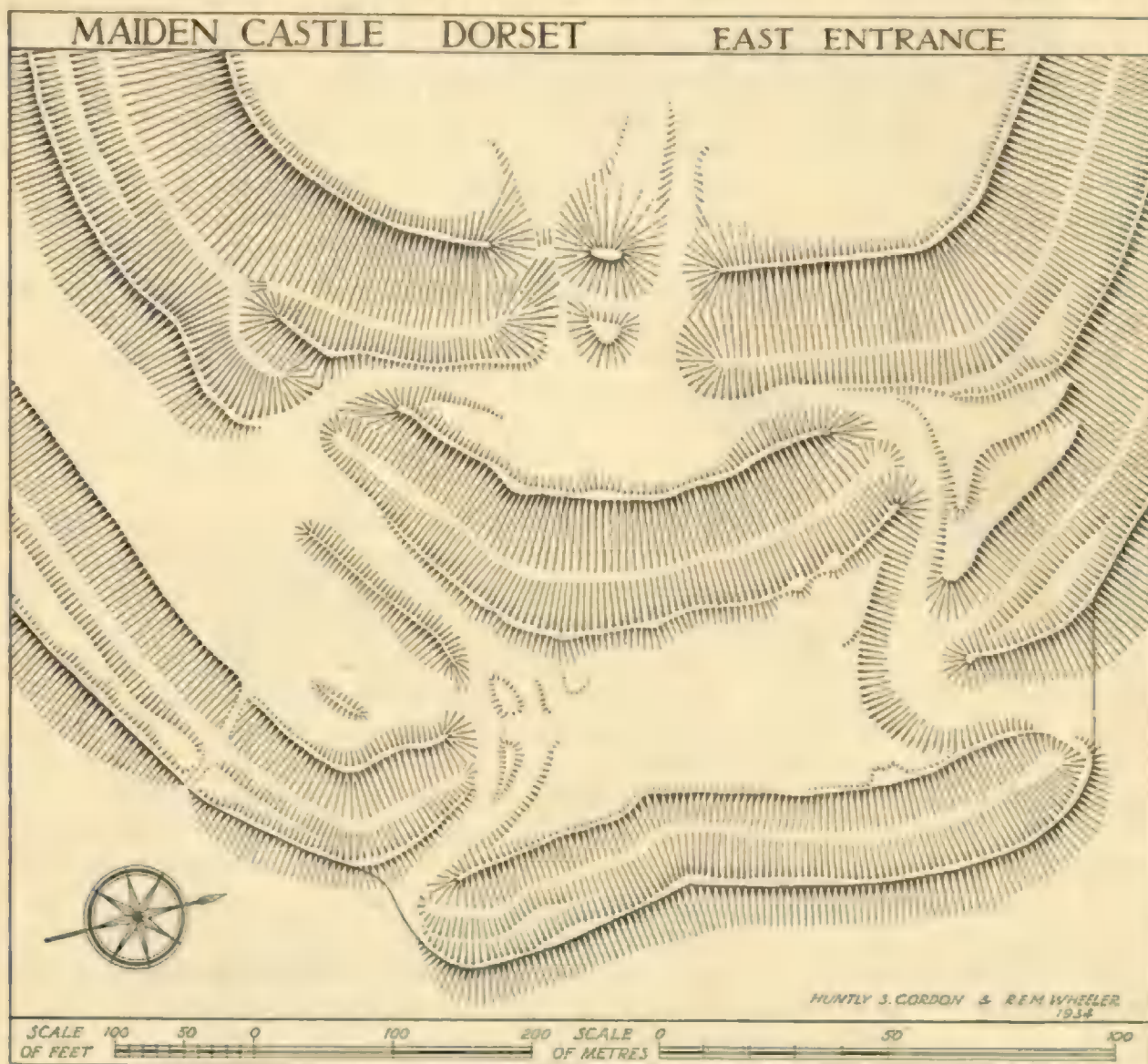


FIG. 20. Eastern Entrance, present state

traffic, and that when closed they were held by a system of horizontal bars without central anchorage. In the southern portal, although the position of the gate was identified, a massive overlying wall of late Roman date prevented at this point the thorough exploration which was possible in the northern portal.

There was no structural evidence of a bridge linking the abutting ends of the ramparts.

Traces of flanking guard-rooms were sought towards the inner ends of the portals. In the northern portal it was clear that the southern flank at least can have included no guard-room, at any rate during the major part of its existence, since it was riddled with nine major pits and two minor ones, all associated with pottery and other relics of the first cultural phase of Maiden Castle (Iron Age A). On the northern flank three or possibly four pits along the immediate line of the gateway belong to the same early period and probably rule out a guard-room here also, although complete investigation of the point was prevented by walling of phase III. In the southern portal the evidence was less conclusive. On the southern flank a collection of pits and post-holes indicate the presence of huts in Iron Age A, but there is no evidence of a rectangular guard-room. The northern side also contained four pits of uncertain but apparently early date, but these may be better regarded as outliers of the adjacent pit- and hut-complex than as ancillary to the gate.

It is safe to infer therefore that neither portal was equipped with guard-rooms.

The type of rampart and ditch contemporary with these early portals has been described and illustrated above, p. 31, pl. II. It will suffice to recall that the rampart-construction was of the wall-and-berm type, originally with a height of about 10 ft. above the natural surface of the ground.

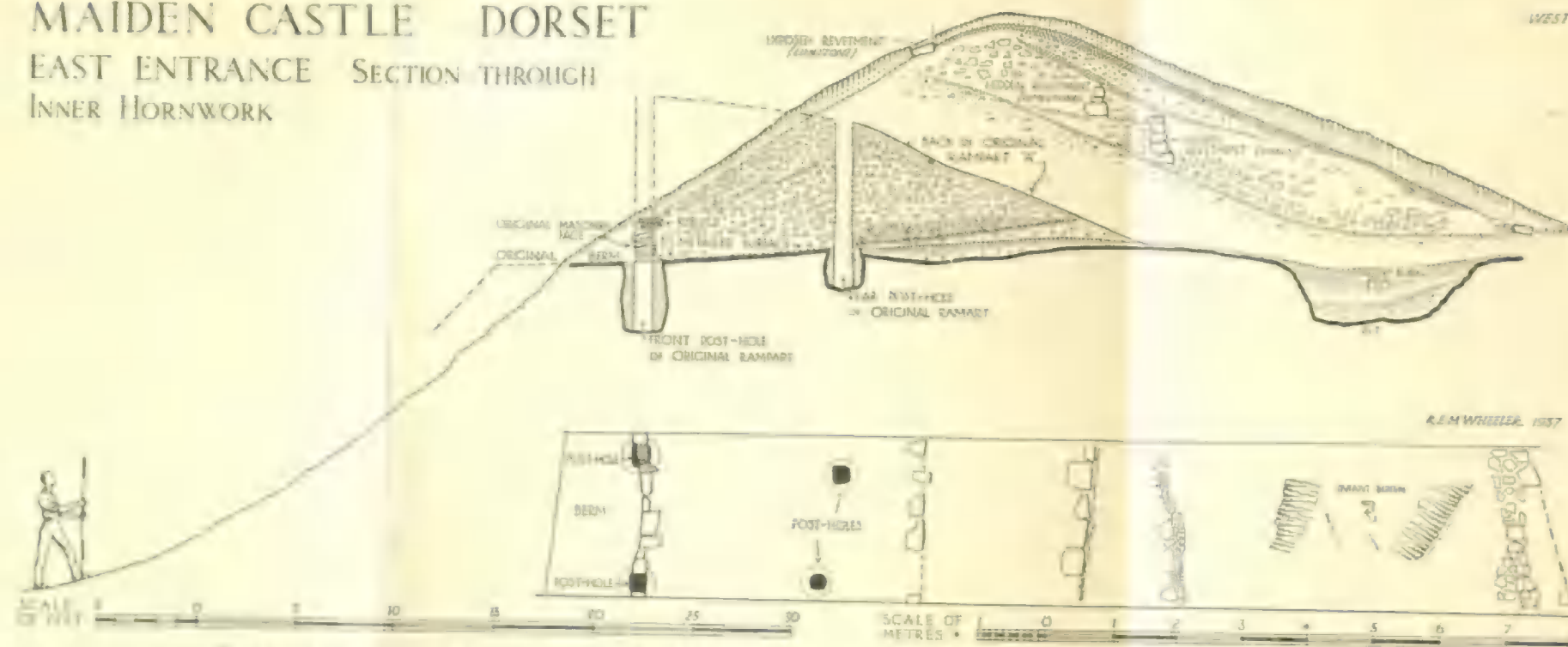
Outside the gate a wide expanse extending roughly a hundred yards towards the east was carefully metalled by rolling flint pebbles into the puddled surface of the natural chalk. The result was a hard level paving which, where protected by later constructions, still remains in nearly as perfect a condition as when laid, in or about the third century B.C. (pl. LXXXV). The whole area was thus designed as a paved area or *place*, not merely for traffic but also doubtless for temporary markets. That this was indeed the intention is further suggested by traces of stockaded pens or enclosures built of vertical stakes, close-set in channels cut through the metalling but prior to phase II. The structural remains of the latter phase, combined with the extensive wearing of the surface along the lines used by the canalized traffic of that phase, make it impossible to reconstruct the plan of these pens, but the remains as discovered are shown in red on pl. CXIX. A number of pits, together with a short length of narrow trench (the latter also shown in red on pl. CXIX), belong to this phase; and the whole of these features appear to indicate a series of crude and variable palisades intended probably for the corralling of cattle. They are not linked structurally with the main defences and indeed cannot themselves be regarded as defensive in character.

Phase II (p. 34, fig. 5)

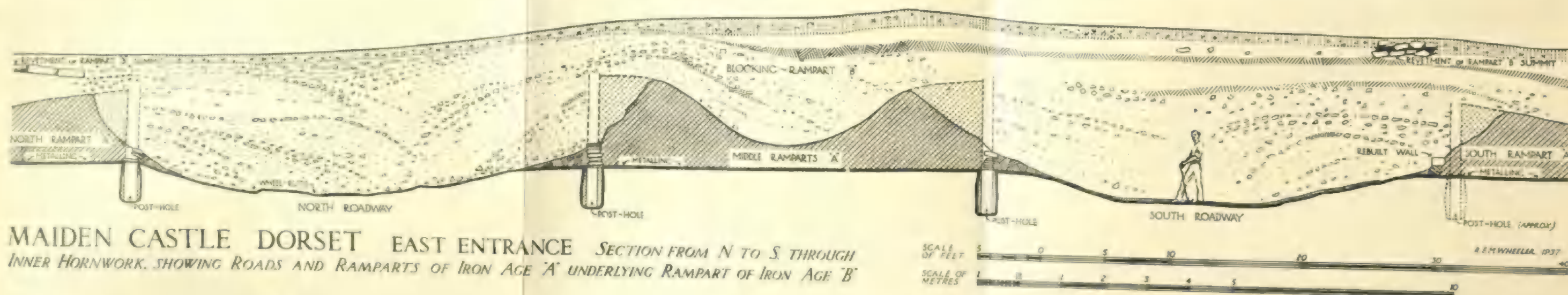
The first structural extension of the defences of the entrance consisted of the addition of symmetrical horns or wings claspings two outer openings which were not provided with permanent gates. The ramparts turned inwards from the openings to flank the roads and to complete the formation of triangular enclosures on each side of the horn-work. These enclosures were divided by a continuous central spine consisting of a



MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET
EAST ENTRANCE SECTION THROUGH
INNER HORNWORK



Section showing revetted Iron Age A rampart (with repaired stonework) underlying Iron Age B rampart Ditch of Iron Age B



MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET EAST ENTRANCE SECTION FROM N TO S THROUGH
INNER HORNWORK, SHOWING ROADS AND RAMPARTS OF IRON AGE 'A' UNDERLYING RAMPART OF IRON AGE 'B'

double rampart which was carried back to the small detached ditch between the main gateways. They were entered at their inner angles, apparently without inner gates, though the subsequent wearing of the chalk surface at this point rendered this detail uncertain.

The outer ramparts of the hornwork are now mostly enveloped by the enlarged rampart of phase IV, and are preserved therefore in the exact condition in which they stood in the latter half of the first century B.C. (pls. xii and lxxxvi). Their surviving height is $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and they probably never exceeded a height of about 8 ft.—a height chosen perhaps as just sufficient to obscure and neutralize any attacker who reached them. They were built on the wall-and-berm principle, with front and rear posts 9 ft. apart, the latter backed by a ramp of earth. The posts were squared, nearly 1 ft. in scantling (pl. lxxxvi), and were set at intervals of 5 ft. Between them, the outer face of the rampart was retained by a vertical wall of thin limestones (average thickness, 2 in.), closely resembling a Cotswold field-wall, and still preserved to a maximum height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (pl. xci, xcii).

Between the rampart and its ditch intervened a platform or berm which was largely mutilated in phase IV but is preserved to its original width of 7 ft. where covered by the inserted lateral causeways of that phase. At the same points, the ditch is likewise buried in its original form, and is seen to have been steep-sided with a width of 23 ft. and a depth of $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the natural surface. The former presence of a short detached length of ditch between the original central causeways is reasonably assumed on the analogy of the arrangement at the main entrance.

The two original roads through the hornwork bore evidence of much wear; they were hollowed to a depth of 2 ft. below the natural surface, and were patched with flint metalling (pl. xii). In the northern road were traces of wheel-traffic, indicating a gauge of 4 ft.—5 ft. In the southern roadway, three early post-holes near the centre of the road presumably represent a temporary barrier. That they were not a permanent feature of the plan is indicated by the fact that they occur at the point of maximum wear.

The pottery associated with the works here described, both in the ramparts and in the associated occupation, consisted exclusively of sherds of Iron Age A fabrics, but in no case representing the finer and earlier haematite ware of the period. So far as the evidence goes, therefore, a date in the second century B.C. would seem to be indicated.

For analogies to the hornwork entrance of this phase, see above, p. 35.

Phase III (p. 43, fig. 8)

The third phase equates with the first great enlargement of the main rampart and ditch of the camp (rampart 4 on sites D and E; above, pp. 99 and 101). At the eastern entrance the enlargement of the main ditch by the Iron Age B invaders was not, on the southern side, carried completely through to the southern portal; it reached as far as the southern end of the hornwork, which it clasped by turning for a short distance outwards along the hornwork-ditch (fig. 8). The main ditch, for the 60 yards

between the southern end of the hornwork and the southern portal, thus remains that of Iron Age A, i.e. it is some 10 ft. shallower than the average of Iron Age B (phases III-IV). The reason for this arrangement is not far to seek. On this side of the entrance the natural slope of the ground is exceptionally slight; the new defences-in-depth of phase III, bearing as they do a constant ratio with the steepness of the ground, are here proportionately widespread, and the out-turned end of the deepened main ditch is in harmony with the more open plan.

The new counterscarp-bank of the main line of defence was of considerable height (13 ft.). A section cut through it at Z1 on plan (fig. 8) showed that it was of one structural period only (pl. XIII); and its material was derived partly from the deepening of the main ditch and partly from the construction of a new ditch, B on plan, along its outer margin. This marginal ditch was 20 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep, and the fact that it is an integral part of the plan of phase III ties the work of that phase structurally to the rebuilding of the main defences referred to above.

Incidentally it may be noted that the crouched burial of a woman was incorporated in the lower structure of the bank and was inserted during the actual process of building (pp. 43 and 347).

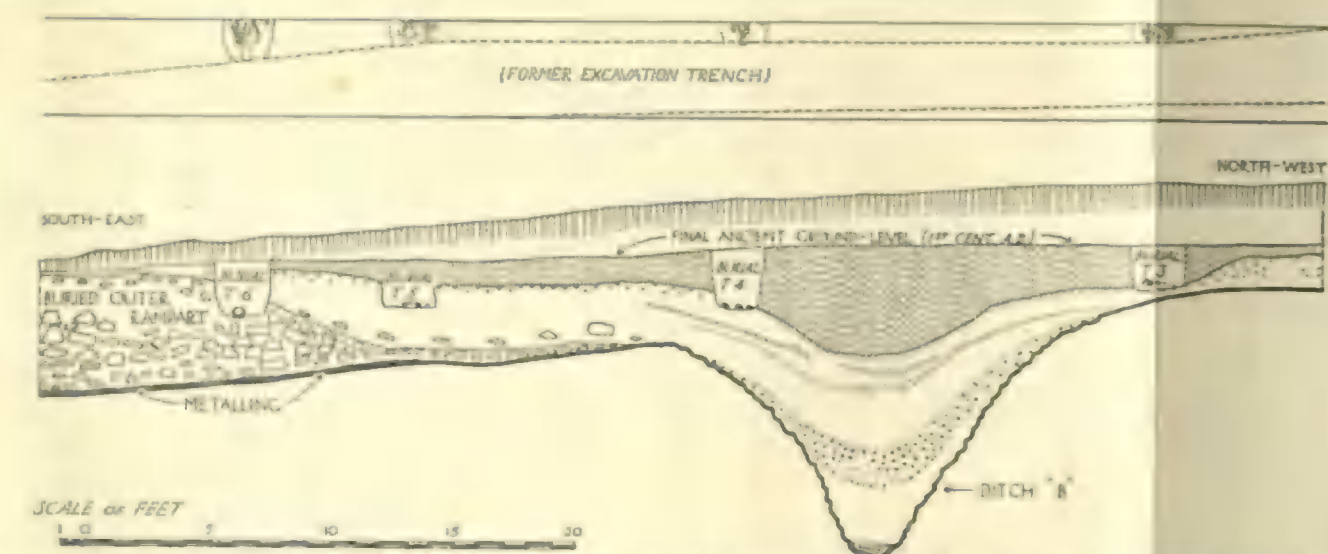
Ditch B continued northwards outside the hornwork, but its marginal bank, from the point at which the enlargement of the main ditch ceased, was of proportionately smaller size. Towards its northern end a stretch of 140 ft. of this smaller bank survives as a functionless island in the present plan, but elsewhere it has been thrown back into its ditch in phase IV. In several of the trial trenches across the filled ditch, burials of Iron Age C were found in the upper filling (pp. 63 and 343).

Before continuing the description of the new outer lines, something must be said of the fate of the hornwork in this phase. As in the case of the main rampart (p. 37), the upright posts which formed the nucleus of the outer retaining-wall of the hornwork had decayed, with the result that the rampart had begun to slip, carrying with it a considerable part of the intervening stone revetment. Over the tail of the collapsed material the wall had been patched with its own stones, the patches wholly or partially blocking the sockets of the former posts (pl. XCI). This process of patching had been repeated at one point on the southern flank of the southern roadway, and the second patching had been carried out with large blocks of chalk in a massive, clumsy style differing markedly from the earlier work (pl. XCII). This more massive masonry has been noted as characteristic of phase IV (above, p. 44), and is likely on general grounds to have formed a part of the remodelling of the gateway which constitutes phase III, itself in effect the preliminary of IV.

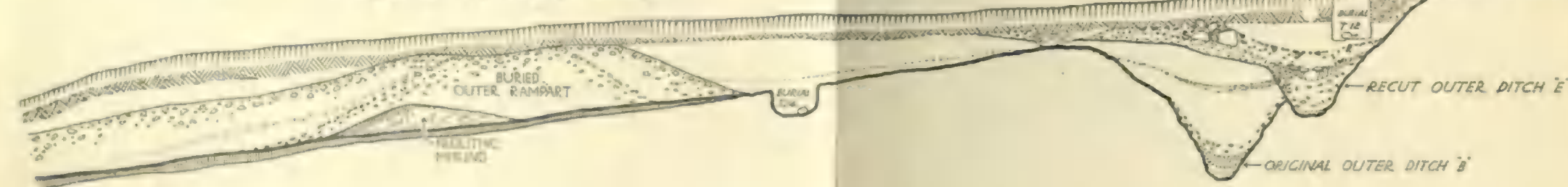
In other words, the hornwork in phase III was repaired but retained substantially the same plan as in phase II, with its two central entrances intact.

It has already been seen that the new ditch B, symmetrically with the hornwork, extended to and stopped at the central trackways. Within the hornwork, these trackways had been divided by a double bank; this spinal barrier was now continued outwards by

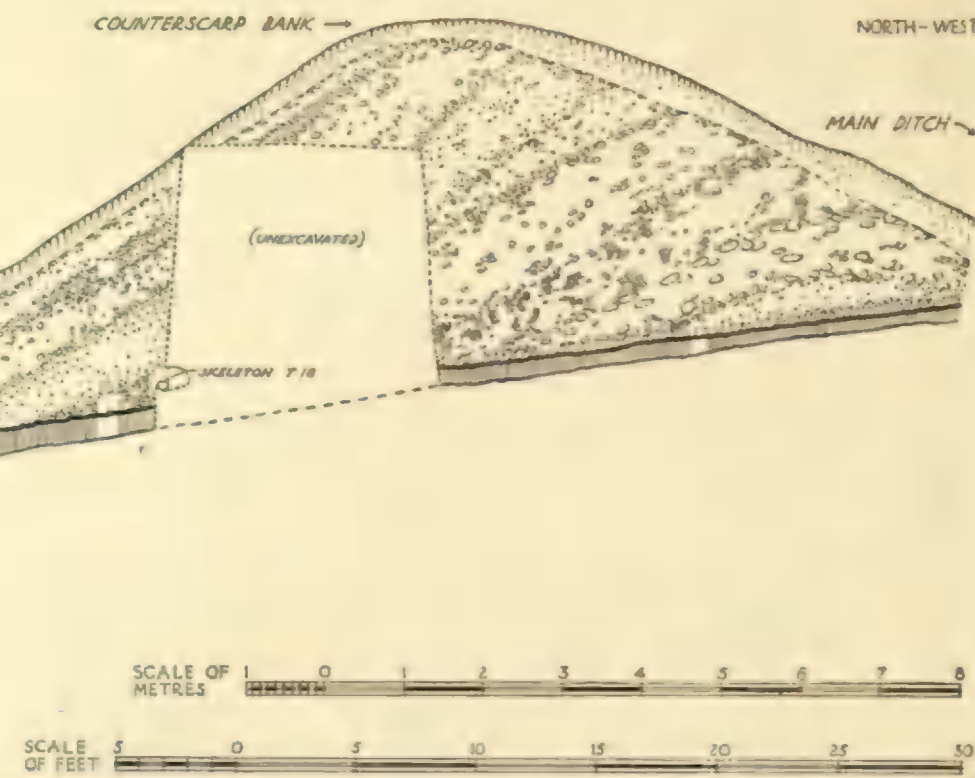




B. Section through ditch "B", midway between Z1 and Z2 on fig. 8. (Cf. pl. XCVII, and trenches XLVI, LIV, LXI and LXV on pl. CXIX)



A. Section at Z1 on fig. 8 (also trenches XC, CX, CXI and CXXII on pl. CXIX)
Outworks of the eastern entrance



a central ditch formerly flanked by two banks—the Y ditch on plan (fig. 8). Towards the east, the dividing ditch forked, forming the arms of the Y, the southern arm clasping a second new bank and ditch (parallel with ditch B) which was now built to extend the defences still farther on the gently sloping southern flank of the camp. This outermost ditch, C on plan, had been entirely swallowed up in the enlargement of phase IV, but its former presence was indicated by the remains of its bank, which still lines its inner margin under the accumulated material of the later phase (pl. XIII). On the inner margin of the bank, a worn road-surface, running parallel with it, intervened between it and ditch B. This road-surface occurred in all the appropriate cuttings, and it is evident that the space between the outer lines of defence was used with some frequency for peripheral traffic.

On the northern or steeper side of the entrance, only a single new outer line of bank and ditch was added. Wear and subsequent enlargement in phase IV have here in fact removed all traces of it in its original form, but its former presence on the line of the present outer ditch is proved in the following fashion. Towards the western end of the southern side of the camp, ditch B, though mostly filled, can be traced upon the surface and was, incidentally, verified by two trial-trenches. It swings out to avoid the inner hornwork of the western entrance (see below, p. 127), and stops opposite the southern portal of that entrance. On the northern side, its line is continued by a relatively shallow ditch which broadens into the large outer ditch of the final plan; but, before it broadens, it is crossed by a causeway which carries the winding approach to the northern portal. This winding approach is an integral part of the plan of phase IV: if, therefore, the causeway in question is made by filling in a section of the ditch, and is not solid natural chalk, then it is clearly a secondary feature and the ditch belongs to an earlier phase. A trial-trench in the causeway showed that the ditch was originally continuous here (pls. XXI and CII), and the latter (ditch D) therefore belongs in origin to phase III. And, carried round to the eastern end of the camp, it coincides with the line of the present outer ditch, enabling the plan of phase III to be completed as in the diagram, fig. 8.

As on the southern, so on the northern, side a worn road-surface was found near the inner margin of, and parallel with, the outer ditch.

The plan resulting from these various works is a compromise between old schemes and new, between old needs and new, and presents a somewhat straggling appearance. The new outer ditches are comparatively small in size—on the average 20 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep—and are widely spaced. Their function is not in doubt: it was to prevent a massed attack by slingers, by keeping them at maximum effective sling-range from the interior of the camp. This function has already been discussed above (p. 48) and need not further detain us in the present context.

The approximate date of the phase is indicated by the following factors. First, as noted above, the outer ditch-system is linked structurally with the first widening and deepening of the main ditch, and the latter process is shown on sites D and E to coincide

with the first appearance of Iron Age B, i.e. *c.* 50 B.C. on the dating adopted in this report.

Secondly, although the peripheral position of the new outer ditches militated against the occurrence of relics in their filling, a few sherds of Iron Age B types of early form were found in the refilled banks of ditch Y (fig. 8). These sherds must either have been included in the material of which the banks had been built or were thrown in at the time of the refill.

Thirdly, the last reconstruction of the rampart flanking the southern portal of the hornwork of phase II was, as has been remarked (p. 110), of the massive masonry associated elsewhere at Maiden Castle with Iron Age B, not Iron Age A. On the other hand, the portal was completely covered in the developed Iron Age B period (phase IV).

Fourthly, as has already been observed, the primary function of the additional lines of defence was clearly that of outdistancing a new or improved missile, and the universal association of the slingstone with Iron Age B at Maiden Castle (contrasted with its extreme rarity with A) points clearly to the nature and cultural context of the missile in question (above, p. 48).

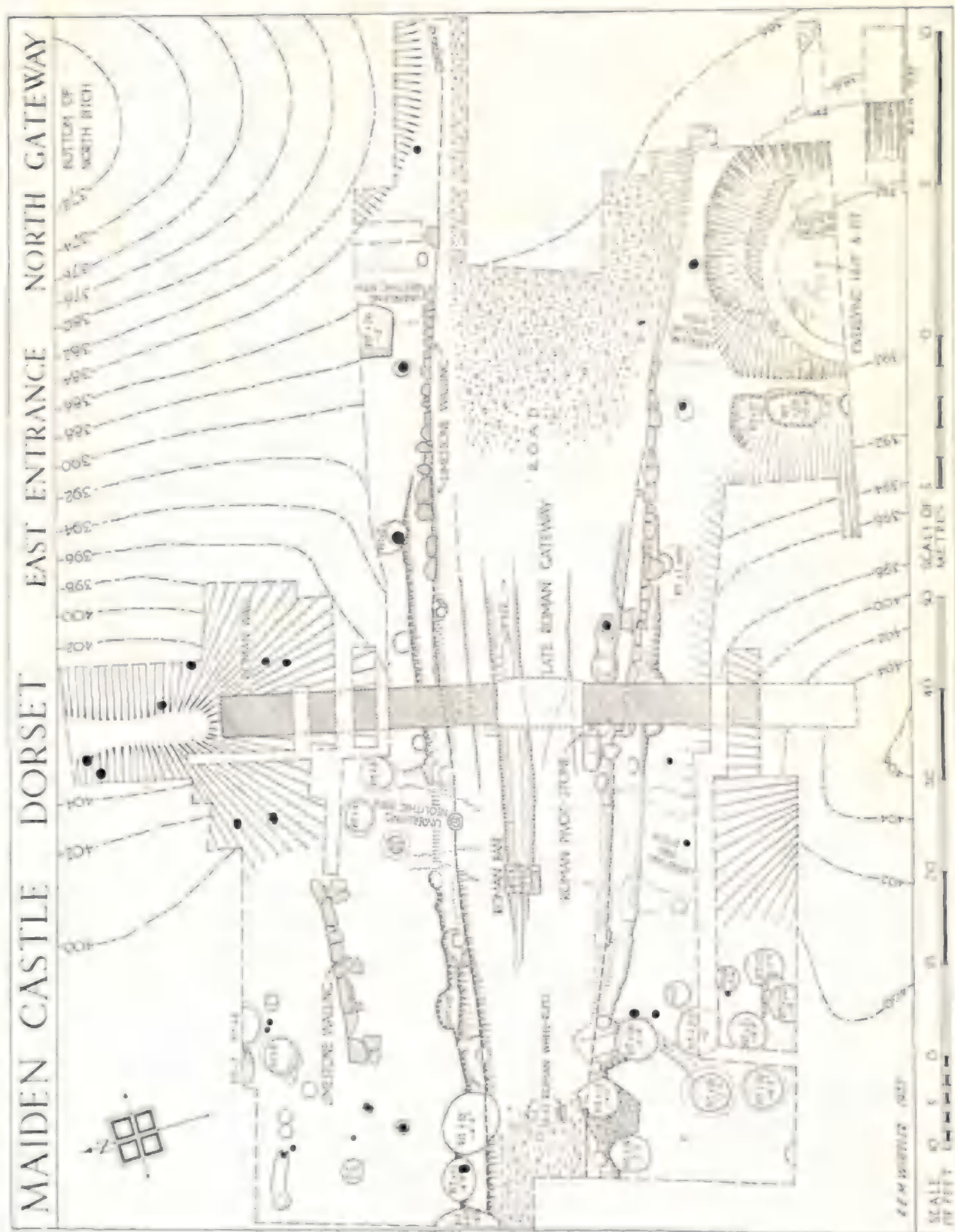
The works of phase III, then, are ascribable to the earlier part of Iron Age B, i.e. on our approximate dating, to the middle of the first century B.C.

Phase IV (p. 46, fig. 9)

The final structural phase of the pre-Roman period represents a bold and drastic redesigning of the whole entrance. The new design incorporates the main lines of phase III but frees them from the awkward element of compromise of which that phase is eloquent. In particular the straight 'run-out', which had been a feature of phase II and had been incompletely masked in phase III, was now superseded. The hornwork of phase II was rebuilt on a more massive scale, its two central openings were blocked, and new lateral openings were provided, near the northern and southern ends, by cutting the rampart and filling the ditch at these points. At the southern end the position of the new causeway was, quite naturally, determined by the end of the widened main ditch of phase III (above, p. 109). The new plan ensured that the last 50 yards of the approach to the main gates thus now brought arrivals potentially under continuous flanking fire from the main rampart—tactically, a far stronger arrangement than that which it replaced.

At the same time, the central 'stem' of ditch Y of phase III was filled by the replacement of its flanking banks, and its V-'terminals' were enlarged though still retaining their general line. At the southern end of this V-plan ditch, the approach was partially barred from the broad inter-vallum space by the addition of a recurved end to the outermost ditch (ditch C of phase III). On the northern side, the approach was deeply sunk by deliberate excavation (exaggerated subsequently by wear), doubtless in order to provide a more equable gradient on the steep slope hereabouts. It has already been remarked that this deepening has obliterated any possible vestiges of phase III at this point.





The replanning of the entrance was accompanied here, as elsewhere in the camp, by a consistent enlargement of the scale of the defences, on the principle of the continuous slope or glacis.

Even the new layout fell short of exact symmetry by the partial recutting of the now-filled ditch B of phase III. The recut ditch (ditch E on plan, fig. 9) was small in size—15 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep—and, instead of intruding into the centre of the entrance as its predecessor had done, it turned slightly inwards towards the new southern causeway. This recut ditch had a relatively short life, for it was completely filled and covered by burials before the middle of the first century A.D. A part of the bank belonging to ditch B was left as a derelict and functionless survival to the north of ditch E (see above, p. 42).

It may be emphasized that the whole of the enlarged outer ditch-system belongs to phase IV. Proof of this is afforded by the fact that the new lateral causeways through the old inner hornwork—causeways which are an integral feature of the phase—cover sections of the hornwork ditch in its original restricted form. The widening therefore occurred at, and not before, the time of the new layout.

So much for the general plan of the outworks of phase IV. Before we turn to the main portals, a number of details call for notice. First, the construction of the enlarged rampart of the inner hornwork shows those internal or 'covered' revetments which have already been found in the contemporary main rampart (above, p. 46). Where best preserved, it includes two low walls within the inner slope, both built mainly of large lumps of chalk (pl. c, A). These walls stiffened the bank at the time of building and facilitated the achievement of height without undue spread. A low kerb, partly of chalk and partly of limestone, marked the inner limit of the rampart; and a wall of limestone blocks had formed an *exposed* revetment along the inner margin of the summit. This exposed revetment had mostly been removed by stone-robbers, as in the case of the main rampart (p. 6), but the surface-soil was full of its wreckage, and it survived here and there to a maximum height of three courses. The massive character of the masonry—both covered and exposed—is in marked contrast to the smaller work of Iron Age A.

But the most remarkable structural feature of the new hornwork was the occurrence, in its southern half, of the remains of a tower or platform of rubble faced with large limestone blocks on the summit (pl. xcix). In the vicinity, the exposed revetment is fragmentary, and only a part of the tower itself survives. Enough remains, however, to show that it projected some 6 ft. inward from the main line of the revetment, that it was upwards of 8 ft. broad, and that it had towards the south an extension 10 ft. long, which may have carried stairs. The maximum surviving height is 2 ft., but the work was certainly higher, probably upwards of 6 ft. (the minimum original height of the exposed revetment of the main rampart—p. 105).

Symmetry demands a similar tower on the northern half of the hornwork. The combined factors, that the rampart is less well preserved at this point and that it was here

used therefore for the deposition of one of the main soil-dumps of the excavation, prevented its investigation. It may be added that this small area was almost the only part of the whole entrance which was not excavated in 1935-7.

In any case, this tower or platform did not stand alone. At three other points remains of equivalent structures were brought to light, and it is evident that each successive lap of the two approaching ways was thus commanded. First, on the outer lip of the main ditch, beside the northern causeway through the hornwork, part of a similar platform upwards of 11 ft. broad and 18 ft. long was found still surviving to a maximum height of six courses of limestone (pl. xcix). This looked eastwards, dominating nearly 70 yards of the approach; and its task was resumed at that limit by an outer platform, now very fragmentary but upwards of 17 ft. long. This platform, situated at the point where the approaching way first bent through the defences, formed the outermost strong-point of the whole complex. In this fashion, the three successive laps in the winding approach were controlled by special strong-points or by the actual defences of the main portals.

On the south side of the entrance, the severed end of the original hornwork was built up to form a similar point of vantage. The enlarged bank was strengthened by an internal wall of large chalk blocks, and was brought to a vertical face alongside the new approach by a massive limestone revetment which survives to a height of six courses. The whole thus formed a bastion of earth and stone upwards of 9 ft. high.

The probable function of these towers or platforms as stations for slingers is discussed above, p. 48.

From the outworks we turn to the main portals. When last heard of, in phase I, it may be recalled that these were revetted by timbering, but at some subsequent period the timbering was replaced by massive dry-built limestone walls of the type already encountered in the outworks of this phase. The stone walls had been built on ledges roughly levelled in the chalk, and survived to a maximum height of 3 ft., though they had mostly been destroyed in ancient times below that level (see p. 65). In the centre of the portals the side-walls had served merely as a skin, revetting the low cliffs of chalk and forming vertical ends to the abutting ramparts. Towards the front they had presumably been sloped downwards in conformity with the outer slopes of the ramparts, and had been carried across the ends of the main ditch as a low wall or kerb. Towards the rear the northern wall of the northern portal, on leaving the inner slope of the rampart, had been built free, with a northern face parallel to the southern or main face and 15 ft. from it. The northern face was preserved to a maximum height of four courses but, save for a litter of limestone blocks, the intervening core between the two faces had been almost completely removed. The 15-ft. wall had been carried back from the inner slope of the rampart for a distance upwards of 21 ft. No traces of any similar prolongation of the revetment wall had survived in the southern portal, or on the southern side of the northern portal.



The stone walls of the main portals have been included in this phase for a number of circumstantial reasons. The work itself is of the monumental character which is in harmony with this, the greatest, structural phase of Maiden Castle, and with none other. In detail, its massive construction is identical with that of other walling peculiar to the additions and alterations of the phase and described above. Sherds of Iron Age B pottery typical of the phase were found in the packing of certain of the stones of the revetments and are identical with those illustrated below (fig. 21) from works definitely of this phase. Further, the priority of the walls to the latest prehistoric (Belgic) phase is shown by the manner in which the roads were worn away from them before being patched and repatched by metalling in the Belgic period. And, lastly and conclusively, the northern facing of the inward-projecting northern wall of the northern portal abuts upon the inner slope of the *enlarged* main rampart of phase IV.

The cultural associations of phase IV were amply indicated by pottery associated with its building-levels. They prove construction in the second phase of our Iron Age B, before the impact of the Belgic culture and the arrival of the potter's wheel; i.e., on the chronological system here adopted, in the last quarter of the first century B.C. Samples of the pottery from a number of significant points are here illustrated (fig. 21). Incidentally, two small sherds of Roman amphora were incorporated in work definitely of this phase.

By this phase, the short detached length of the main ditch which had separated the causeways at the main portals had been filled up, and a circular timber hut, some 16 ft. in diameter, was now built over the filling (plan, pl. xvi). Its floor included a storage-pit (F8) which produced Iron Age Bii-iii pottery of the beginning of the first century A.D. In the space in front of the portals and within the 'hornwork', other traces of occupation were found; amongst them a number of storage-pits (pl. xvi), again associated with B sherds. A few post-holes hereabouts belonged to the same general period, but had been too extensively mutilated by subsequent huts and graves to indicate coherent plans.

Phase V

The impact of elements of Belgic culture upon Maiden Castle within the last generation preceding the Roman invasion has been discussed above (p. 57). Structurally, its principal manifestations are the further enlargement of the main rampart, the substitution of a timber for the stone revetment along the inner side of the crest, and the systematic filling-up of the storage-pits within the camp. At the eastern entrance it is represented notably by the remetalling of the worn road-surfaces at the main portals. The new metalling consisted of flint pebbles carefully rolled into the surface of the chalk, which had probably been puddled into a sort of cement to receive them. Apart from occasional patching, the metalling was extensively renewed on two occasions, but only a thin layer of dried mud separated the successive levels. The date of these road-repairs

was indicated by associated sherds of B, C, and of 'BC' (wheel-turned B) pottery of Wessex Belgic type; by occasional fragments of Roman amphora, including, in particular,

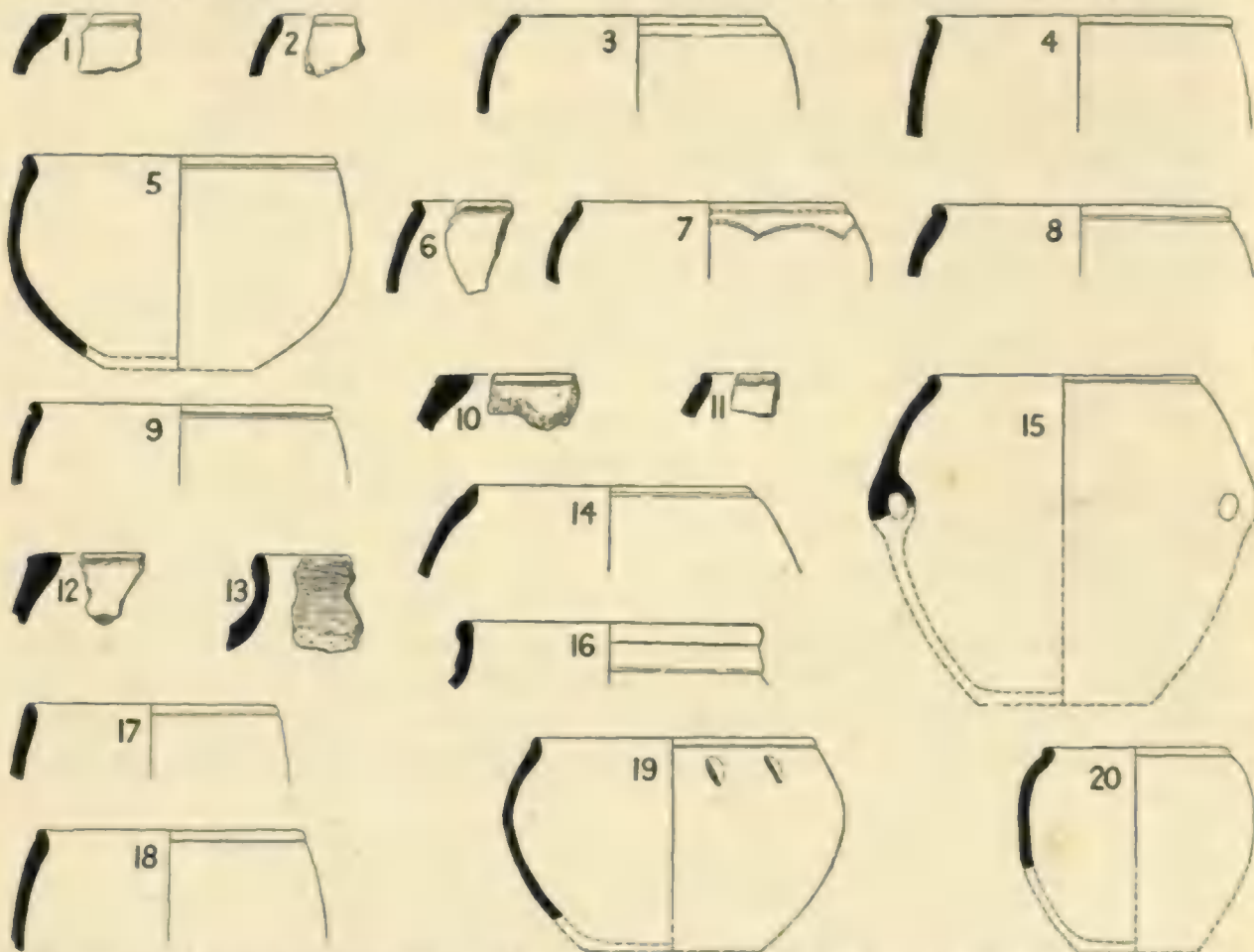


FIG. 21. Pottery from stratified levels associated with the final Iron Age B remodelling of the East Entrance. 1-8 from pit P16 under latest counterscarp bank at north end of East Entrance, i.e. prior to later Iron Age B period; 9-14 prior to completion of same counterscarp bank; 15 in make-up of late hornwork, under limestone parapet; 16 in tail of late hornwork; 17-19 in make-up of late hornwork; 20 in rapid silt of recurved end of south middle ditch of East Entrance, cut in latest B period, i.e. this sherd is shortly subsequent to latest B. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

a sherd of the early pink fabric; and, above all, by six 'British' coins found in precise stratigraphical relation to the metalling of the two portals. These coins were as follows:

North portal:

- (i) Under the lowest layer of Belgic road-metal and lying on the trampled surface of the natural chalk, coin no. 6 (below, p. 332).
- (ii) Between the first and second layers of Belgic road-metal, coin no. 2 (below, p. 331).

- (iii) On the surface of the uppermost of the three layers of Belgic road-metal, coin no. 10 (below, p. 332).
- (iv-vi) Incorporated in the lowest layer of metalling, coins nos. 7, 9, and 13 (below, pp. 332, 333).

All these coins are typologically late in the British series, and are unlikely to be earlier than the last generation before the Roman invasion. On the other hand, they preceded the arrival of Claudian Samian pottery on the site; and the quarter-century, A.D. 20-45, may be regarded as allowing a safe margin for their deposition and therefore for the whole series of metallings with which they were interleaved.

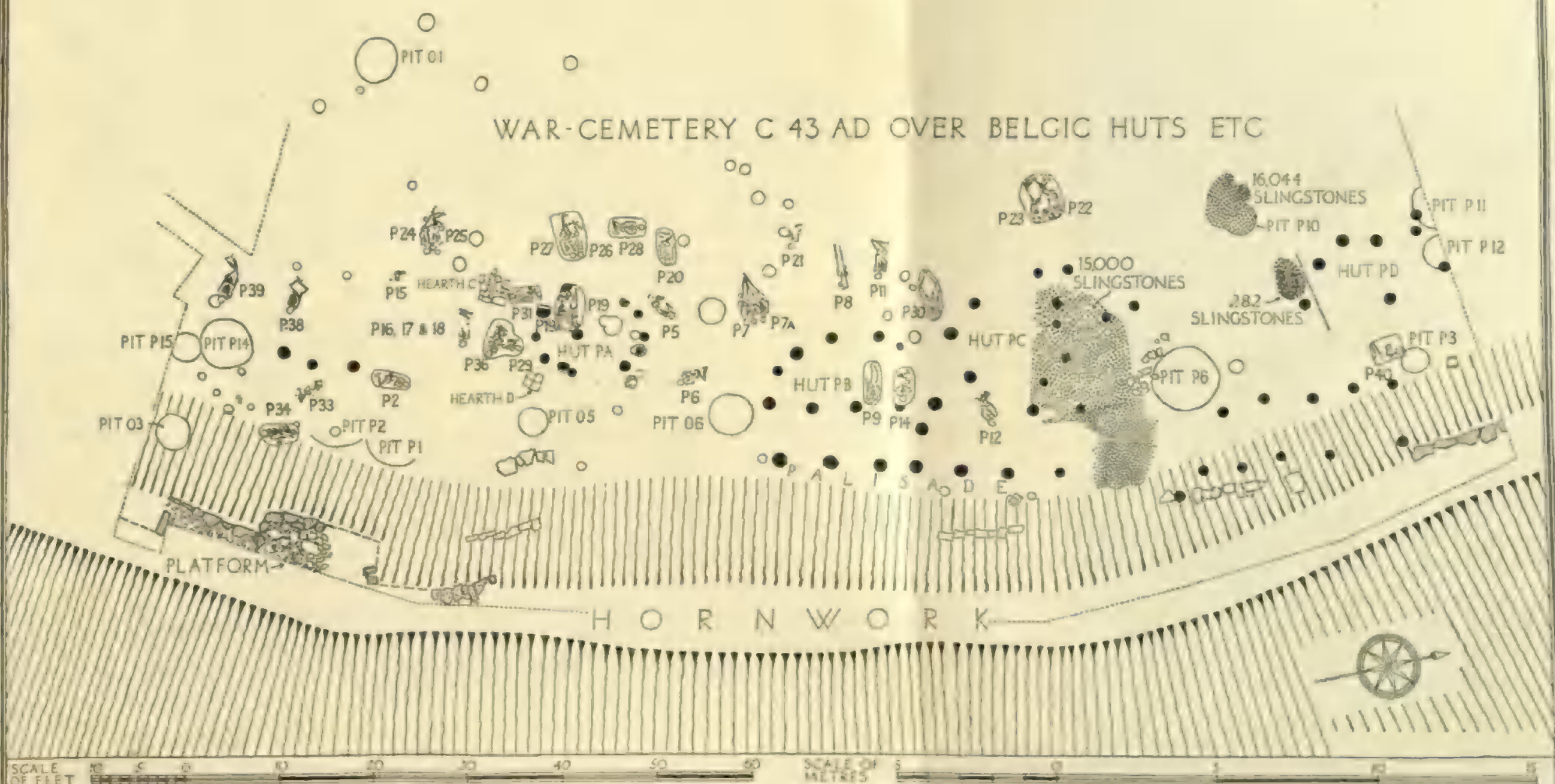
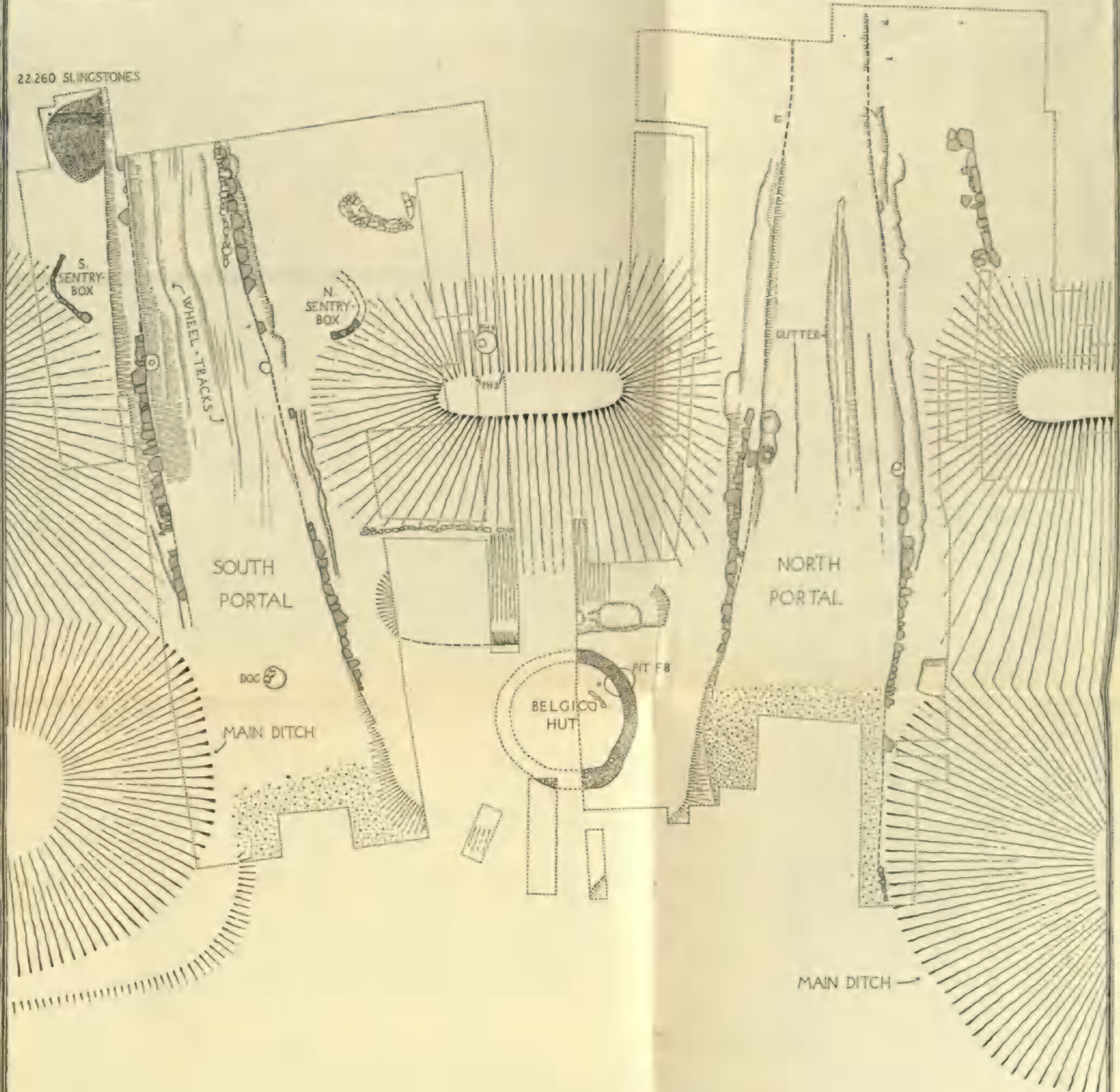
The other structural remains of the same period at the eastern entrance consisted of a number of circular huts built in the level space between the portals and the 'hornwork'. The Iron Age B hut between the two innermost causeways was now rebuilt, with a rough line of rubble at the base of its circular wall, giving an internal diameter of about 16 ft. (pl. xvi). The storage-pit of its predecessor on the same site was filled up, in accordance with the Belgic custom at Maiden Castle. The hut was used in connexion with iron-smelting, for a thick layer of ash containing great quantities of iron-slag covered its floor (p. 377). Farther east, near the inner margin of the hornwork, several huts were erected at this period, although the subsequent use of the area as a War Cemetery permitted the recovery of only four partial plans (pl. xvi). These indicated variable diameters ranging from 10 ft. to 16 ft., and, although the disturbed condition of the site prevented certainty, one hut at least appeared to have had a median partition. At the back of the huts, along the foot of the hornwork rampart, the hut-area had been bounded by a fence (plan, pl. xvi).

The sites of the huts and the interspaces were covered with a thick layer of ash containing Iron Age B pottery, Belgic (C) pottery, cross-bred types (BC), and some fragments of Roman amphora. In other words, the ceramic evidence repeated, on a far more ample scale, that already observed in the portals. The continuity and consistency of the ash indicated without doubt the simultaneous burning of all the huts and other timber-work in this area.

Into, and in some cases through, the ash and Belgic débris twenty-eight graves had been roughly cut, irregular alike in shape, depth, and orientation, but all filled with the same ash-débris and all clearly contemporary. Six of the graves contained double burials; the skeletons thrown in together with no attempt at arrangement (see below, p. 351). Most of the burials were accompanied by grave-goods in the form of pots of Wessex C types, or, in two cases, of joints of lamb in lieu of the food-vessels; whilst many of the skeletons retained armlets, a ring on the big toe, or, in one case, an iron axe and knife and bronze ear-pick. One grave contained a British coin of late south-western type, but whether this was inserted deliberately at the time of burial, or whether it was an accidental constituent of the filling of the grave, could not be said.

A striking feature of the burials was the presence of extensive and fatal cuts or blows

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET EAST ENTRANCE INNER PART IN IRON AGES B & C



MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET EAST ENTRANCE SOUTH GATEWAY



The actual gates had been swung in line with the front of the crest of the rampart. In the northern portal they were represented by two post-holes on the southern side and one on the northern; in the southern portal by a single post-hole on each side. There had been no central post, for not only was there no post-hole at that point but the maximum wear of the road-surface occurred in the centre, and the pre-Roman date of this wearing was demonstrated by the fact that the hollow was covered by road-metalling which was itself pre-Roman (see below, p. 116). The gates had presumably been secured merely by cross-bars. There was no structural evidence for the bridge which has been recognized between the rampart-ends at other hill-fort gateways,¹ but the 15-ft. gap which separates the flanks of each portal at the narrowest point could easily have been bridged without intermediate support.

A number of details call for notice. First, on the inner flanks of the southern portal had been placed at this period two small 'sentry-boxes' of segmental plan, the more northerly associated with a flat hearth. No similar feature appeared in the northern portal, but a stone-framed hearth stood where the southern sentry-box in this portal might have been expected.

Secondly, west of the southern sentry-box in the southern portal, a large shallow pit lay above and adjoining the road in this phase; and in the pit lay 22,260 sling-pebbles (pl. civ), obviously stored for the defence of the gate—a vivid token of deliberate and orderly preparation and of civic discipline.

Thirdly, in the southern portal the hollowed surface of the road—worn mostly to the natural chalk but patched here and there with pebbles—had been grooved by wheel-traffic, the grooves indicating a wheel-gauge of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 5 ft., i.e. approximating both to the gauge of the Marnian chariots and to the standard gauge of to-day.

Fourthly, in the outer part of the southern portal, in the centre of the roadway, a shallow pit, 1 ft. in depth and 3 ft. in diameter, had been dug to receive the body of a dog, which lay upon the natural chalk at the bottom of it (pl. xv, and below, p. 371). The filling of the pit was covered by the metalling of the earliest of the Belgic road-levels. The purpose of this strange burial in the midst of the fairway can only be guessed, but the prominent position suggests a ritual significance. It may not be far from the mark to conjecture that the motive was to provide a permanent watch-dog for this important point, but no stress can be laid upon this conjecture or, indeed, upon any other.

Fifthly, at the outer foot of the main rampart, both between and flanking the portals, a series of 'scoops', forming in effect a rough continuous trench, was excavated at this period at the top of the natural chalk (pl. xi). This basal trench can scarcely have had any function other than that of providing protective outposts in front of the gates. The alternative possibility that they had contained some sort of chevaux-de-frise may be mentioned, but no concrete evidence of this usage had survived.

¹ e.g. at Bredon Hill and at Bourton-on-the-Water (Salmonsbury) in Gloucestershire.



upon the skulls or spines of no fewer than ten of them. In one instance, the skull bore as many as four cuts, any one of which would have been fatal. That death did not, however, occur at close quarters in every case was shown by the actual presence of an iron arrow-head in a vertebra of one of the skeletons (pl. LVIII, A); the arrow-head had entered the body from the front, below the heart.

The date of the burials is indicated by the fact that the filling of the graves was entirely free from the Samian sherds of Claudian types, which were found in the soil above them, whilst, on the other hand, the fatal arrow-head is of a familiar Roman type, of a kind used by the legionary *ballista*. The episode therefore occurred at the junction of the Belgic and Roman phases, i.e. at the time of the Roman Conquest. This is confirmed by the types of the pottery buried with the dead; they are of the Belgo-Roman overlap group which has commonly been associated in terminology with the site of Jordan Hill near Weymouth.

For the rest, the general significance of this War Cemetery has been considered above, where its slovenly character, betokening haste and anxiety, is contrasted with the pious observance of ritual in the careful inclusion of grave-goods, and is interpreted as a reflection of the conditions immediately succeeding the storming of Maiden Castle by the troops of Vespasian in or shortly after A.D. 43 (p. 61). The picture is there completed by reference to a further feature, of which the details must here be repeated and amplified.

The uppermost of the Belgic road-surfaces described above was, in each portal but more clearly in the southern, overlaid with a layer of massive limestone blocks identical with those which constitute the surviving remains of the flanking walls of phase IV. That these blocks are in fact derived from the flanking walls was proved visually by their arrangement in the inner part of the southern portal. There the northern wall lay across the Belgic road-surface, the stones overlapping in their original sequence and so linked with the two basic courses which still occupied their structural position (pl. CI, B). No clearer demonstration could have been provided that the litter of limestones was the product of the overthrow of the lateral walls.

But this was not all. Over the layer of fallen stones a new and compact road-surface of rammed flints had been laid in each portal; and at the sides these new road-surfaces rose to cover the surviving remnants of the side-walls, showing that their fragments are to-day in precisely the same condition as when the roads were built. Nor was any provision made for a new gate in these late roads. No post-hole was anywhere associated with them, and it is clear that, with the abutting ramparts in a state of collapse after the removal of their terminal revetments, the portals were substantially as open as they are to-day.

The new road-surfaces are shown, by pottery in and on them, to have been in use for something like a quarter of a century after the Roman Conquest. The significant pottery is described by the late Dr. Davies Pryce on pp. 241 to 246, where it is shown that the bulk of it belongs to the principates of Claudius and Nero, and none of it is likely to

be much, if at all, later than *c.* A.D. 70. The historical inferences from these facts are discussed on p. 65: here it will suffice to recall that the evidence indicates that, immediately subsequent to its 'slighting' at the time of the Roman Conquest, Maiden Castle was sufficiently rehabilitated to enable the disarmed citizens to remain in occupation until the reconstruction of the country-side by the new authority was well under way.

One other feature of the eastern entrance calls for notice in this section. The stone-revetted platform beside the southern causeway through the hornwork of phase IV (above, p. 47) had been as deliberately wrecked as had the portals themselves. The worn roadway at this point was covered with the fallen stones of the upper part of the revetment, and that the destruction was deliberate and not due to landslide was clear from the fact that the consolidated chalk of the construction behind them remained intact. Furthermore, the destruction occurred when the metalled road-surface was still in use, for there was no interleaved layer of earth or débris between it and the super-incumbent limestones; and experiment has shown that a very few weeks of wind and rain on this exposed site induces a considerable accumulation on any un-turfed surface. But the road can scarcely have remained in use after the mass of large limestones had been cast upon it, and the inference is that, as this was one of the two approaches, the entrance was wholly or largely out of commission when the destruction occurred. In the absence of more precise evidence, it might be supposed that this piece of 'slighting' was carried out, as a formality, when Maiden Castle was abandoned in or just before the Flavian period, rather than at the time of the mutilation of the portals during the Claudian conquest. At least it seems unlikely that when, in the early Roman period, both portals were carefully repaved for use, the approach to one of them should have been left in an unusable condition. Accordingly it has been deduced above (p. 62) that the demolition of the strong-point was a formal act at the time of the final transfer of the population to Roman Dorchester or elsewhere about A.D. 70.

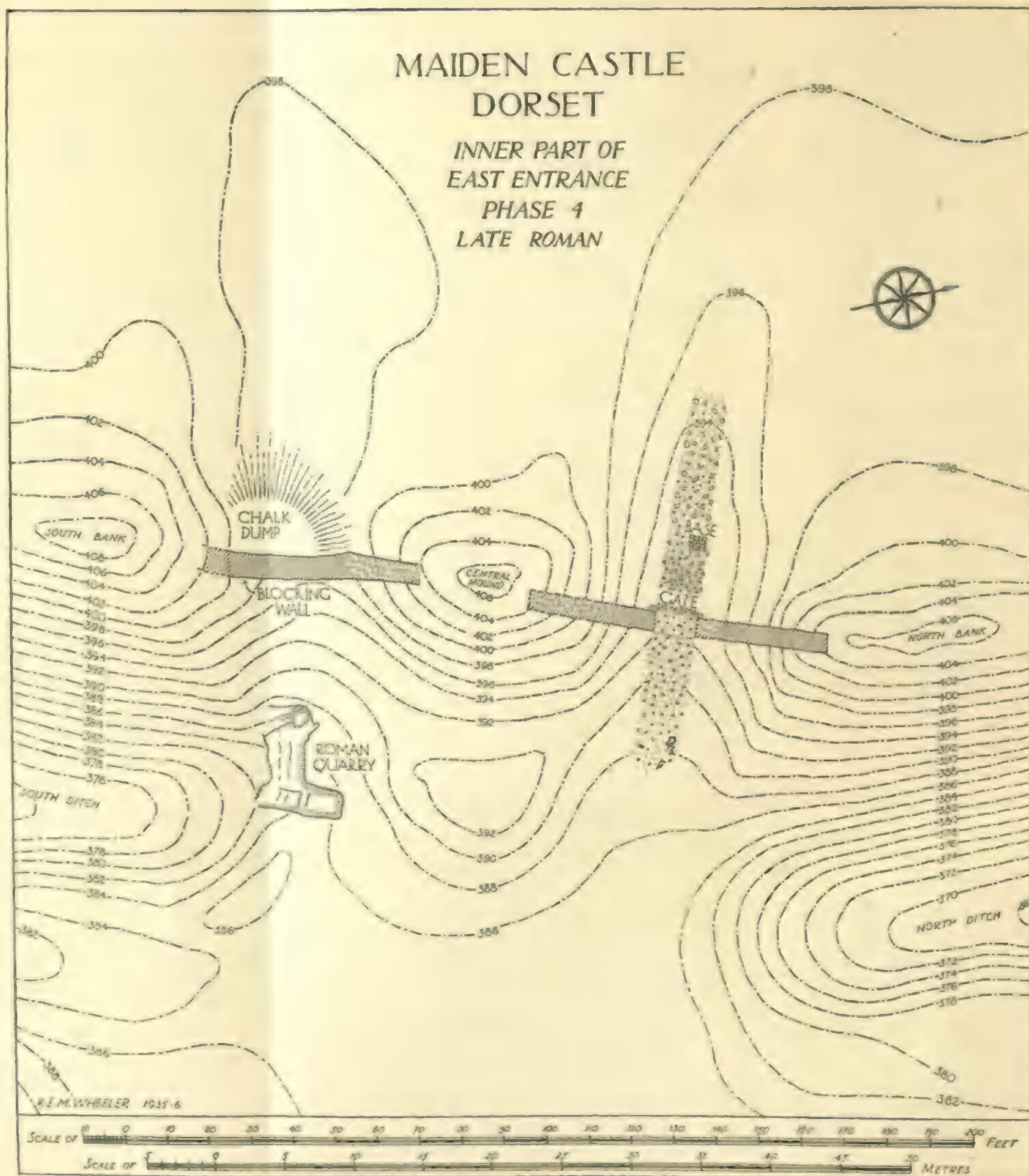
Phase VI

The uppermost road-surfaces of phase V were covered, in both portals, by a layer of humus attaining a thickness of 1 ft. within the gateway (pl. cxvii). This layer of humus had clearly accumulated during a lengthy period when the gateway was no longer in use.

In the northern portal this sterile layer was succeeded by a compact layer of road-metal consisting of chalk, pebbles, etc., brought to a level surface; and in conjunction with this new road were found the remains of a stone gateway of mortared masonry. The structure had consisted of a screen-wall, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, which extended originally across the opening from summit to summit of the adjacent banks, and had included a central gateway some 10 ft. wide, closed by double doors. The southern pivot-stone survived *in situ* and a spoil-trench indicated the position of the northern.

On the surface of the road were iron boot-nails, several horseshoes (p. 290), and two third-brass coins, one of the House of Constantine (probably Constans), the other late

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Roman but unidentifiable;¹ whilst in the actual road-metal was a third brass of Constantine I (A.D. 306–37).²

It would appear that the actual gates were normally kept closed, since the road-surface immediately adjoining them on the eastern or lower side was in an excellent state of preservation, whereas on the upper or western side, where closed gates would tend to pond back the rain-water, the road had sunk into a hollow and had been roughly patched. Farther to the west again, the metalling showed at one point the wheel-tracks of some small vehicle with a gauge of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Finally, at a distance of 15 ft. to the west of the gate, in the more northerly half of the road, was an oblong foundation, 4 ft. by 3 ft., built contemporaneously with the gate. The function of this curiously obstructive object can but be guessed; it may possibly have carried an altar at which the visitor could have performed the preliminary rites upon entering the precinct, or it may have carried some sort of memorial to the benefactor on whose initiative the temple had been built.

Subsequently to phase VI in this portal, two rough levellings (rather than road-surfaces) indicate periods during which traffic used the site of the gateway. The earlier of these levellings was in use at the time when the Roman buildings were being robbed of their building-materials, and stones, tiles, and mortar were dropped upon the site, doubtless on their way from the temple to some new building in the valley below. The uppermost levelling of miscellaneous material was merely the bottoming of a farm track.

In the southern portal the late Roman screen-wall was carried without interruption across the site of the prehistoric gate, completely blocking it. The clay and chalk of which the core of this blocking-wall was built were quarried from the causeway in front of it; and the quarry, at the bottom of which was a fragment of Roman roof-tile, itself helped to bar the approach. Waste material from this quarrying was dumped behind the wall (plan, pl. xv). The facing of the wall consisted mainly of chalk blocks where thus protected; for the rest, it was mostly of limestone. At the level of the inner base of the wall and partly sealed by the mortar-spread from it were six fourth-century coins: one of Constantine I, c. A.D. 313; two 'Urbs Roma', A.D. 330–7; one of Constans, A.D. 340–8; one of Magnentius, A.D. 350–3; and one unidentified but of the second half of the fourth century.

In front of and between the portals, over the successive huts of phases IV and V, the surface at present rises to form a low mound. The presence of Roman brick deep in this mound probably indicates that the latter is a dump of waste material accumulated during the late Roman constructional work just described.

There can be no reasonable doubt that this adaptation of the entrance by Roman builders in the second half of the fourth century A.D. formed a part and parcel of the establishment of the temple on the summit within the camp, 200 yards away, at some date after A.D. 367 (p. 131). The episode is discussed in a wider context on p. 133,

¹ *Obv.* CONS []. Bust, laureate, r: *rev.* VICTORIA DD AVGG Q NN]. Two victories holding wreaths. Mint illegible.

² *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust, laureate, r: *rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS, two standards. TRP.

where the close analogy of the contemporary establishment of a temple-enclosure within the adapted Iron Age earthwork at Lydney, Gloucestershire, is cited.

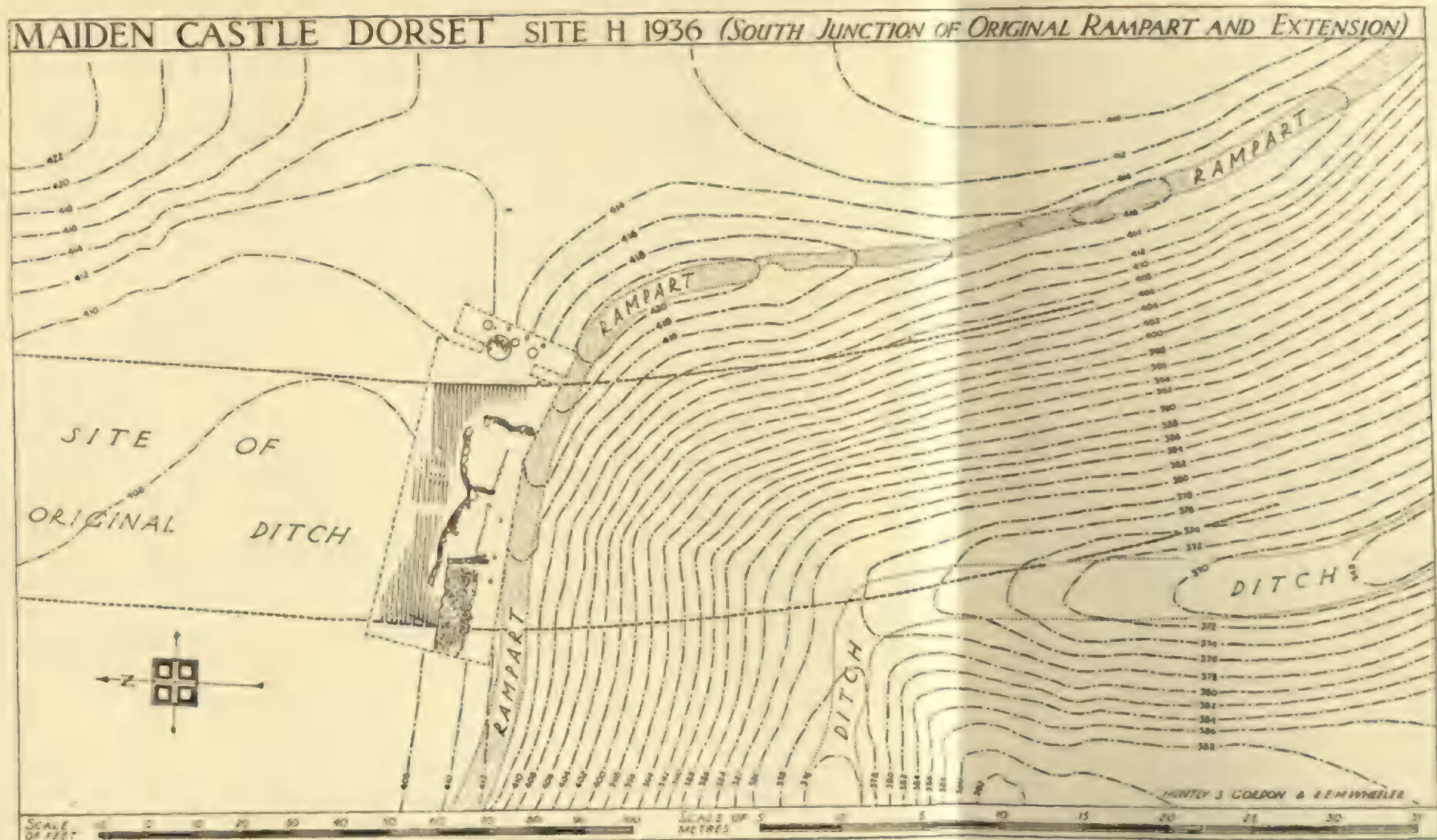
As a postscript, it may be recorded that the site of a sixteenth-century barn built on timber posts with some brick filling was traced over a part of the War Cemetery, within the hornwork. In association with the barn was found a silver half-groat of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-61 (below, p. 337).

9. SITE H (pls. xviii, xix, lxxviii, lxxix)

This site lay at the southern junction between the original eastern earthwork and the westerly extension. It was dug for three main reasons: (i) to prove visually what was the obvious inference from the plan—that the eastern unit of Maiden Castle was in fact a separate and earlier entity, i.e. delimited by a continuous ditch on the west; (ii) to reveal the nature of the silting sealed by the earliest extension-rampart at the point where it crossed the original ditch; and (iii) to discover the character of the original western rampart of the nucleus-camp, where that rampart was protected by the abutment of the extension-rampart (it will be recalled that, on site A, the original rampart had been badly mutilated by subsequent pits); (iv) to investigate the sequence of extension-ramparts at this point. The results were as follows.

(i) The original *ditch* was found to run continuously under the abutment of the extension-rampart, thus proving the separateness and prior date of the eastern and smaller Maiden Castle. The dimensions of the ditch were: width 50 ft., vertical depth from the surface of the natural chalk 22 ft., vertical depth from the present surface of the interior of the camp 26 ft. The slopes were notably well cut, the outer slope dropping suddenly and steeply as in the equivalent section at the eastern entrance (pl. xix). On the inner slope were two ledges, one above the other, clearly part of a series designed to assist the builders in passing up the baskets of excavated material for the construction of the rampart on the eastern margin (pl. lxxviii).

(ii) and (iii). A remarkable feature of the cutting was the great depth of filling which had accumulated in the ditch (to a height of no less than 10 ft.—see pl. xix) before the superposition of the first extension-rampart. This was explained by the discovery of a series of original post-holes set back some 8 ft. from the inner margin of the ditch and clearly designed to hold a front revetment to the original rampart, as on site G (pl. xi) and on the inner hornwork of the eastern entrance (pl. xii). The original rampart was thus of the wall-and-berm type (type I, pl. ii), a berm or platform intervening for structural security between the front of the rampart and the ditch. For a discussion of this type, see above, p. 31. In the present instance, the vertical timbers, which had evidently been linked by hurdles or wattle-construction, had perished and had let down the front of the rampart into the ditch. In its reduced condition, the front of the rampart



had subsequently become overgrown with turf, save where the stumps of the timber uprights still projected.

(iv) Over the reduced hollow of the silted ditch was subsequently built the first rampart of the extended camp. This new rampart, equating with 'rampart 1' on site E (p. 100), sagged steeply into the hollow and so formed a U-shaped deformity in the line of the defences (pl. xix). At its junction with the original rampart at the eastern end of our cutting, a burial of considerable interest was brought to light (fig. 7 and pl. xliv). A barrel-shaped pit, 3 ft. in surface-diameter and 4 ft. deep, had been cut carefully into the outer margin of the collapsed and turf-grown original rampart, and on its floor lay the skeleton of a man between 22 and 30 years old. The loose chalk within the pit over the skeleton contained many large blocks of limestone, and in the upper part of the pit this filling passed without interruption into the actual material of extension-rampart 1. The upper part of the pit was cut in a patch of natural clay and could never have stood free for more than a few hours; it was clear therefore that the whole of the filling and covering were contemporary with the pit, i.e. that the burial took place at this point of junction precisely at the moment at which the new rampart was built. Other burials have been found in the outer ramparts of the camp (e.g. p. 343), but none so carefully prepared as this; and it is tempting to ascribe something more than coincidence to the occurrence of the careful burial of a young man at so crucial a spot and moment. The possibility that this was a foundation-burial has been noted above (p. 39).

The extension-rampart 1 was renewed at least once¹ before the great reconstruction which helped to give this site its special interest. This great reconstruction, associated with the first arrival of Iron Age B upon the site, equates with the building of rampart 4 on site E (p. 101). An essential feature of this new rampart was a core of masonry which, on site H, consisted entirely of limestone. The stone core was carried from the west to the point at which the previous rampart dipped down into the hollow over the original underlying ditch. There it was replaced by what may best be described as a series of dumps, each rammed hard behind retaining-walls of limestone, as illustrated (pls. xix and lxxix). This compact and reinforced filling now at last produced a rigid rampart across the hollow; and the determination with which the builders faced the task is emphasized by the fact that many tons of limestones—some of them weighing individually as much as 5 cwt.—were brought more than 2 miles for the purpose. The rampart was completed, here as elsewhere, with a jacket of earth and chalk completely covering the limestone structure save presumably (on analogy with site E) for an exposed revetment of the inner margin of the summit. Plunderers in comparatively recent times had, on site H, almost entirely destroyed the parapet-revetment, but some of its wreckage remained.

Rampart 5 of the series on site E was there associated with a renewal of the parapet-revetment and the addition of a stone kerb to the inner base of the bank. This stone

¹ Provisionally identified with rampart 3 on site E. Rampart 2 on that site was merely an enlargement of the crest of rampart 1, and an equivalent enlargement on site H would not have come within the limits of our cutting.

kerb, together with a renewal of the earthen covering of the inner slope of the rampart, was identified on site H, but is, for the sake of clearness, omitted from the plan and section.

Rampart 6 of site E had, on site H, been entirely removed or wrecked by stone-robbers, who had dug through it for the stone parapet-revetment of rampart 4. It may be recalled that rampart 6, associated with the arrival of Iron Age C (Belgic) influence, represented the complete covering of all stonework on the rampart and the replacement of a stone parapet-revetment by a stout palisade. On site H this rampart was represented only by débris and by the bottom ends of four of the palisade posts, where they had been driven deeply into the underlying strata (pl. xix).

10. SITE L

The present account of this site excludes the neolithic ditch, etc., which have been dealt with above, p. 86, and the late Roman hut, which will be described below, p. 135.

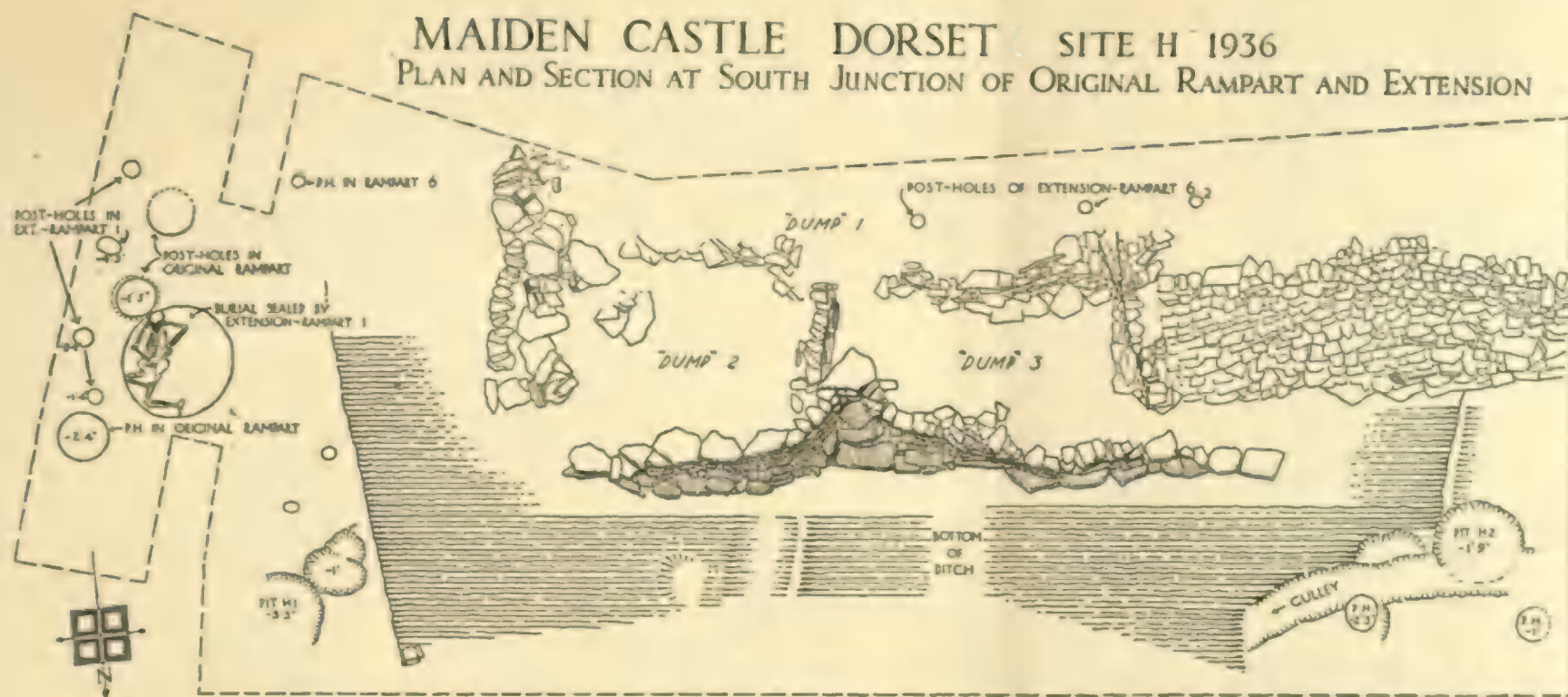
The site is an area of about 330 square yards near the summit of the eastern knoll, adjoining the Roman temple. On general grounds it was noteworthy as providing a complete series of the successive cultures illustrated by Maiden Castle. Thus, sections only 4 ft. in depth showed an underlying neolithic deposit, capped by others of Early Iron Age A, B, and C, with early Roman and late Roman material at the top. So comprehensive a series of cultures, ranging over a period of more than 2,000 years, is rarely encountered on a British site.

The earliest Iron Age occupation, lying immediately on the ancient turf-line which sealed the neolithic deposits, may be correlated with the earliest Maiden Castle and, although extensively mutilated by later Iron Age occupation, produced not only an important pottery-series but also remains of a structure of interest (fig. 22). In the eastern part of the site, a group of large post-holes, from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 9 in. in depth and designed to hold posts mostly circular in section and about 1 ft. in diameter, represented a small building with approximately rectilinear sides. The posts had been secured by a packing of chalk lumps and flints. The plan was partially obliterated by later pits, but it seemed likely that the entrance had been on the north-eastern side. The floor was little more than a trampled surface of chalk and flint rubble, and, with the post-holes, was covered by the first extensive Iron Age A occupation. The building belonged therefore to the opening phase of that occupation and, in spite of its substantial character, was evidently not long in use.

Structures definitely ascribable to so early a phase of Maiden Castle have rarely survived the extensive pit-digging of later phases. Traces were, however, noted on sites B and D of a comparable tendency towards rectilinear planning in the earlier huts (pp. 90 and 94); and a similar tendency was observed on the Iron Age A site on Park Brow in Sussex.¹ On the other hand, the huts of Iron Age B and C at Maiden Castle—as, apparently, on other sites—were invariably circular or polygonal in plan. This

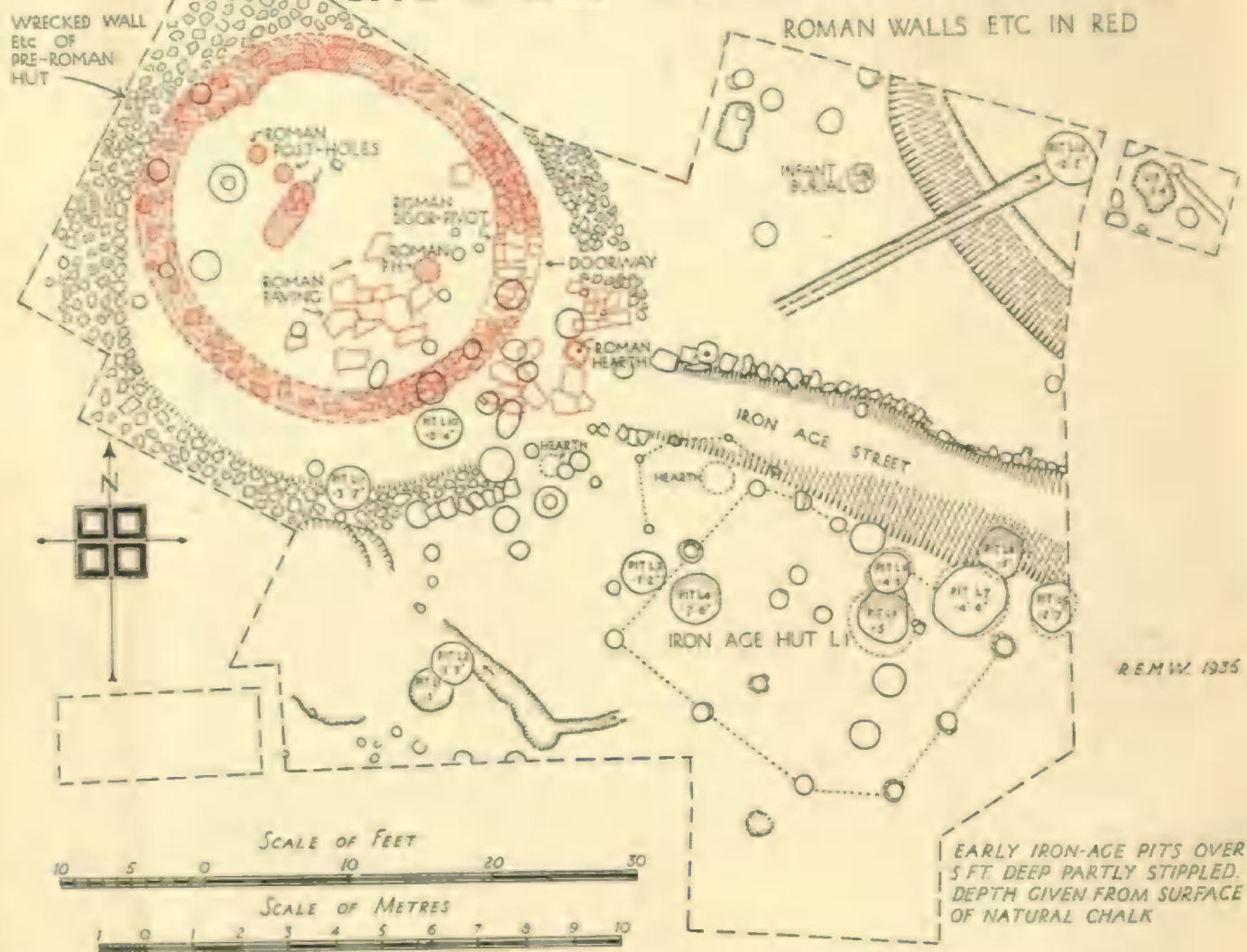
¹ *Archæologia*, lxxvi (1926-7), 26, 34.

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET SITE H 1936 PLAN AND SECTION AT SOUTH JUNCTION OF ORIGINAL RAMPART AND EXTENSION



R.E.M. WHEELER, MEAS. & DEL.
 1936

THE
DORSET
COUNTY

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET
SITE L 1936 EARLY IRON-AGE AND ROMAN

association of rectilinear planning with our A or 'ultimate Hallstatt' culture is consistent with the continental evidence. Reference has already been made to close parallels, both

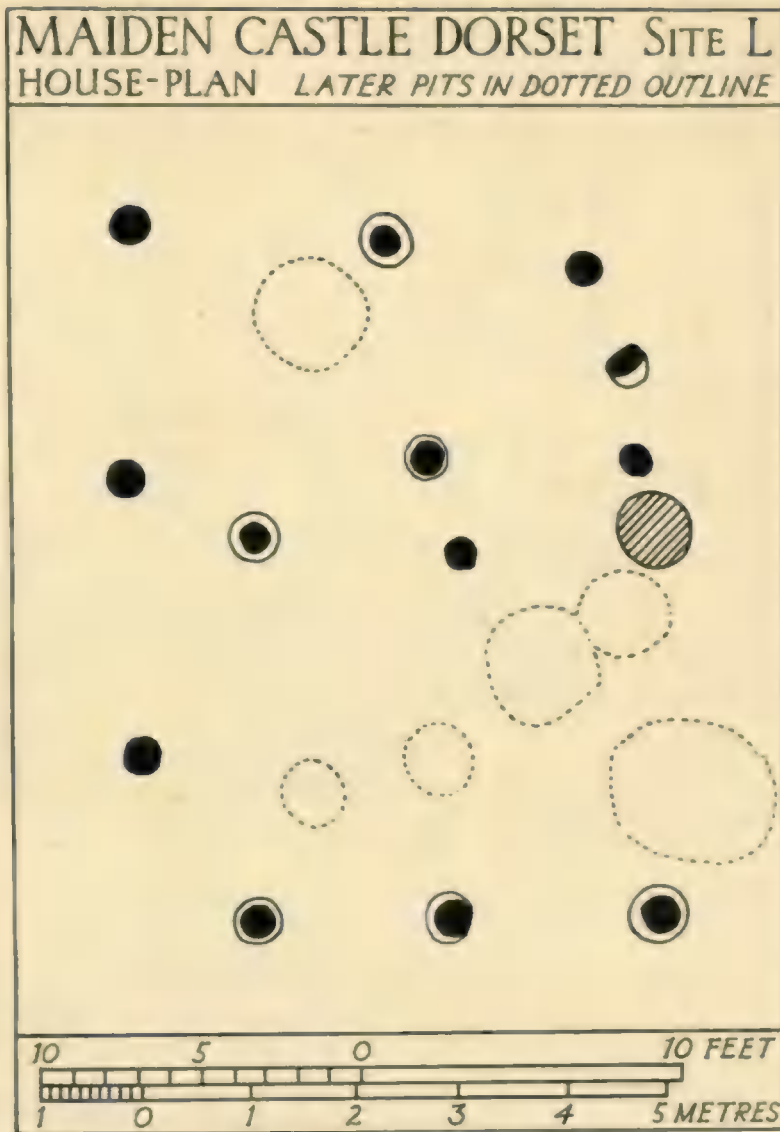


FIG. 22. Plan of hut, Iron Age A

in plan and in date, found by Dr. Gerhard Bersu in the Goldberg in Württemberg (fig. 23).¹

West of this early hut and contemporary with it were two hearths and a packed chalk floor immediately overlying the ancient turf-line. It was, however, impossible in this area to isolate a related house-plan. The hearths contained two bucketsful of carbonized bread-wheat (see below, p. 375).

¹ Above, p. 36.

Fifteen pits on site L were assignable to the Iron Age A culture—all later in construction than the rectilinear hut, although one of them (L17) was probably in part contemporary with it. In addition to the pits, the later phases of Iron Age A were represented by three layers of occupation, which do not call for detailed comment in this section but assisted materially in the classification of the pottery.

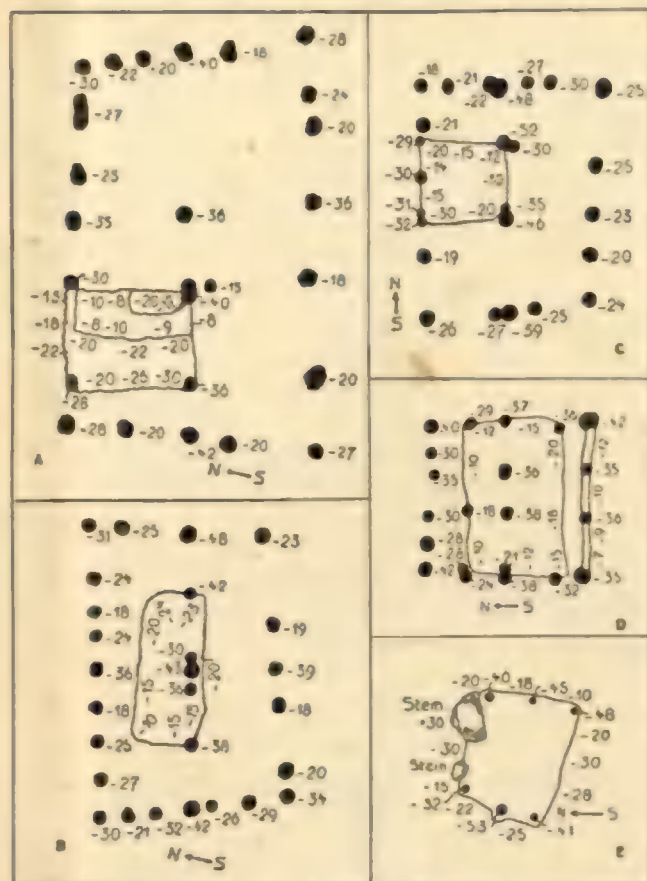
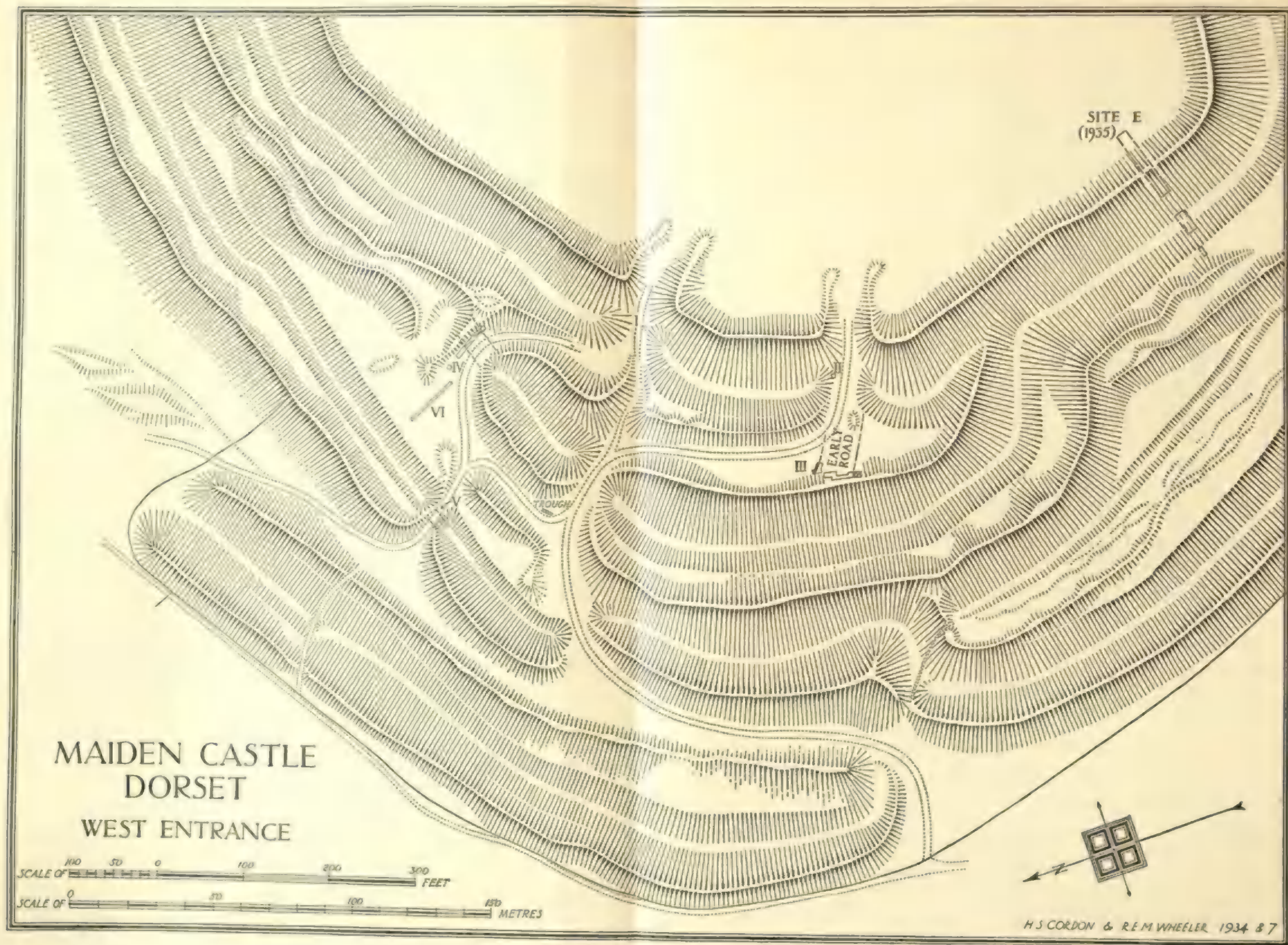


FIG. 23. Plans of huts in the Goldberg, Württemberg. Scale: $\frac{1}{16}$ in. = 1 ft

Evidence for an undiluted Iron Age B phase on this site was notably scarce. Above the rectilinear Iron Age A hut were traces of a small circular floor 9 ft. in diameter, defined and roughly paved by limestones and associated with two post-holes and a few B sherds. No Iron Age B pits, however, occurred on the site, which in this respect contrasts markedly with the adjacent site B (p. 90). It would indeed appear that the area was almost entirely devoid of occupation during Iron Age B;¹ and this inference may explain the undoubted fact that, by the time of the arrival of Iron Age C in the first century

It was doubtless during the Iron Age A phase that the street shown on the plan (pl. xx) first came into use. This street had been worn to a depth of 9 in. into the chalk and had been roughly and incompletely patched with flint metalling. It was traced by intermittent trenching to the northern portal of the eastern entrance (see plan, pl. i, and pl. ciii), and the absence of underlying pits throughout the greater part of its course was sufficient proof that it there formed an early (doubtless original) feature of the town-plan. On site L it did in fact partially overlie a filled pit (L17) of the Iron Age A phase, but this may well have been the result of widening or a slight change of position. As found, the road had an almost continuous kerb of limestones along its more northerly margin and remains of a similar kerb on its southern side. These kerbs were a relatively late feature; the northern kerb rested on earth within the margin of the hollow-way, thus showing that the road, as defined, was slightly south of its original course.

¹ It was probably during this phase that a child, about 5 years old, was buried in a shallow pit in the northern part of the site. The grave had been cut through the Iron Age A deposits and was sealed by the Belgic material.



A.D., the street at this point was no longer in use. Above it, to a depth of 2 ft., lay a deposit of occupation-earth interpenetrated with pottery of the C or Belgic phase and, save for a single hearth, containing no clear structural remains, with one notable exception.

This exception was the relic of a circular building, some 15 ft. in diameter, in the north-western corner of the site. The building had apparently had a wall partly of limestones but mainly of chalk lumps, somewhat similar to that of the better preserved hut DB2 on site D (p. 94), but the wall had collapsed and had been otherwise destroyed by a superimposed Romano-British hut, to be described hereafter (p. 135). A system of post-holes seems to have been associated with the wall, but had suffered even more drastically and could not be completely recovered. The floor of this building had been cut away for the construction of the later (Roman) hut, but the relationship of the walling to the surrounding C or Belgic deposit indicated the contemporaneity of the two.

11. THE ORIGINAL WESTERN ENTRANCE

(Site R)

For the neolithic town-ditches on site R, see p. 83.

Site R marks the position of the western entrance of the original (small) Iron Age A camp. Search on site C (p. 91) had failed to reveal this in 1934, but it was ultimately detected and cleared in 1937. Destruction subsequent to the western extension of the camp had obscured some of its details, but the main outline of the original plan was identified amongst pits, gullies, and post-holes of later date.

The ditch was interrupted by a causeway of natural chalk nearly 50 ft. wide. The rampart, though much mutilated, appears to have ended squarely on each side, and it was revetted by timbering now represented by the post-holes shown on the plan, fig. 25. The gate itself had been double, with a central post, and the posts had been renewed at least once.

Subsequently, during Iron Ages A and B, a number of pits of normal type had been cut into the site. Of those to which a date could be assigned, R18 was of Iron Age A, and R1, 10, 16, 23, 24, and 27 were of Iron Age B. Later again the site had been levelled during the Belgic and early Roman period (second quarter of the first century A.D.), and patches of metalling of the latter part of the period were found under the turf. There was no late Roman occupation.

12. THE LATER WESTERN ENTRANCE

(Site W)

No extensive exploration of the great western entrance of Maiden Castle was undertaken, but, on the basis of the sequence uncovered at the eastern entrance, five cuttings

MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET

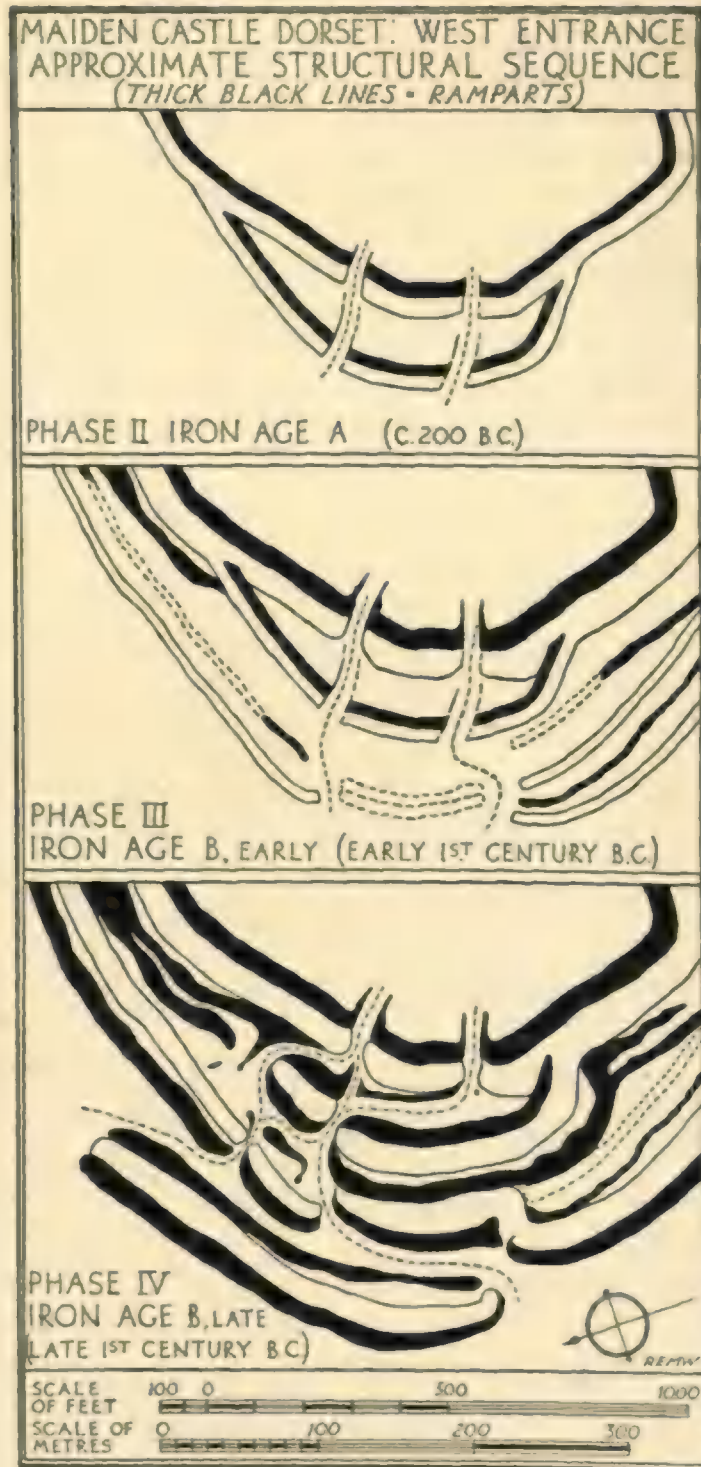


FIG. 24

(pls. xxi, cii) sufficed to indicate the main lines of its structural development. This is illustrated schematically in fig. 24. In detail the trial-cuttings were as follows:

Cuttings 1 and 2. These were two trial-holes sunk into the two causeways across the main ditch. They showed that the causeways in question are both of solid chalk and must therefore belong to the original layout of the entrance, i.e. to phase II of the main structural series. It is evident that when the camp was extended towards the west the precedent already established by the original builders of the double eastern entrance was faithfully followed in the new construction.

Cutting 3. Immediately outside the northern portal of the western entrance the approach becomes twofold: on the one hand, a curvilinear track winds northwards and then westwards through the outer defences; on the other hand, a straight exit continues the line of the causeway across the main ditch. The latter trackway, conforming as it does with the early straight exits at the eastern entrance, suggested the former existence of a similar direct outlet opposite the southern portal. Accordingly, a trial-cutting was made at this point, under the inner slope of the first of the outer ramparts of the present scheme; and the cutting at once revealed the expected underlying roadway, 35-40 ft. wide and worn hollow with traffic like its counterparts at the eastern entrance. It was flanked by dry-stone walling identical with that at the eastern entrance and, again like it, showing evidence of reconstruction after the decay of vertical posts (pl. cii). In the section uncovered these walls stand to a maximum height of 3 ft., and are backed by lateral ramparts. The potsherds associated with this underlying work were exclusively scraps of Iron Age A wares, but into the southern of the early flanking ramparts a stone-lined pit had been cut in Iron Age B (pl. cii). Behind the summit of the overlying (Iron Age B) rampart were traces of the limestone revetment already recognized on the equivalent rampart at the eastern entrance.

Cutting 4. This proof that the early scheme of approach to the western entrance conformed with that at the eastern—i.e. that it consisted of straight trackways penetrating a screen or hornwork (which may or may not in this case have formed a part of the original plan of the entrance)—pointed to the probability that the curvilinear approach to the northern portal was wholly secondary. A cutting showed that this was in fact the case, and that the track overlay a former continuation of the ditch of the hornwork (pl. xxi).

Cutting 5. It may be recalled that in phase III of the main structural sequence of the camp comparatively slight outer defences were added; and that these, unlike their larger successors, conformed with the system of straight exits already described. The proof of this at the western entrance was obtained by the discovery of the original ditch of phase III under the outer causeway which now carries the curvilinear approach of phase IV to the northern causeway (pl. cii). The ditch beneath the causeway was 13 ft. wide and 5½ ft. deep, and must originally have been larger. The general structural relationship of this ditch to the earlier entrance-plan has been discussed above (p. 44).

No significant pottery was found in this cutting.

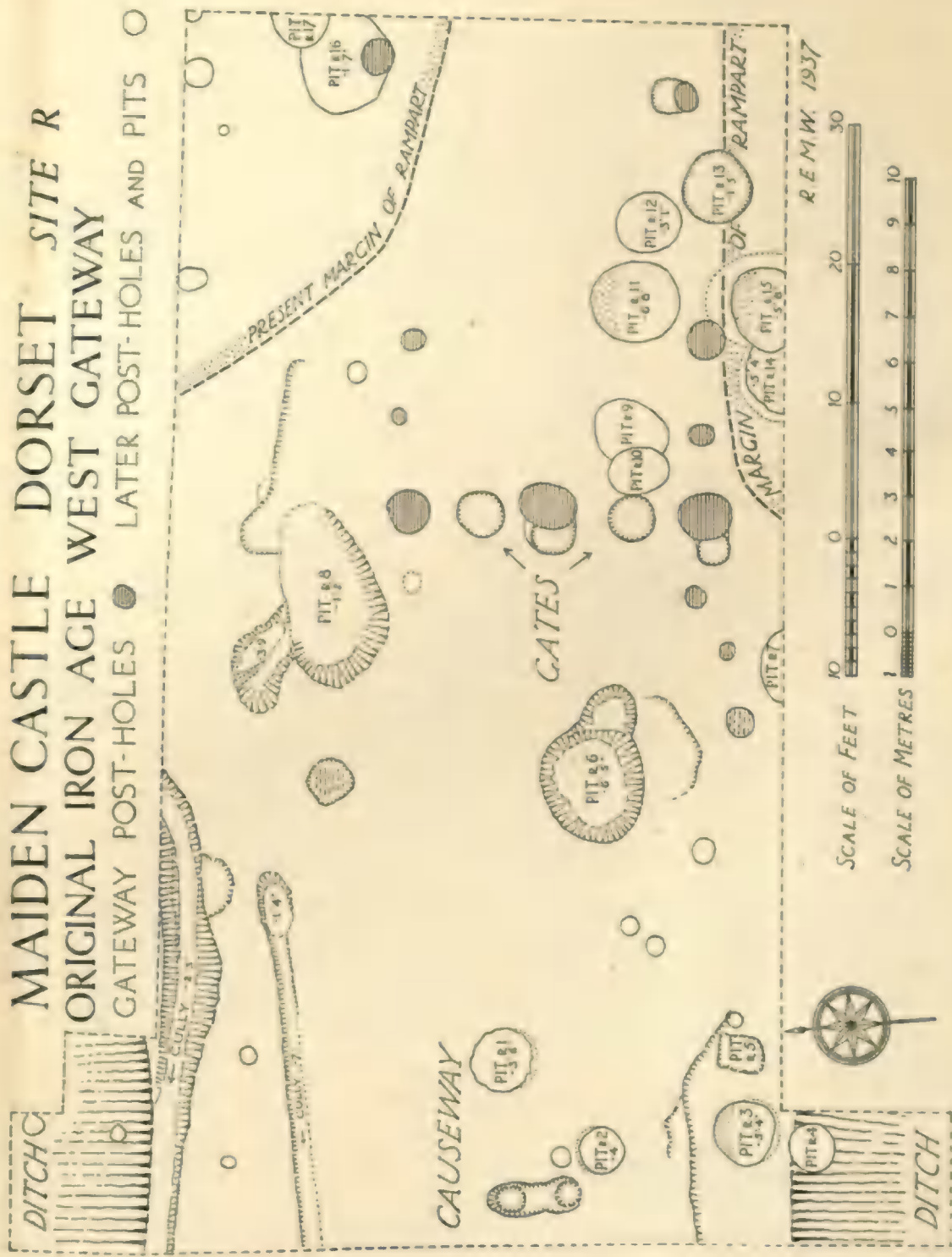


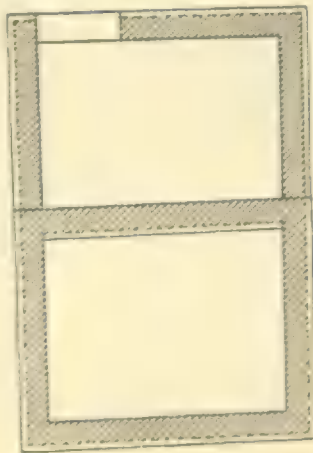
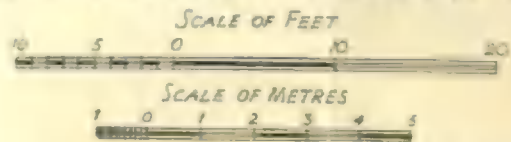
FIG. 25

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET

SITE B 1934

SITE L 1936

LATE ROMAN TEMPLE ETC

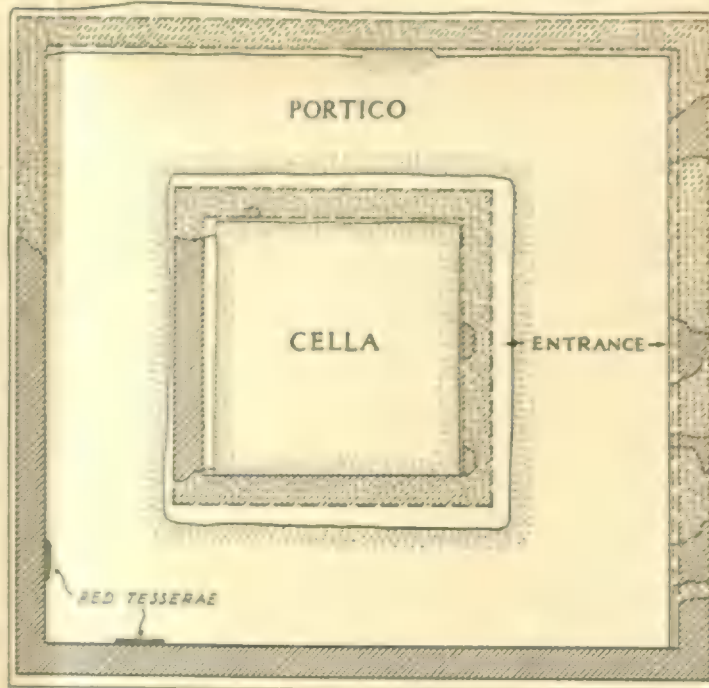


HOUSE

ALUT-SOCKET

POST-SOCKET

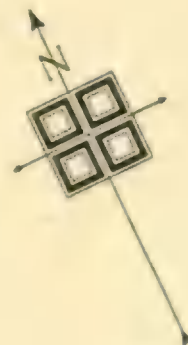
POST-SOCKET



TEMPLE



HUT



It may be added that a trial-trench between cuttings 4 and 5 proved that there are no other buried ditches hereabouts.

13. THE ROMAN BUILDINGS

(Sites B and L)

A series of spasmodic and ill-recorded excavations, carried out in various parts of the camp by a local antiquary, Edward Cunnington, between 1865 and 1884, culminated in the discovery of a small part of a Roman building in the eastern part of the earthwork. A plan made in 1882-4 and Cunnington's manuscript note-book, together with the objects found, are preserved in the County Museum at Dorchester.¹ Cunnington states that he uncovered 86 ft. of stone foundations, together with 'a small portion of black and white tessellated pavement, several specimens of the coloured encaustic mortar with which the inside walls of the rooms had been decorated, of various colours and patterns', and 'a large mass of masonry . . . near the tessellated pavement, of nine feet in length and six in breadth'. The building, though thought to be a 'villa', produced a fragment of a bronze statue and a votive bronze plaque, bearing a figure of Minerva and fragments of an inscription (pl. xxxix, B and p. 133), and these discoveries had already, before 1934, suggested the possibility that the structure represented a temple.

In 1934 Cunnington's work was reopened and extended, with the result that the foundations or foundation-trenches of two small buildings were brought to light. The walls had been drastically robbed save at the extreme southern and northern ends of the group, but the essential features of both buildings can now be discerned. The southern was a temple of normal 'Romano-Celtic' type with a square *cella* set within a veranda which was slightly wider on the eastern or entrance side than on the others. Although all structural details of the entrance had vanished, its position on this side was indicated by an approaching roadway paved with carefully pitched lines of Purbeck limestone, flint, and chalk (see plan, pl. xxii).

The walls of the temple were built on chalk-rubble footings and were of herring-bone flint-work above one or more initial levelling-courses of Purbeck limestone. A single bonding-course of brick survived at a height of 2 ft. in the western external wall. The southern external wall still stands to a height of 3 ft. above the floor-level, showing that the veranda was wholly or partially closed in as a protection against the strong south-westerly gales which sweep the hill-top almost throughout the year. It is possible that the wall was breast-high and carried dwarf-columns, but no trace of this arrangement was found. The wall had been plastered externally (pl. cxiv) and the surface of the plaster had been renewed on three occasions. The original colour-scheme was yellow divided by thin black and red lines from a border, 18 in. high and splashed obliquely with red, along the base of the wall and turned up vertically at the south-west corner. Internally, the plastering

¹ In addition to the note-book, references to Cunnington's work may be found in Charles Warne, *Ancient Dorset* (1872), pp. 73-81; and *Dorset Field Club Proceedings*, vi (1885),

p. xvii; xiv (1893), pp. xxiv, 55, and xxiv (1903), p. xxxvii. For a romantic account of Cunnington's excavations, see Thomas Hardy, *A Tryst at an Ancient Earthwork* (1885).

no longer remained in position, but the interior of the western wall of the *cella* had been roughly surfaced with thick yellow mortar in which false joints had been roughly stuck. Many fragments of painted plaster recovered from the débris over the *cella* showed that the walls had been decorated with painted panels in blue-green, dark red, and white on a background which was predominantly terra-cotta in colour. One fragment showed evidence of two renewals. The original surface was patterned with a geometric design in yellow and black on a terra-cotta background; over this was a fresh painting of free-hand but indeterminate design in white, blue, and green curves. This surface was in turn picked to key yet a third coat.

On the sloping hill-side the floors had been carefully levelled with earth, flints, and yellow cement, which in turn carried a pink cement surface as the basis for tessellated paving. The material used to make up the floor of the *cella* included broken tiles and fragments of mosaic bordering in white and black tesserae. A fragment of similar mosaic, found by Cunnington and now in the Dorchester Museum, was doubtless derived from this source. Whether this building-débris came from some earlier building in the immediate vicinity or whether it was brought up by the temple-builders from Dorchester is open to doubt. Incidentally, it was in the *cella* that Cunnington, as cited above, found his black and white mosaic (apparently *in situ*) and a 'mass of masonry', 9 ft. by 6 ft. If the latter existed otherwise than in his imagination, it may have supported the cult-statue or altar, but no trace of the mass survived in 1934.

The tessellated paving of the veranda consisted wholly or partly of plain red tesserae of which a few remained in position. Much of the tessellation of veranda and *cella* alike had been destroyed anciently and replaced by hexagonal stone roofing-slabs which may have formed the original roof of the building. In its last phase, the building had evidently been roofed with tiles.

Two series of shallow post-sockets, placed 13 ft. apart and built partly of Roman brick, alined respectively with the eastern and western walls of the temple, presumably represent a former railed fence.

The second Roman building lay immediately north and under the lee of the first, and consisted of two small rooms stepped down the hill-side. The main entrance had been in the northern end. It had presumably served as the residence of the attendant priest. The walls consisted also of herring-bone flint-work levelled by and partly founded on courses of limestone (pl. cxv, A). Only the mixed make-up of the flooring remained, and there were no surviving traces of wall-decoration.

In spite of the partial excavation of the site in 1882, a considerable amount of well-stratified material remained intact. Sealed in the make-up of the primary floor of the *cella* were third-brass coins of the following: Magnentius, Constantius II, Valens. Similarly sealed in the primary floor of the veranda were third-brass coins of Constans, Constantius II, Constantine II as Augustus, a barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type, Valentinian, Valens (2), and Gratian. Immediately outside the east side of the temple the carefully metallated roadway, which included a basic spread of mortar identical with

that of the temple, may safely be regarded as contemporary with the building. Beneath it and sealed by it were third-brass coins of Crispus, *Urbs Roma*, Constans (2), Constantine II, Constantine family, *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* (2, one barbarous), Magnentius, and Valens (2). Strata abutting against the south wall of the temple and not later than the time of its construction contained third-brass coins of the following: Claudius II, Diocletian, Constantine I, *Constantinopolis*, Constans, and Valens.

The latest coins lost prior to the completion of the temple were thus six of Valens (A.D. 364-78) and one of Gratian (A.D. 367-83). The temple, therefore, is not earlier than A.D. 367. The abundant pottery (below, p. 248) was entirely consistent with this dating both in the temple and in the 'priest's house', where coins were absent.

The materials (mostly roofing-slabs) used to repair the floors of the temple sealed a barbarous 'radiate' and coins of the following: Constantius II as Caesar, Magnentius, Constans as Augustus, Valens, and Theodosius. The reparation is therefore not earlier than the reign of Theodosius (A.D. 383-95).

In the mixed material overlying the floors of the building and the immediately adjacent area were found a very worn second-brass of Commodus, seven coins of the latter half of the third century, and eighty fourth-century coins including eight of the House of Theodosius; together with a small hoard of four gold coins of Arcadius and Honorius found with a gold ring close outside the east wall of the temple (see plan, pl. xxii). These are more fully discussed below (p. 334).

No good evidence was forthcoming as to the dedication of the temple. The thin bronze plaque already referred to, bearing in repoussé a crude figure of Minerva beneath a feathered gable and with slight fragments of a basal inscription, was found here by Cunnington and belongs to a familiar class of votive reliefs.¹ In 1934 another votive object was found in mixed soil close outside the south-eastern corner of the temple: a figurine of tinned bronze, representing a three-horned bull surmounted by three human female busts, one with the head missing. The three-horned bull is the *Tavros Trigeranus* which is found as a cult-object in central and, more particularly, eastern Gaul, and may have been connected with the cult of springs and rivers (see above, p. 75). Again, in 1936 the base of a marble statuette of Diana was found close by (p. 74).

It is difficult to reconcile these three divergent cult-objects with each other and with any known Roman cult; but late fourth-century paganism was liable to assume a complexity which might well baffle the interpretation of far more ample evidence than is here available. Thus the contemporary temple at Lydney in Gloucestershire, dedicated to a Celtic deity, Nodens, produced a great variety of cult-objects suggesting affinities with a god of healing, a sun-god, and perhaps a hunting-god.

The historical interest of the temple centres upon its position and its late date. In certain broader aspects, these matters have already been discussed in our general survey (above, p. 72). Here one or two points may be added or emphasized. First, as to date: this is not without parallel, both in Britain and on the Continent. Thus at Pesch, in the

¹ See Nina F. Layard, *Antiq. Journ.* v (1925), 263 f.

Eifel, a group of temple-buildings seems to have been reconstructed after A.D. 330 and to have lasted into the beginning of the fifth century.¹ Again, in a Romano-Celtic temple at Moehn, near Trier, the coins ranged to Arcadius and it is suggested that the building was destroyed by the Franks at the beginning of the fifth century.² Many similar temples in Germany and northern Gaul show evidence of occupation—presumably, though not of course definitely, for religious purposes—until the end of the fourth century. But the most exact analogies come from Britain. At Lydney in Gloucestershire an elaborate temple was built at precisely the same period as that at Maiden Castle;³ and at the same time also the precinct of a Romano-Celtic temple at Verulamium was somewhat elaborately refurbished.⁴ It is evident that in the remoter provinces fourth-century Christianity, for all its official prestige, was no more than *primus inter pares*.

Secondly, as to site. It is in the light of the late date of its foundation that the position of the temple, on an un-Roman site within a prehistoric earthwork, may be thought to assume a somewhat exceptional significance. Temples of the Romano-Celtic type are indeed commonly found in remote spots and particularly on hill-tops; and their occurrence in Romano-British towns such as Silchester, Caerwent, Verulamium, Richborough, and Caistor-by-Norwich may be regarded in some sense as intrusive, and as evidence of the provincialism which coloured Romano-British urban life. On general grounds, therefore, the situation of the Maiden Castle temple is not irregular. But considered in relation with the contemporary Lydney temple, which is also built within a prehistoric earthwork, it encourages the suspicion that some special stimulus may here have been at work. The last generation of official Roman rule in Britain was one of increasing anarchy and poverty. The fabric of Roman civilization was visibly crumbling; and one need not go back to the ingenuous Celtic revivalism of the Victorian histories to imagine that there was in fact at this time a reaction towards the religion and the religious environment of an older age. At Lydney wealth in a considerable degree was lavished hopefully—or despairingly—upon the new temple and its environs. At Maiden Castle the temple was smaller and has been far more extensively despoiled, but some two hundred coins show that it was not neglected. At Cirencester, if the inscription be rightly interpreted, the governor himself of this part of Britain, some time during this same century, restored a monument to the *prisca religio*, the old (pagan) cult.⁵ Is it possible that, in the latter days of Roman Britain, a general rehabilitation of the older cults, and in particular perhaps of the old Celtic or semi-Celtic cults, may have been encouraged by the chaos of the age and may, in some instances, have been accompanied by a deliberate reversion to the hill-towns where these Celtic cults had (we may suppose) flourished in 'the good old times'? It would, incidentally, be of interest to know whether the Romano-Celtic temple within the Sussex earthwork of Chanctonbury Ring should, as its situation suggests, be brought into this picture.⁶

¹ *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxxv, 74.

² F. Hettner, *Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande* (Trier, 1901). ³ *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1932), p. 23.

⁴ *Verulamium Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1936), p. 132.

⁵ See Haverfield in *Archaeologia*, lxxix (1918), 188.

⁶ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, liii (1910), 131 ff. Of thirteen Roman coins from this site, eleven are of late third- or fourth-century date ending with Gratian.

To these two Roman buildings the excavations of 1936 added a third. On the summit of the hill, some 40 ft. south-west of the temple, were found the much disturbed remains of an oval hut, upwards of 20 ft. in length, built crudely of unmortared blocks of limestone. A line of contemporary post-holes along the major axis suggested some sort of ridge-roof, and the numerous broken roof-tiles of normal Roman type amongst the débris indicated the nature of the covering. The floor had been paved with stone slabs and with reused hexagonal stone roof-'slates'; and a pivot-stone at the south-eastern end marked the position of the doorway. Four feet outside the door, in a roughly paved area, was a pit-hearth lined with four complete roofing-tiles and filled with wood-ash.

Within this primitive structure were 171 Roman coins, mostly of the fourth century and extending down to Honorius. The preponderance suggests a slightly earlier date than that of the temple (i.e. more *c.* A.D. 350-60 as against the preponderant A.D. 364-80 of the temple), but is not determinate. In the side of one of the Roman post-holes lay a fragmentary pigeon's egg, a worn coin of Tetricus I, a leaden steelyard weight, and an ornamented bronze pedestal bearing the imprint of the feet of a statuette (below, pl. xxxi, A and fig. 97, 1 and 5). Elsewhere in the débris on the floor was the basis of a statuette, of Italian marble and doubtless of Italian workmanship, bearing the feet of Diana and a hound (pl. xxxi, A). The abundant and consistently late pottery and the predominance of fourth-century coins both within and without the building left no doubt that its main occupation synchronized with the use of the temple, which, it may be recalled, was not earlier than A.D. 367. It may therefore be a mere coincidence that almost exactly underneath it lay the remains of a circular Belgic hut (above, p. 127). True, the long interval of time between the first and the fourth centuries was not entirely unrepresented. The upper levels of the Belgic deposit contained sherds of Samian ware datable to the time of Claudius and Nero, and indicating a continuous occupation until the eve of the Flavian period (see above, p. 65, and below, p. 241). Thereafter, a scatter of second- and third-century coins and potsherds, although not associated with an occupation-layer, are evidence for the intermittent visitation of the site. Whether this uncertain contact is likely to have been sufficient to maintain any real continuity between the first- and the fourth-century occupations is a difficult problem which has been discussed above (p. 76). Here it will suffice to note the coincidence of the late pre-Roman and the curiously archaic fourth-century structures without entering upon the dangerous business of attempting to explain it. Attention has been drawn above to the suspicion, suggested by the coins, that the hut may be very slightly earlier than the temple, and may have served as a workmen's shelter or as the predecessor of the 'priest's house'.

For the rebuilding of the eastern entrance of the camp at this period in connexion with its use as a temple-precinct, see above, p. 120.

PART III

FINDS

NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE

POTTERY

(i) INTRODUCTORY¹

GENERAL.

MOST of the neolithic pottery from Maiden Castle forms a homogeneous group belonging to a subdivision of the large class of wares which in 1932 I suggested naming Neolithic A.² This nomenclature has met with some adverse criticism, but I still feel that it provides an adequate inclusive label for all those types of neolithic pottery in Britain which derive from the 'Western' neolithic culture of the Continent: it is in fact used as a cultural (and in no sense chronological) designation on the same lines as Mr. Hawkes's division of the British Iron Age cultures. Within this generic term it is possible to make subdivisions of groups representing local or temporal variations, which can best be distinguished by type-site names. As our knowledge of the British neolithic cultures advances, these sub-groups, based on ceramic types, will doubtless become more numerous and better defined. At present three or four can be recognized, and perhaps the clearest is that to which Maiden Castle belongs, characterized by a pottery style which I have suggested calling Hembury ware, from its abundant occurrence at Hembury Fort, Devon.³

The pottery types of Neolithic A are mainly so primitive and simple that they recur in every regional group in identical forms, and distinctive types of lugs or handle ornament are the safest criteria for subdivision. The distinctive feature of Hembury ware is a form of tubular handle, frequently with expanded trumpet-like ends, which I described in 1932 as a 'trumpet-lug'. This handle occurs at Hembury itself,⁴ at Carn Brea in Cornwall,⁵ and at Maiden Castle: elsewhere, save for an isolated and poor example from Windmill Hill,⁶ it has not so far been discovered. A form of lug which is probably in some way allied to the trumpet-lug is the 'notched' or double lug, either perforated or solid, which occurs at Hembury,⁷ Maiden Castle, Holdenhurst Long Barrow,⁸ and again

¹ This introductory section was contributed in 1938 by Mr. Stuart Piggott, who very kindly examined all the neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery from Maiden Castle and helped with the utmost readiness and liberality.

² *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), 67 ff. 'The Hembury Reports are in *Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1930-7), and are cited here as *First, Second, Third, and Fourth Reports*.

³ *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 450.

⁴ *Second Report*, pl. xxvii, p. 73 and 133; pl. A; *Fourth Report*, pl. xxxvii, p. 345, 366, 421, 249.

⁵ *Journ. Royal Inst. Cornwall*, xiii, pt. 1, 92. No illustra-

tions of the pottery (now in Truro Museum) are published, however.

⁶ No. 11078. From M.D. vii, 3-4 ft.

⁷ *Second Report*, pl. xxvi, p. 84; *Third Report*, pl. xviii, p. 304; *Fourth Report*, pl. xxxvii, p. 376, 332. These forms suggest the solid trumpet-lug discussed below, but they are squatter, and their analogies seem to lie rather with the double lugs of the earliest Swiss Lake series (Vouga, *Néolithique ancien*, pl. xvi, 2).

⁸ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iii, (1937), 8, no. 7.

isolated at Windmill Hill.¹ We thus have four sites in south-west England producing 'Hembury ware' with distinctive lug forms: to these may be added Haldon near Hembury² and Corfe Mullen, Wimborne,³ which although not producing the 'type-fossils' have other features which unite their pottery to Hembury and Windmill Hill respectively, making a total of six sites, while Windmill Hill has slight traces of cultural contact, although not primarily a site of this sub-group. Another feature of Hembury ware is the lack of ornament: only one sherd from Hembury and Maiden Castle respectively shows any attempt at decoration. In the Windmill Hill ware in its pure form (as at the type-station) 'pin-prick' ornament below the rim and shallow incised vertical strokes are characteristic of the lowest levels.

Dr. Wheeler and I independently traced the trumpet-lug to Brittany, and I have since shown that it occurs in both south and central France, in the latter instance at the Camp de Chassey.⁴ But for the origin of the type we must go farther afield, for I do not think there can be much doubt that this and other features of the French Chassey culture can be ultimately attributed to the earliest chalcolithic ceramic styles of the Troad and northern Greece, as indeed Déchelette hinted many years ago.⁵

The tubular handle, frequently with expanded ends, is a feature of a well-defined class of bowls of plain black burnished pottery which date from the earliest metal-using cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and which may themselves be derived from stone prototypes. Bowls of this type occur plentifully in Troy I, continuing with slightly softened outlines into Troy II,⁶ while at Thermi they constitute Miss Lamb's type B₄, being characteristic of Thermi III and IVa.⁷ In Thessaly similar vessels with tubular lugs were classified by Wace and Thompson as their I38 type, and occur on several sites.⁸ In all these instances we are dealing with a true 'trumpet-lug' that would exactly match examples from Britain, the subsequent or contemporaneous evolution of a strap-handle (as in the neolithic levels of Knossos) being irrelevant to our purpose.

It would be out of place here to discuss in detail possible routes by which these features might reach central France and so ultimately Britain, even were the material available. I can only suggest Italy as an intermediate stage: Sicily at all events has produced convincing trumpet-lugs in its chalcolithic period,⁹ and the Minoan and other eastern Mediterranean connexions which north Italy had certainly acquired by the dawn of its Bronze Age may well have been of earlier establishment. Trumpet-lugs, pottery spoons, figurines, are all as characteristic of French Neolithic as of Troy I; even the germs of the typical Chassey decorated style, with white-filled *pointillé* lozenges and ornamented,

¹ No. 3708, from O.D. ii, 2.3-3.5 ft. No. 13246, from O.D. Ic, 4-5 ft. No. 15207, from I.D. xvi, 2-3 ft.

² *Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1937), pp. 244-63.

³ J. B. Calkin and Stuart Piggott, *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lx (1938), 73-4.

⁴ *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 451.

⁵ *Manuel d'archéologie*, i, 564.

⁶ Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), i, 246-7; Blegen in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* xxxvii (1934), 223-48. Cf. also Frank-

fort, *Studies in Early Pottery in Near East II* (1927), 58. I am also indebted to Professor Blegen and his assistants for enabling me to study the original material on a visit to Troy in 1938.

⁷ *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos* (1936), p. 79.

⁸ Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912), p. 19.

⁹ *Reallexikon*, xii, Taf. 26, 29.

multiple-pierced lugs, can be found at Troy.¹ The connexions between the two cultures cannot have been either direct or simple—other eastern Mediterranean influences can be seen at work in, for instance, the curious 'countersunk' tubular handles of Peu-Richard and Availles² which are characteristic of the Maltese 'neolithic'.³ We can do no more than suggest that some elements at least of the French neolithic may ultimately derive from the Troad, the route followed being probably via Italy.⁴

So much by way of introduction to the position of the English south-western neolithic culture with regard to Europe: what relationship between Maiden Castle and other sites of the culture is suggested by the pottery? Can we say that one site is earlier or later than another, and can we trace a colonizing movement in any one direction?

Although the general resemblance between the pottery types from Maiden Castle and Hembury is striking, the former site provides a type of lug unknown at the latter; a curious form which is in effect an unperforated trumpet-lug, consisting of a solid dumb-bell shaped projection. From a purely typological viewpoint such a form must constitute a degeneration from the original tubular handle, and its presence should indicate a late phase of the culture. It might rather be argued that the trumpet-lug ceramic complex as it reached England comprised both types of lug, perforated and solid. On this showing, however, it is difficult to account for the absence of the latter type at Hembury. The typological argument is, on the other hand, supported by the stratigraphy observed both at Troy and at Thermi, where the solid lugs do not occur in the earliest levels, but appear in Troy II and Thermi IV respectively, in a form exactly similar to Maiden Castle.⁵ The occupation of Hembury continued into the Early Bronze Age (as is shown by the barbed and tanged arrow-heads and the probable sickle) without the appearance of the solid type of lug, yet at Maiden Castle this type is present from the first. One is forced then to regard the foundation of the Neolithic Maiden Castle as the product of a slightly more evolved stage of the culture, and so probably later in its inception than the beginnings of Hembury. The spread of the south-western culture appears to have been from west to east; at Hembury the fine wares have grit showing them to be imports from the Dartmoor area, and at Maiden Castle the foreign stone axes have a probable Cornish origin. Other discoveries may modify this suggestion, but on the available evidence it seems a good working hypothesis.

Very little evolution or degeneration is perceptible in the Hembury wares, which appear to have continued unaltered from the foundation of the site until its end, and the same is applicable to Maiden Castle. Here a unique stratification, presenting two succes-

¹ For a particularly close parallel cf. Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 112, with Déchelette, *Manuel*, i, fig. 207. Personal examination of the Troy I pottery on the site confirmed these resemblances.

² Déchelette, *Manuel*, i, 600. The illustrations do not make it clear that the concentric ornament surrounds the openings of the sunk tubular handle.

³ Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part iii (1929), pl. x, 4; pl. xx, 5.

⁴ The general thesis put forward has been recently urged by Mr. H. J. E. Peake (*Manchester Memoirs*, lxxxi, 1936-7, no. 5), who stresses the importance of the trumpet-lug in this connexion, but I cannot think that either the problem is so clear or the solution so simple as his comparative series from Assyria to Denmark would imply.

⁵ For Troy, information from Miss Marion Rawson on the site; for Thermi, *Excavations at Thermi*, p. 82.

sive and superimposed neolithic structures, gave hopes of a corresponding pottery sequence, but it seems almost impossible to detect any ceramic distinctions in the two deposits, save that the bowls with carefully finished 'bead-rims' appear only in the lower levels. Dr. Zeuner's soil analysis shows a considerable period of inactivity on the site before the building of the Long Mound, but archaeologically there is no break. Only the fact that the intrusive Neolithic B ware occurs lower in the silting of the Long Mound ditch than in that of the neolithic town-ditch would suggest a later date for the former structure, did it not in fact cut across the town-ditch at one fortunate point.

DETAIL

As I have stated above, the Neolithic A material from Maiden Castle can be treated as a unit, since no stratigraphical distinction of types can be made. The main features of the pottery are as follows:

1. *Ware*

This shows a considerable range of paste and texture, and one type often merges imperceptibly into another. The main classes, however, seem to divide into two main groups: three 'superior' and three 'inferior' wares.

Superior wares:

- (a) Fine hard paste, small flint grit, surface burnished black or brown.
- (b) Similar, but not so well finished, with lumpy yet smoothed surface.
- (c) Smooth soft buff-brown ware, with abundant small shell or chalk grits.

Inferior wares:

- (d) Coarse flint-gritted ware, often reddish in colour.
- (e) Coarse sandy ware.
- (f) Coarse 'corky' ware, the vesicular surface being due to the dissolving out of shell particles.

The 'superior' wares *a-c* are numerically in the minority: not more than six or seven vessels of *a* ware are represented, and no trumpet-lugs are made of it. This ware would correspond to the *f* class at Hembury. Class *c* ware is curious and very distinctive, and also occurs at Corfe Mullen, and the vesicular *f* ware is characteristic of Holdenhurst and a bowl from Hadden's Hill near by.¹ Otherwise no relevant parallels can be drawn.

2. *Forms*

In common with the rest of our Neolithic A pottery, all the pottery forms at Maiden Castle have rounded bases, and there is no wide variation of types. The main types which can be distinguished are enumerated below, but (as with the wares) there are many intermediate forms not susceptible of precise allocation.

¹ J. B. Calkin Collection, unpublished.

1. *Shallow open bowls.* These simple vessels, with unmoulded rims, occur in various classes of ware, but it is noteworthy that of the three vessels of *a* ware of which sufficient sherds remain to enable one to see the form, two are of this type, the remaining one being of form 2. This open bowl occurs at Hembury¹ and Haldon.²

2. *Carinated bowls.* This type, which appears, from the scanty sherds available, to be of my form G (characteristic *inter alia* of the north Irish megalithic series) is represented by two definite sherds and a possible third. At Hembury there are a few analogous carinated fragments,³ and there is a very rough example from Haldon.⁴ The best parallels in the south-western culture come, however, from Carn Brea.

3. *Bag-pots with simple rim.* Little need be said of this type, which is a primitive form common to all manifestations of the *Westische Keramik* and so of little value as a chronological or cultural determinant. Hembury and Haldon provide parallels.

4. *Bag-pots with beaded rim.* This form is rather more distinctive, particularly in the more globular types with a marked 'bead-rim' in an almost Early Iron Age style. This form appears to be paralleled (and there most exactly) at Corfe Mullen, and probably at Hembury.⁵

5. *Globular bowls.* This (my form C) is again one common to the various sub-groups of Neolithic A. It occurs sparingly at Maiden Castle.

6. *Small cups.* Again a common and obvious form, the cups being normally fairly shallow, open vessels. Parallels could be given from most Neolithic A sites.

7. *Amphorae.* One sherd certainly, and another probably, represent the neck of a collared globular jar or amphora. This type has not so far been recognized in England, except for a vessel from Mrs. Clifford's recent excavations at Nympsfield.⁶ On the Continent the type occurs in the earliest Swiss Lake Dwelling culture (Vouga I),⁷ and is of constant occurrence in the later Michelsberg pottery.⁸ Something suggesting the type occurs at Hembury, but not with the characteristic small diameter mouth.⁹

8. *Rims.* Apart from the rudimentary beading mentioned above, we need mention only the rolled-over rims of the form G bowls—a characteristic feature of this form—and a curious flattened bead-rim represented by a single sherd and precisely paralleled at Notgrove.¹⁰

9. *Lugs.* The most characteristic features of the pottery are the lugs or handles. Their types are listed below, and percentages are given to show their relative frequency in a manner less misleading than actual numbers, since in some instances two similar lugs may well have belonged to a single vessel.

¹ e.g. *Second Report*, pl. xxvii, p. 133; *Third Report*, pl. xvii, p. 295.

² Loc. cit., pl. lxviii, 3, 4, 6.

³ e.g. *Third Report*, pl. xviii, p. 188, 254.

⁴ Loc. cit., pl. lxviii, 2.

⁵ *Third Report*, pl. xxix, p. 132.

⁶ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv (1938), 211, fig. 3.

⁷ Vouga, *Néolithique ancien*, pl. xv, 1.

⁸ Cf. *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), 46, pl. 1A.

⁹ *Third Report*, pl. xvii, p. 292. Cf. also Haldon, loc. cit., pl. lxvii, T.

¹⁰ O. G. S. Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds* (1925), p. 117.

1. Round knob-shaped lugs	10 per cent.
2. Oblong unperforated lugs	46 "
3. Oblong lugs perforated vertically	10 "
4. Knob lug perforated horizontally	2 "
5. Trumpet-lugs	10 "
6. Solid trumpet-lugs	11 "
7. Tubular lugs	9 "
8. Notched and perforated lugs	2 "

With the exception of the solid trumpet-lugs, hitherto unique, these are all types which can be matched in the Hembury series. There is an admirable gradation observable in every intermediate form from the tubular lug, through the expanded-ended trumpet type, to the solid 'dumb-bell' shape, but this evolution cannot be equated with any stratigraphy. The tubular and trumpet-lugs are scattered fairly evenly on all sites and at all depths, but one half the total number of the solid variety come from one pit. It is noteworthy that no trumpet-lugs occur in the finest *a* texture ware in a manner comparable to the superb bowl from Hembury.

ORNAMENT

Decoration occurs on one sherd only, and consists of two rows of widely spaced circular punch-marks below the rim. This is possibly comparable to the 'pin-prick' ornament of the earliest wares at Windmill Hill. Decoration at Hembury is confined to a single rim with finger-nail incisions upon it.

SUMMARY

The Neolithic A pottery from Maiden Castle is a homogeneous group belonging to the south-western (Hembury Ware) subdivision. In general it agrees closely with the pottery from the type-station, but certain features in lug-forms suggest that it is the product of the culture in a slightly more evolved stage and probably chronologically later than the foundation of the more westerly site. An important pottery type, practically unique in the British Neolithic wares though a feature of their continental prototypes, is the globular amphora with cylindrical neck. Although the site presents an exceptional stratigraphy, no difference in ceramic types can be detected between the earlier (town ditch) and the later (Long Mound) series, and one must assume an unbroken continuity of tradition in this respect, although certain forms (e.g. the bead-rim bowls mentioned above) may have dropped out.

NEOLITHIC B WARES

The fragmentary Neolithic B material is of importance mainly from its stratigraphical position, which is in accordance with previous discoveries at Thickthorn and Holdenhurst,¹ and shows that the makers of this ware reached Dorset (as they did Wiltshire) a little

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* i (1935), 121; iii, 7.

before the Beaker-folk. The sherds from Maiden Castle present the normal forms with bevelled rim, hollow neck, and strongly marked shoulder, characteristic particularly of the Thames Basin, but one sherd is of a curious type, without the thickened rim and with a weak shoulder, which has partial analogies at Windmill Hill¹ and may constitute a Wessex type. The typology of Neolithic B ware is still to be worked out in detail: it seems likely, however, that there are distinctive regional variants and that the bowls of the Hedsor-Mortlake type are not really typical of the group as a whole. The typology of the Scandinavian *Wohnplatz* pottery, which must in some sense play an ancestral rôle to our Neolithic B, suggests that pots with pointed rather than rounded bases, or having simple rims and wide shallow neck-moulding may be the earlier forms; nor need we see, with Mr. Thurlow Leeds, degeneration implied by incised lattice-work as on our exceptional sherd from Maiden Castle, for such ornament occurs freely on the Swedish pottery.²

GROOVE-WARE

One pit produced sherds of typical 'groove-ware' that can be well matched at Woodhenge, and with them was a small sherd of beaker, possibly identifiable as from a vessel of type Bi. While the groove-ware culture follows hard on the final phases of the neolithic in England, the classic evidence from the Essex coast shows it to have been more or less contemporary with the earliest beakers of type Bi.³

EARLY BRONZE AGE WARES

Under this head I group a mixture of sherds best exemplified from the upper levels of the Long Mound ditch. They may be subdivided as follows:

(a) *Beaker*

A large number of sherds of well-made beakers, of good red ware, and in one case retaining white inlay, were recovered. They appear to belong mostly to vessels of type A, and the most remarkable sherd is the base ornamented with a cruciform design. Decoration is known on the base of the handled beaker-mugs, which in some cases may be skeuomorphs of wooden tankards with growth-rings visible on the bottom, but appears to be almost unknown on actual beakers,⁴ an isolated example being that from the Thames in the Layton Collection at Brentford (*Archaeologia*, lxi, 1918, 10).

(b) *Rusticated ware*

Two typical fragments of vessels with surface rustication made with the finger-nail are illustrated: this type of ornament on pottery allied to the A Beaker has been fully discussed by Dr. Grahame Clark.⁵

¹ No. 11759-11882, from M.D. viii, surface to 2 ft.

² *Reallexikon*, ix, Taf. 21, 22b, 27d, 28b. For English examples cf. Icklingham (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii, 1931, 125); Danbury (*Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 1933, 60); Peterborough (*Antiq. Journ.* ii, 1922, 231); West Kennet (*The Pottery from West*

Kennet, 1927, nos. 73-5); Iwer (*Records of Bucks.* xiii, 1937, 294).

³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii (1936), 178 ff.

⁴ For beaker-mugs, cf. *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 348.

⁵ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii (1936), 1-57.

(c) *Cord-ornamented wares*

Several important sherds of cord-ornamented ware were found in association with the beaker material, the most significant being recognizable as the top of what would normally be classed as a small Middle Bronze Age collared urn, but which must nevertheless from its stratigraphical position be Early Bronze Age in date. Cord-ornamented domestic ware with food-vessel affinities was found in association with 'A' Beaker material at Plantation Farm and Peacock's Farm in the Cambridgeshire Fens,¹ and in 1936 I described sherds from the material of a barrow on Churn Plain, Berks.,² which included Neolithic B, beaker, and cord-ornamented rims which I compared with the Cambridgeshire examples and claimed as evidence of the extension of the food-vessel culture to a point farther south than that hitherto allowed, or at all events as evidence of a culture contemporary with the later beakers, and surviving them, in which cord-ornamented wares were the dominant ceramic type.

A study of the Early Bronze Age material from grave-groups in Wessex, the results of which have recently been published,³ convinced me of the existence of a corded ware culture in southern England, which could be culturally and chronologically equated with the food-vessel culture of the north. Owing to an intrusive Bronze Age culture from north France establishing itself in Wessex at the close of the A Beaker phase in that region, the native element was masked, and in the graves which provide us with the material for a reconstruction of this phase the corded ware vessels, normally as a result of the practice by the invaders of the rite of cremation, fulfil the purpose of receptacles for ashes, and are in fact cinerary urns. On the other hand, in several graves they accompany unburnt skeletons, and chronological considerations discussed in the paper referred to make it necessary to assume that the south English 'cinerary urn' as a type goes back to the beaker period. It also is apparent that the 'collared' type of urn (as the fragments from Maiden Castle under discussion) may well be an early type. It is therefore most satisfactory to find that the stratigraphical evidence of Maiden Castle is in agreement with an argument based on comparative study, and we must accept the fact that cinerary urns, though the type-fossil of the Middle Bronze Age, have an origin as old as and probably cognate with the food-vessels.

(ii) DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 26

All the pottery in this illustration was derived from the lower filling of the neolithic town ditch where it underlay the neolithic Long Mound. It dates, therefore, from the earliest period of the neolithic occupation of Maiden Castle.

1. Large bowl with smoothed leather-like surface and with the sharpened rim which is characteristic rather of the earlier than of the late Neolithic A on the site. From the rapid silt of the town ditch.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 269; xv (1935), 298-9.

² *Trans. Newbury Field Club*, vii, 168-72.

³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv (1938), 52-106, especially pp. 90-1.

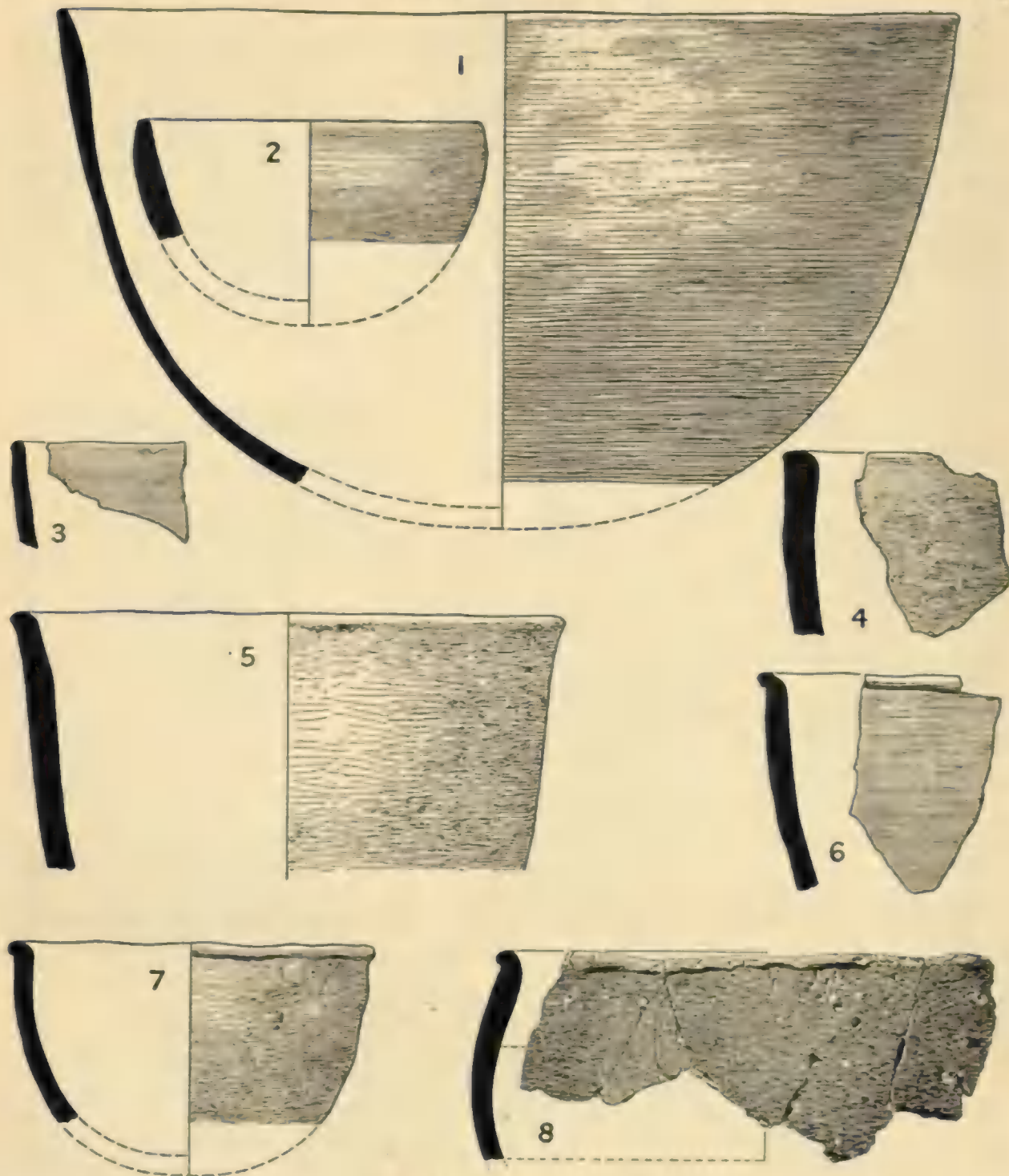


FIG. 26. Neolithic A pottery. (1/2)

See p. 144

2. Bowl from the same level as no. 1.

3-5. Fragments of bowls from the neolithic town ditch in the layer above the rapid silt.

6-8. Examples of bead-rims of a type which is not common but occurs more frequently in the earlier than the later levels. Mr. Piggott tells me that no rims of this type occur at Windmill Hill, but examples have been published from a Neolithic A habitation site at Corfe Mullen.¹ Partial analogies occur also at Hembury² and Haldon³ in Devon. The form appears, therefore, to have a south-westerly distribution, either as a local fashion or as an early feature surviving in a region of primary occupation. The thickened bead-like rims which are a feature of some of the Neolithic A pottery from Abingdon⁴ are not closely comparable.

Fig. 27

A further series of sherds from the filling of the neolithic town ditch under the neolithic Long Mound.

9-11. These (the last a lug) are from the same early filling represented in the previous illustration.

12-17 are derived from a layer of ash between the lower and the upper fillings. No. 14, with the out-turned and slightly hooked rim, is absent from later Neolithic A levels at Maiden Castle, and would appear to be an early form.

18-21 are from the upper filling of the neolithic town ditch. No. 19 has secondary piercings, presumably for a cord-handle or for tying on a cover.

Fig. 28

22-32 are derived from the upper filling of the neolithic town ditch underneath the neolithic Long Mound. No. 22 has an expanded or 'trumpet' lug (see above, p. 138).

33 and 34 are from a similar ditch or pit alongside the neolithic town ditch and likewise sealed by the neolithic Long Mound. No. 34 is notable as the only example of decorated neolithic pottery from Maiden Castle. The decoration, as preserved, consists of two lines of circular punch-marks below the rim (see above, p. 142).

35-9 are derived from the make-up of the neolithic Long Mound, and presumably represent débris from the earlier occupation lying on the site.

Fig. 29

40-9 are from the so-called 'ritual' pit (pit 1) under the eastern end of the neolithic Long Mound. With the pottery were limpet-shells and much-decayed fragments of animal bones, probably ox, together with a considerable quantity of charcoal. The pottery and other débris had apparently been rammed tightly into the pit, but two at

¹ J. B. Calkin and Stuart Piggott, *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Soc.* ix (1938), 73-4.

² *Ibid.* ii, part 4 (1936), pl. LXVII, A.2 (f).

³ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* ii, part 3 (1935), pl.

⁴ *Antiq. Journ.* vii (1927), 452, fig. 6; and also *ibid.*

xxxviii, p. 328.

viii (1928), 472, fig. 3.

NEOLITHIC POTTERY

147

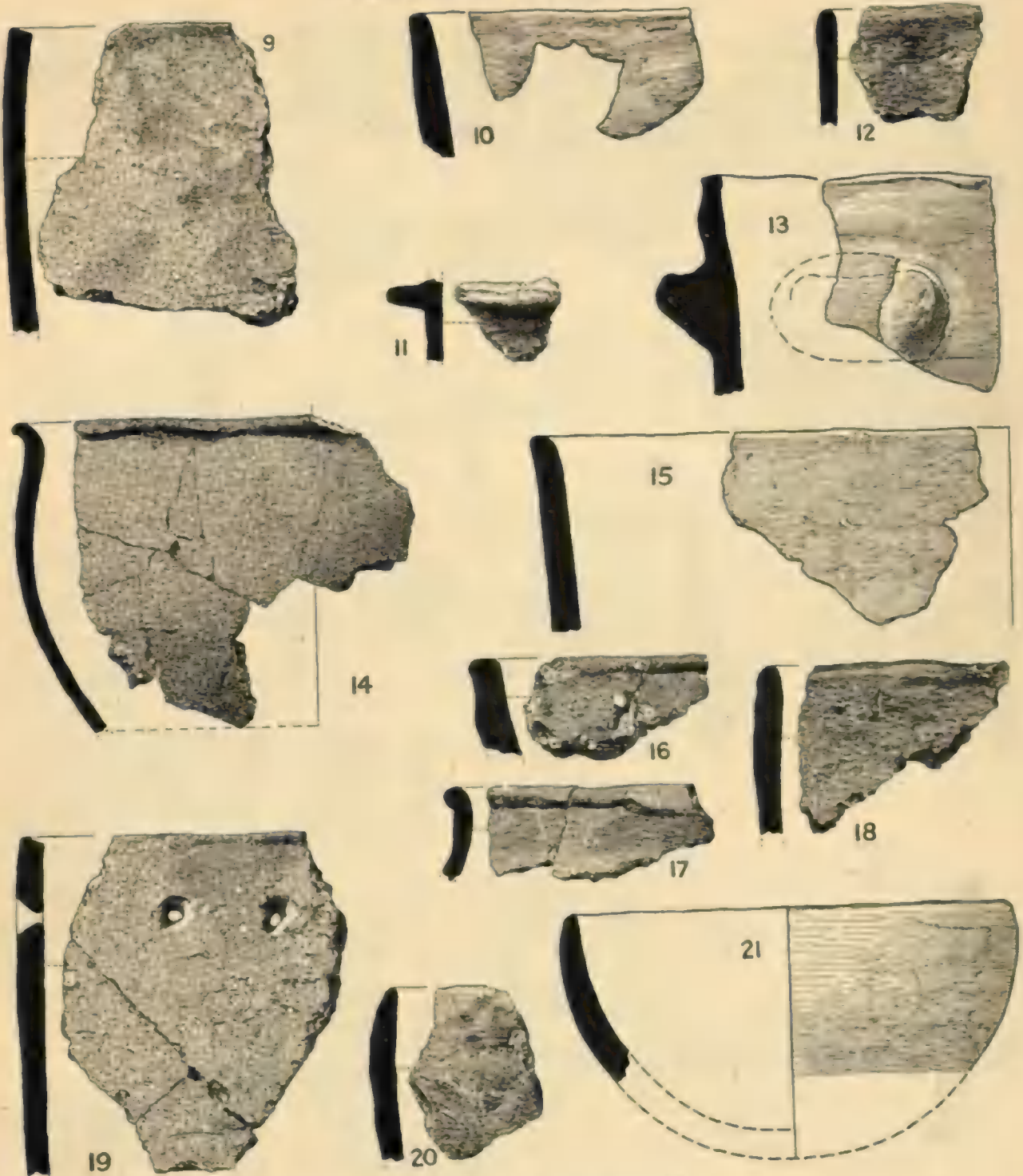
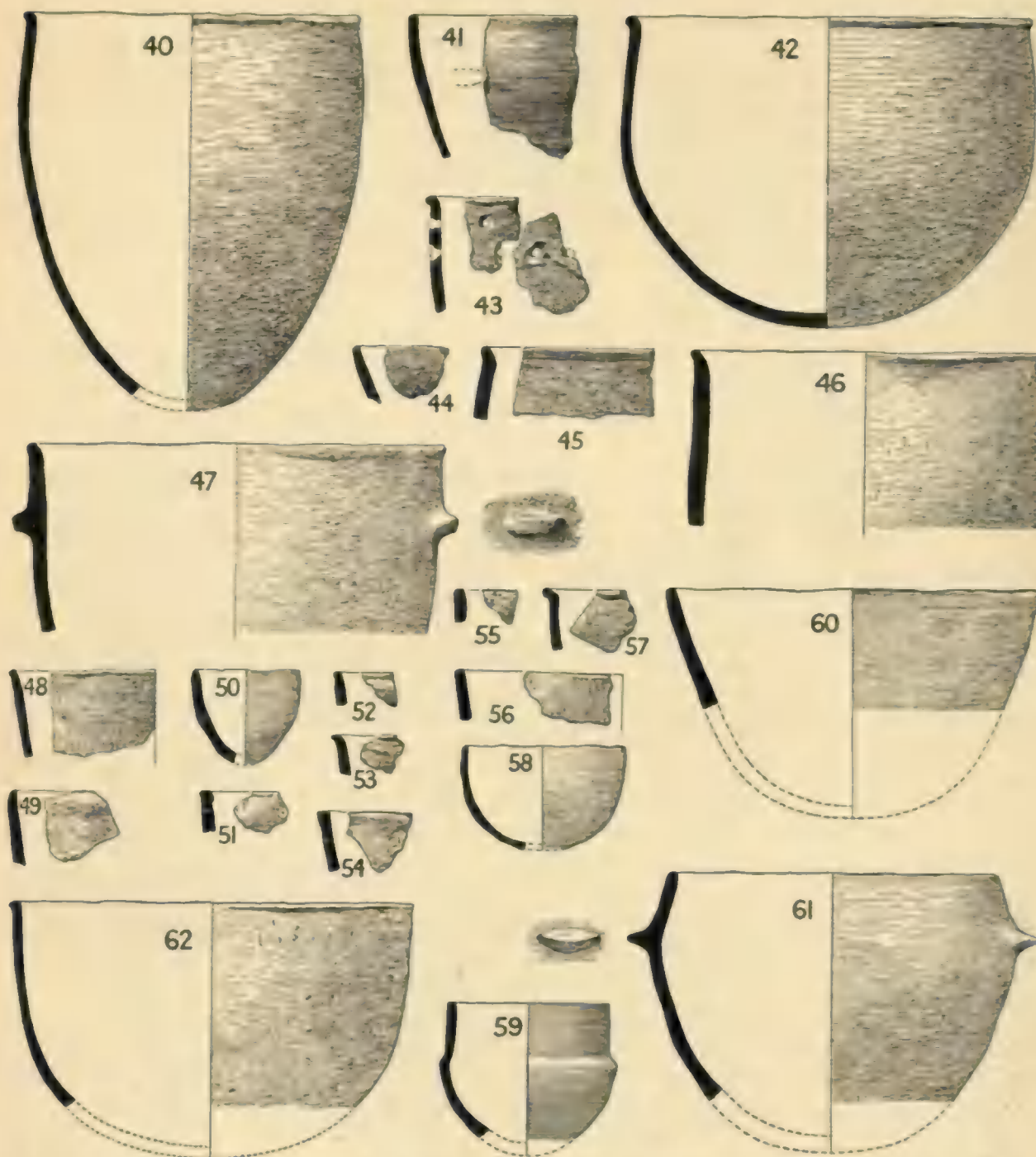


FIG. 27. Neolithic A pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 146



FIG. 28. Neolithic A pottery (1)

See p. 146

FIG. 29. Neolithic A pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 146

least of the pots were probably intact at the time of the insertion. Since the whole deposit suggested recent use at the time of burial, and the pit itself occupies a position familiar in relation to other neolithic long barrows (see above, p. 20), it may be assumed that this pottery dates from the actual construction of the mound, and is therefore later than the pottery from the underlying town ditch (figs. 26 and 27).

No. 43 shows secondary piercings below the rim, which, like those of nos. 40 and 42, is of the 'bead' type.

50. A minute pot found buried with two small children under and apparently contemporary with the Long Mound (see above, p. 22).

51-7 are from the northern ditch of the Long Mound (site L). For other pottery from the Long Mound ditches, see below, figs. 30, 31. Nos. 51 and 52 are from the almost continuous layer of hearth-material which immediately overlay the rapid silt of the ditches of the Long Mound and must date closely therefore from the period of construction. Nos. 53-7 are derived from the central filling of the ditch and were associated with occasional sherds of Neolithic B.

58 and 59 are from a neolithic pit between the two neolithic town ditches at the northern portal of the eastern entrance. These pits were exclusively of Neolithic A. No. 59 is a variant of Piggott's type E, and retains in a provincial variant the carination characteristic of certain Michelsberg types. The carinated forms occur in our south-western Neolithic A at Haldon¹ and at Hembury.²

60 and 61. Sherds derived from the filling of the outer neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance. The little pottery found in this ditch was exclusively of Neolithic A.

62. Sherd from a Neolithic A pit between the neolithic town ditches at the northern portal of the eastern entrance.

Fig. 30

This figure illustrates a further selection of sherds from the filling of the ditches of the neolithic Long Mound. They are arranged on the figure in stratigraphical order, i.e. with the latest sherds first and the earliest last.

63. A unique sherd from the turf-line sealing the neolithic ditch. This turf-line represents a long period during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, when the hill-top was seemingly devoid of permanent habitation (above, p. 24). The turf-line was almost entirely devoid of pottery, and the present sherd may be ascribed stratigraphically to any period between the latter part of the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the local Iron Age A occupation. The shallow finger-tip decoration round the shoulder suggests the likelihood of a Late Bronze or Early Iron Age date, but the possibility that the fragment, like those immediately below it, belongs to the Early Bronze Age cannot be ruled out.

64. Fragment of the rim of a food-vessel with stabbed decoration, probably of herring-bone type, along the outside of the rim. The rim itself is bevelled internally.

¹ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* ii, part 4 (1936), pl. LXVIII, nos. P.41(a) and A.4(f).

² *Ibid.* i, part 4 (1932), pl. XVIII, no. P.255.

65. Fragment of a bowl decorated with rusticated ornament produced by the finger-tips, from the uppermost filling of the ditch of the Long Mound—a layer which also contained scraps of A and B Beakers, and a barbed and tanged flint arrow-head. Rusticated decoration belongs to an Early Bronze Age group which has been made familiar by Dr. Grahame Clark, Mr. Stuart Piggott, Mr. Hazzeldine Warren, and Mrs. Cunningham.¹ A sherd of a somewhat similar rusticated bowl, with other comparable rim-fragments, has been found recently with Beaker (mostly A) sherds in the Wylke barrow on Bathampton Down, Wilts., by Mr. R. S. Newall (information from Mr. Dudley Waterman), and a remoter analogy is provided by an Early Bronze Age sherd from the Holdenhurst barrow.²

66. Rim, probably of food-vessel, decorated with horizontal cord-impressions from the same level as the preceding.

67. Rim of food-vessel with herring-bone cord-pattern from the same level as the preceding. The discovery of an overhanging rim in so advanced a stage as the present example in a layer containing Beaker pottery is noteworthy. Further examples will be recorded below (nos. 68, 72, 119 and 127), and there can be no doubt as to the contemporaneity of the two groups.

68. Fragment of the rim of a food-vessel, with horizontal cord-impressions both internally and externally, from the same level as the preceding.

69. Fragment of a vessel of uncertain form, with rusticated pattern from the same level as the preceding.

70 and 71. Two fragments of Neolithic A pottery from an unusually high level immediately underlying that containing nos. 62–9.

72. Fragmentary rim of a food-vessel with cord-impression on the side and top, from the same level as nos. 70 and 71.

73. Fragment of thick-sided vessel, possibly a food-vessel, with cord-impressions, from the same level as nos. 70–72.

74. Rim of an A Beaker decorated by means of a cogged stamp, with white inlay in the pattern. From the next level below nos. 70–3, i.e. the lowest Beaker level. This is the only example of white inlay from Maiden Castle.

75. Fragment of a vessel, possibly a beaker, with rusticated pattern from the same level as no. 74.

76–8. Fragments of Neolithic A pottery from the next level below that containing nos. 74 and 75. No. 77 is notable as representing probably a narrow-necked 'amphora', a type otherwise known from only one site in England (see above, p. 141). A second example, not illustrated, was found at Maiden Castle.

79 and 80. Two Neolithic A sherds found in the next level below that containing nos. 76–8.

¹ See in particular *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii (1936), pp. 19–23, and *ibid.* (1936, July–Dec.), pp. 188 and 189, fig. 3, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5.

² Stuart Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iii (1937), p. 11 and fig. 6, 2.



FIG. 30. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery from the ditches of the Long Mound ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 150

81-4. Neolithic A sherds from the occupation-level which everywhere overlies the rapid silt in the bottom of the Long Mound ditch, and is therefore closely contemporary with the construction of the neolithic Long Mound. No. 83, with thickened rim, is a somewhat unusual type, which is, however, represented in the Notgrove, Gloucestershire, Long Barrow.¹

85 and 86. Neolithic A sherds from the rapid silt of the Long Mound ditch.

Fig. 31

87-96 are derived from the northern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound on site L.

87. Sherd of Neolithic A from the burnt occupation-level immediately overlying the rapid silt of the ditch, and therefore closely contemporary with the Long Mound. The thickened rim is a rare type at Maiden Castle but is vaguely parallel with an Abingdon form.² It does not seem to occur at either Hembury or Haldon in Devon.

88. Neolithic B bowl from the central filling of the ditch. This is stratigraphically the earliest level at which Neolithic B occurs (see p. 87, fig. 15). It is decorated with cord-impressions and a line of cavities round the neck.

89. Fragment of rim with finger-nail ornament, possibly part of a rusticated beaker. From the upper filling of the ditch immediately below the Early Bronze Age turf-line. The same layer in other sections produced A and B Beaker.

90. Sherd of Neolithic A from the same level.

91. Rim with horizontal cord-decoration externally. The sherd is of unusual form, but possibly represents a food-vessel. From the same level as nos. 89 and 90.

92. Rim with slight external cavetto and oblique maggot-pattern on the inner edge. From the same level as nos. 89-91.

93. Sherd with internal cord-decoration, possibly part of a food-vessel, from the same level as nos. 89-92.

94. Rim, apparently of a dish, from the same level as the preceding.

95. Sherd with finger-nail decoration; probably from a rusticated beaker. From the same level as the preceding.

96. Fragment of grooved ware from the Early Bronze Age turf-line sealing the ditch. This and the following three sherds are amongst the few examples of this ware from Maiden Castle. Their stratigraphical position indicates a fairly advanced date in the Early Bronze Age. For grooved ware see above, p. 143.

97-9. These are from the upper filling of a neolithic pit amidst the outworks of the eastern entrance and were found with sherds of A Beaker. The layer immediately below also contained A Beaker together with Neolithic B sherds.

Fig. 32

All the sherds here illustrated are derived from the inner neolithic town ditch under the central mound between the main portals of the Iron Age eastern entrance (see above,

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi (1936), 147, fig. 7, 4.

² *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 472, fig. 3 h.

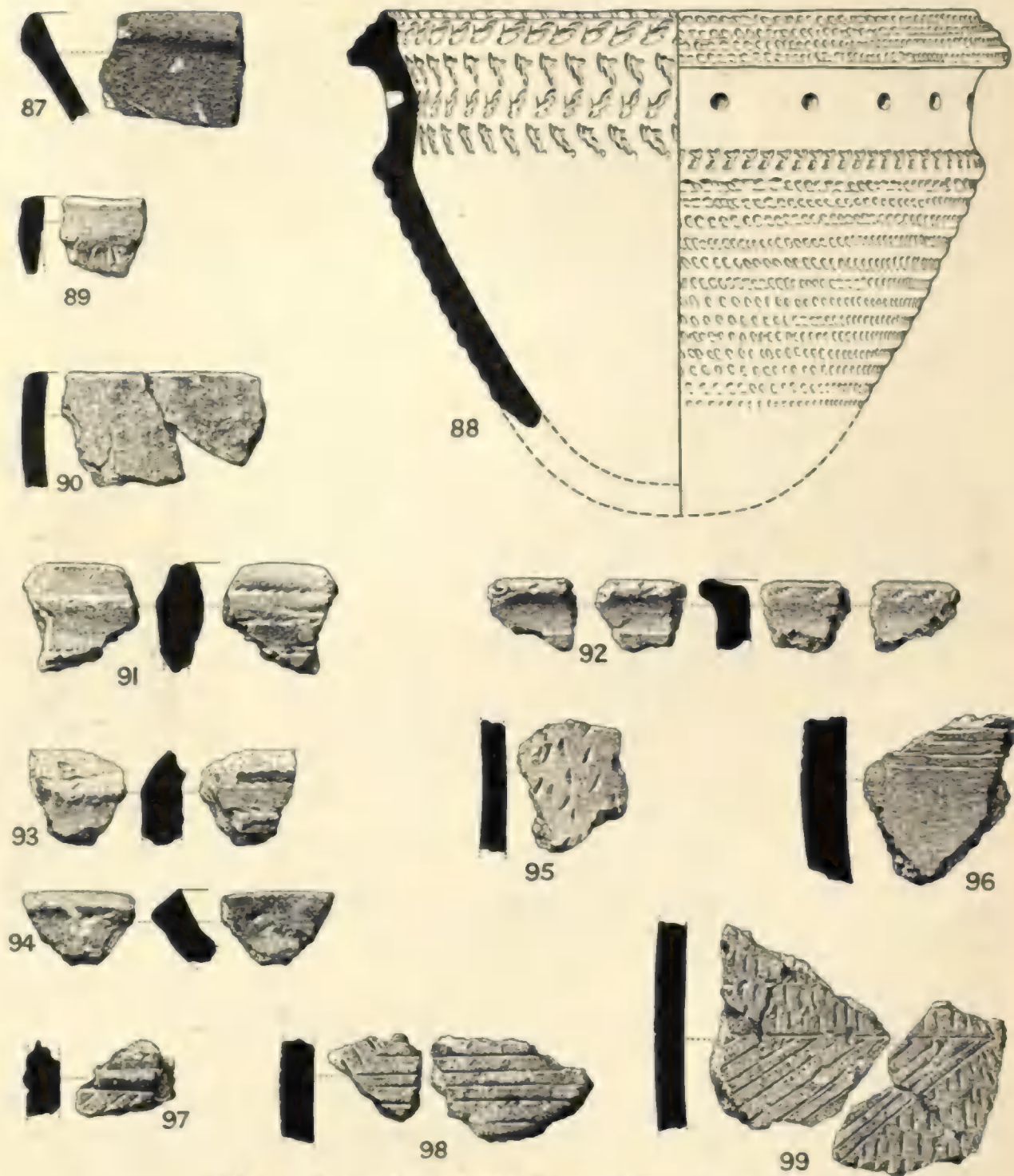
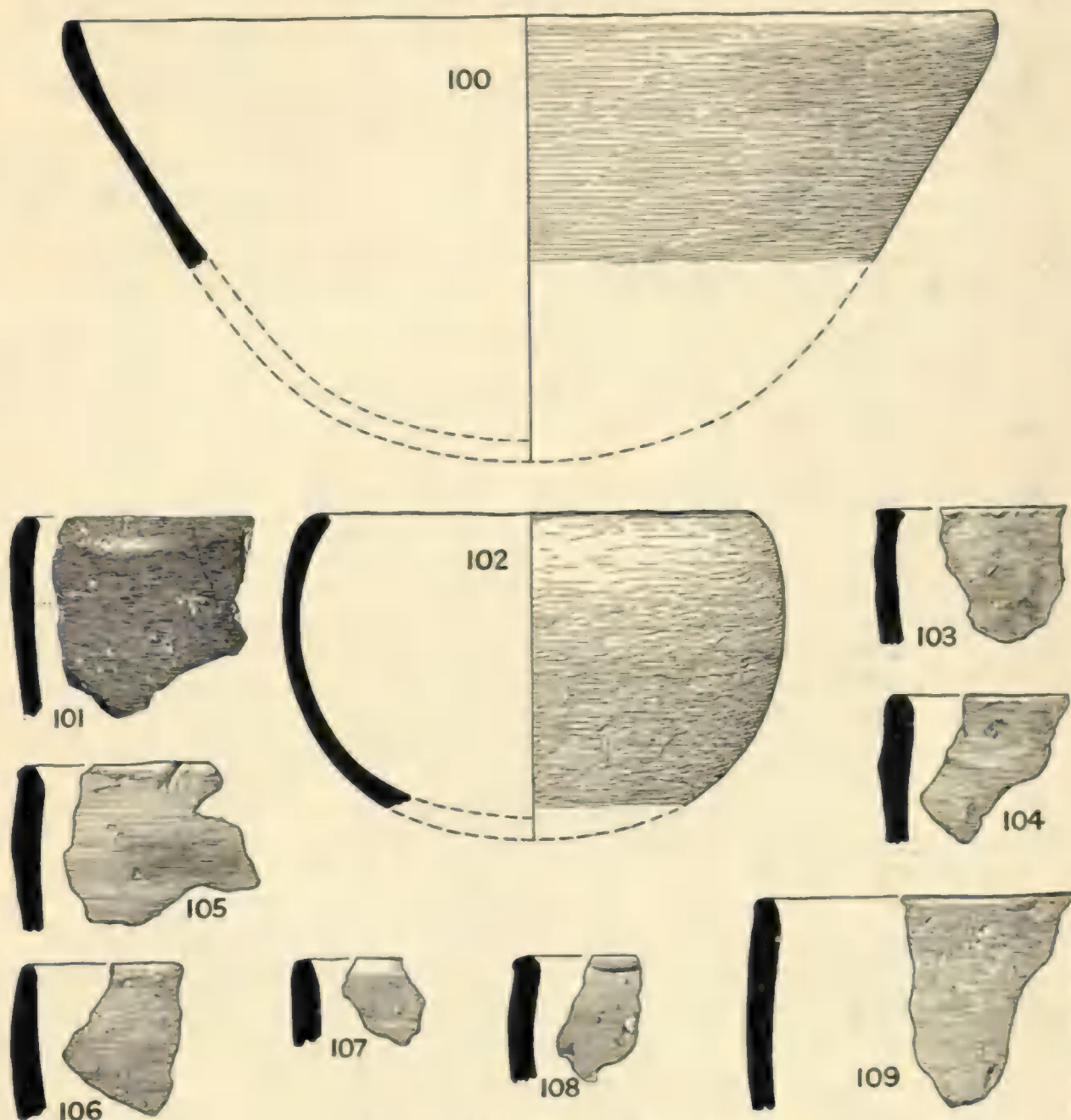


FIG. 31. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 153

FIG. 32. Neolithic A pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 153

p. 82). In this ditch-section the lowest silting contained only Neolithic A. The middle silting contained Neolithic A and Neolithic B. The uppermost filling under the Bronze Age turf-line contained only A Beaker (see below, pl. xxiii, B).

100-8. Fragments of Neolithic A sherds found with Neolithic B pottery in the middle filling of the ditch.

109. Neolithic A sherd from the uppermost filling of the ditch, found with numerous sherds of A Beaker.

Fig. 33

This figure illustrates a further series of sherds from the middle and uppermost fillings of the inner neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

110. Part of a Neolithic B bowl with maggot-pattern and indented decoration from the middle filling of the ditch.

111. Fragment of a Neolithic B bowl with maggot-pattern from the junction between the middle and uppermost filling of the ditch.

112-16. Fragment of Neolithic A pottery from the uppermost filling of the ditch, with sherds of A Beaker.

Plates xxiii, A and xxiii, B

These two plates illustrate the main stratigraphical succession in the middle and uppermost fillings of the inner neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance and emphasize the sequence noted above (p. 82). The lowest filling contained sherds only of Neolithic A.

Plate xxiii, A illustrates the mixed Neolithic A and Neolithic B pottery from the central filling. The distinctive forms of lug are noted below (fig. 37).

Plate xxiii, B illustrates the numerous fragments of A Beaker from the uppermost filling, a comparatively shallow layer immediately underlying the Bronze Age turf-line.

Plate xxiv

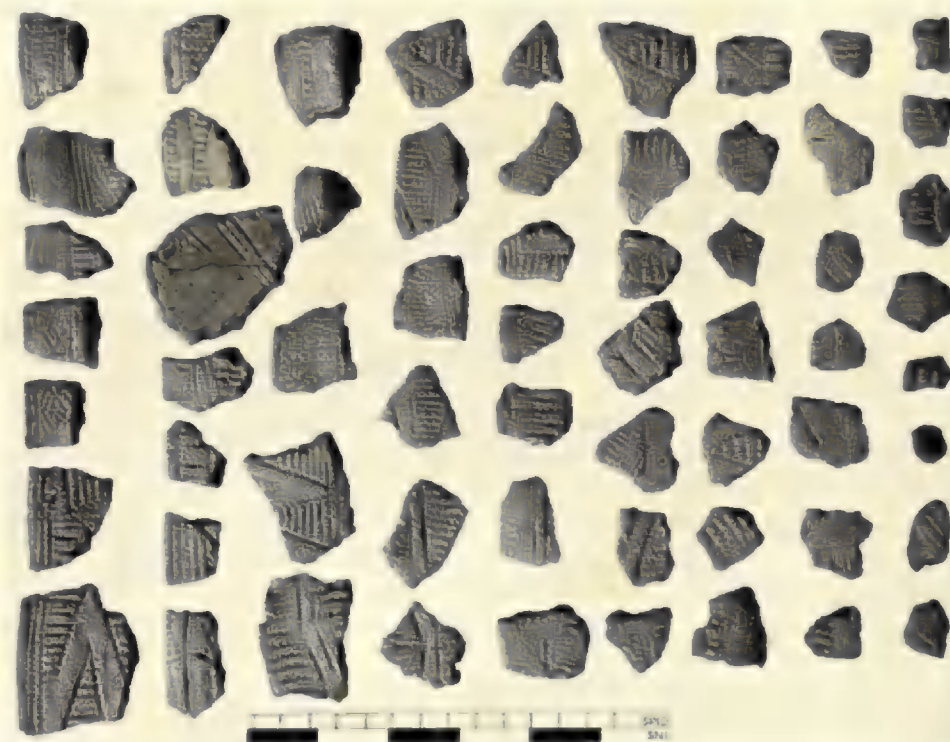
Plate xxiv illustrates a series of Beaker sherds (both A and B) from the uppermost filling of the northern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound on site Q.

Fig. 34

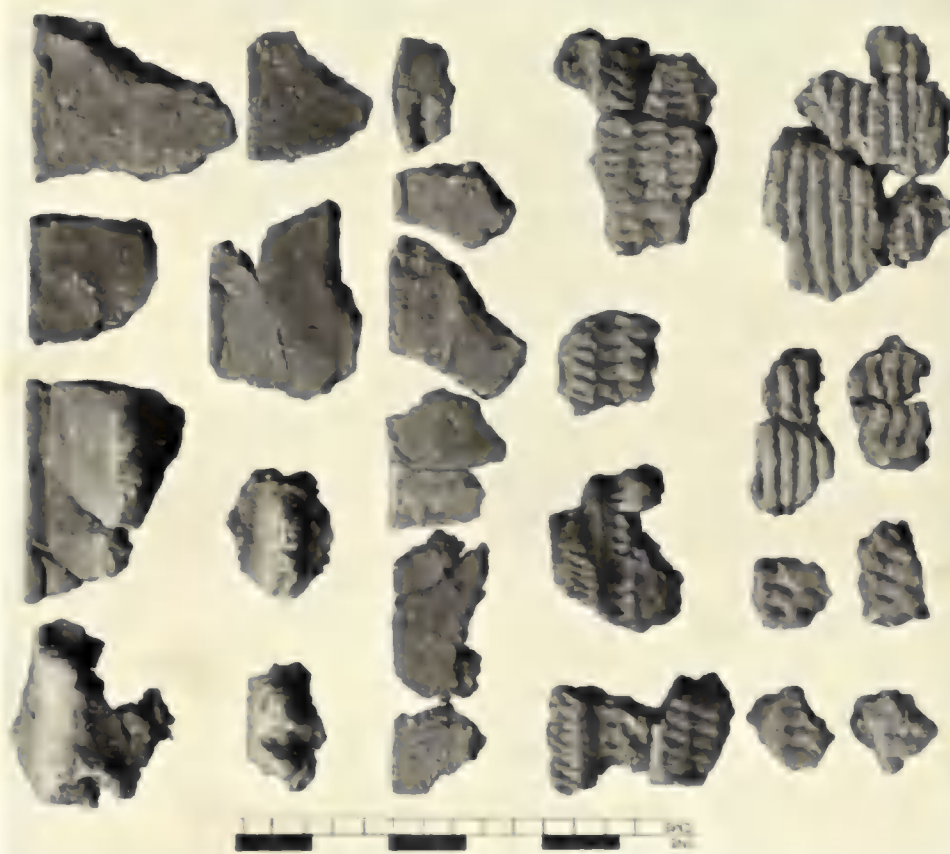
Sherds from the inner neolithic town ditch on site R. As elsewhere in this ditch, the succession was threefold: the lowest filling containing only Neolithic A, the central filling containing Neolithic A with some Neolithic B, and the uppermost filling containing mixed Neolithic A and B, and Early Bronze Age material. (See fig. 14.)

117. Rim of Neolithic A bowl from the occupation-material immediately crowning the rapid silt of the ditch. The sherd is of comparatively good ware and shows the slightly out-curved profile which is characteristic of some of the earlier sherds of Maiden Castle. The level from which this sherd was derived contained only Neolithic A pottery.

118. A remarkable sherd from the central filling of the ditch with Neolithic A, Neolithic B, and a Beaker sherd (below, no. 120). Beaker is exceptional at this level, but the sherd was definitely stratified. The rim, no. 118, has its upper surface notched with finger-tip decoration, and both internally and externally bears a roughly scratched



B. Beaker sherds from the top level of the filling of the neolithic town-ditch between the portals of the E. entrance. See p. 156



A. Neolithic A and B sherds from the middle filling of the neolithic town-ditch between the portals of the E. entrance. See p. 156



Sherds of A and B beakers from the uppermost filling of the northern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound. See p. 156

NEOLITHIC POTTERY

157

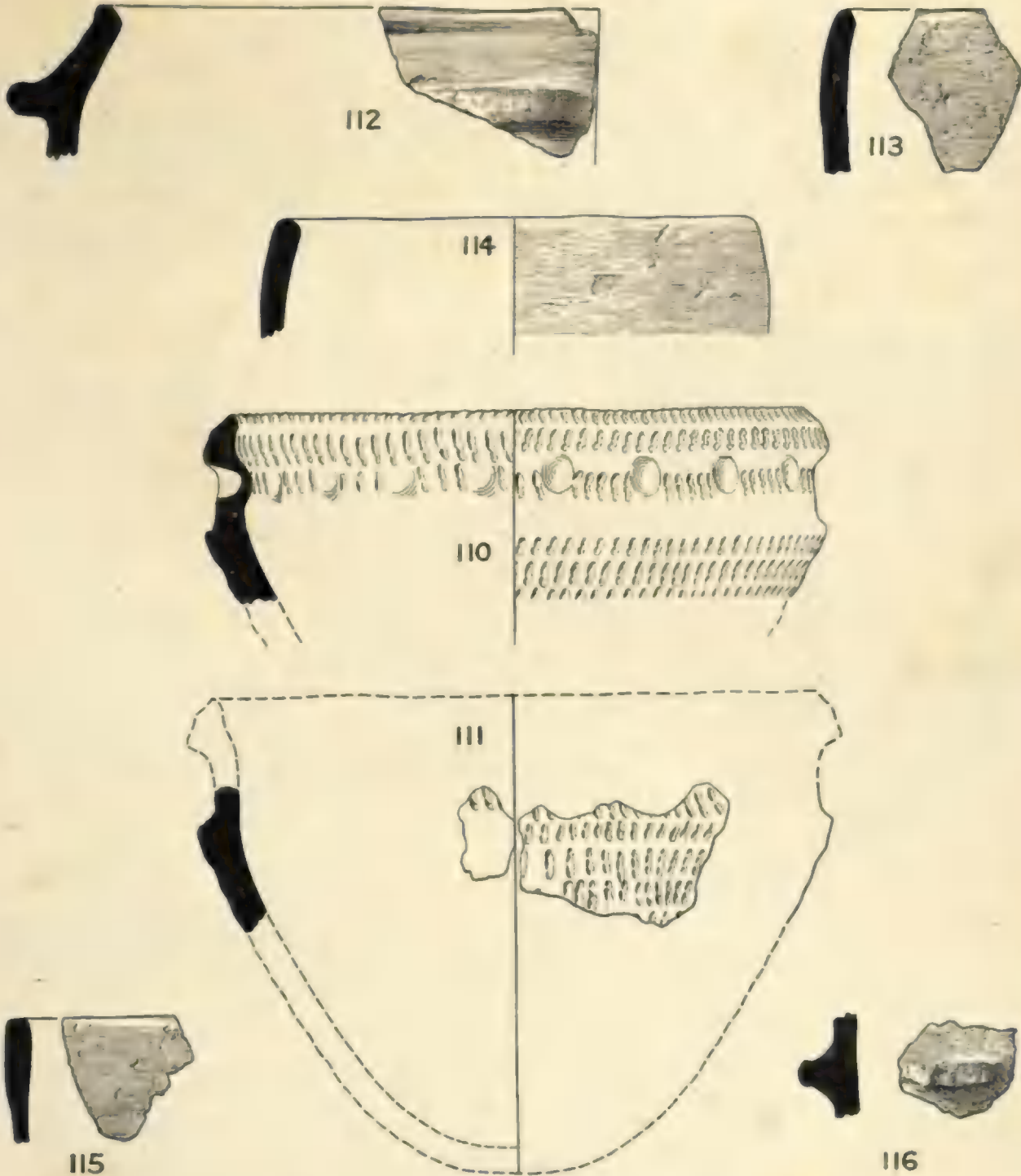


FIG. 33. Neolithic A and B pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 156

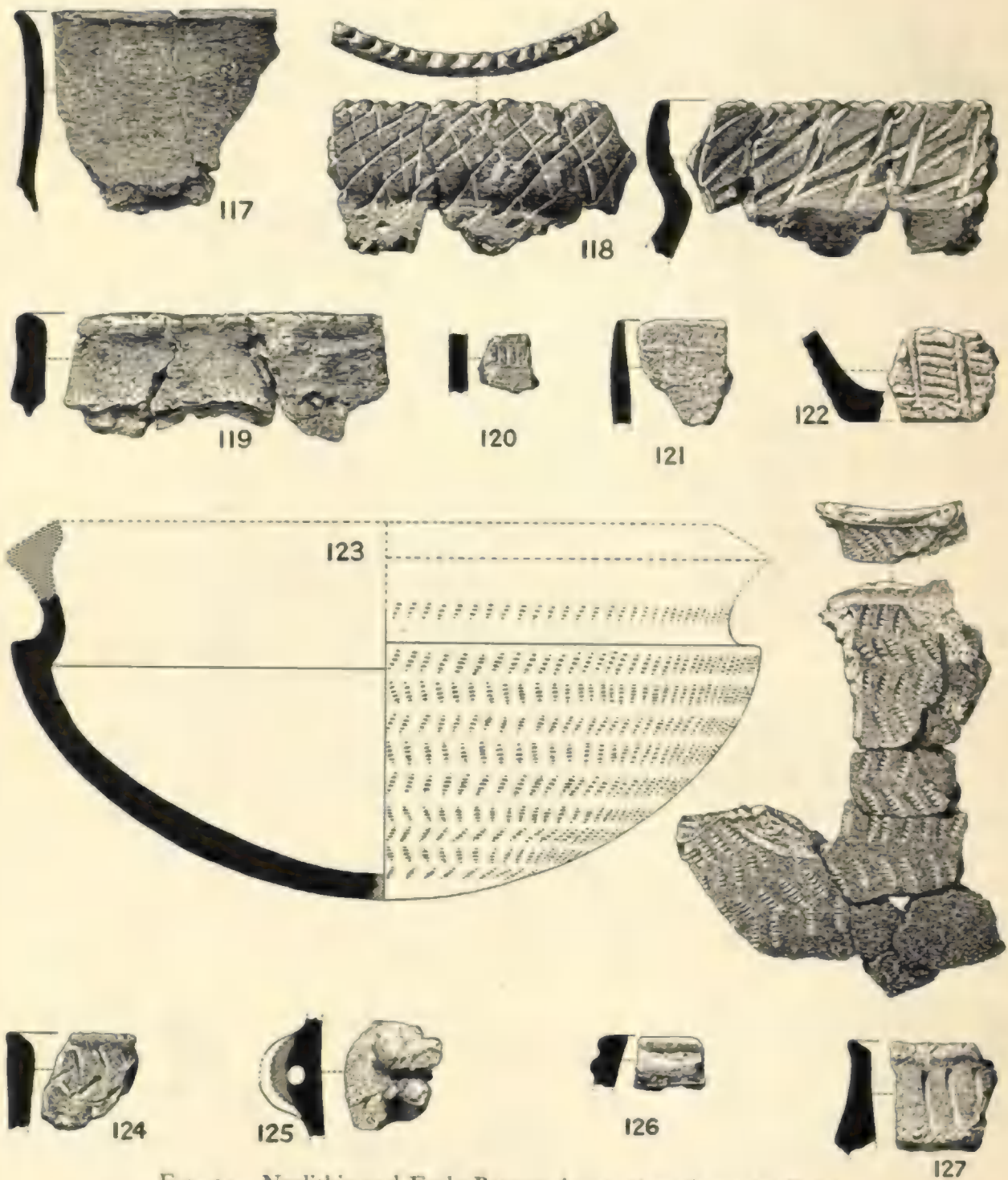


FIG. 34. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery from site R ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 156

criss-cross decoration. A somewhat analogous criss-cross decoration occurs on the inner surface of a rim of Neolithic B pottery found at Iwer, Buckinghamshire.¹ The rim form is, however, more comparable with that of a pot from the Ebbsfleet Valley, where a late mesolithic or early neolithic date is suggested.² This sherd, and other pottery illustrated with it from the same site, show also the notched rim and the criss-cross pattern, but are technically of a higher standard than the present example. The latter cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Bronze Age, and might not unreasonably be regarded as a decadent variety of the Ebbsfleet wares. In any case, the present sherd may reasonably be grouped in the growing Neolithic B complex.

119. Rim of a collared food-vessel, from the central filling of the ditch just below the level of no. 118. The same layer produced the Neolithic A sherds, 143, 144, and 146.

120. Fragment of a coarse A Beaker from the same level as no. 118.

121. Fragment probably of a food-vessel with finger-nail decoration, from the upper middle filling of the ditch, somewhat above nos. 117 and 119.

122. Base of a coarse A Beaker from the uppermost filling of the ditch.

123. Fragments of a Neolithic B bowl with maggot-pattern, from the same level as no. 122.

124. Fragment of rim, probably of a food-vessel, with slashed herring-bone pattern, from the same level as nos. 122 and 123.

125. Vertical handle, probably Neolithic A, from the uppermost filling of the ditch.

126. Fragment of rim, possibly of grooved ware, from the uppermost filling of the ditch.

127. Rim of a collared food-vessel with slashed decoration, from the same high level as nos. 125 and 126. All three sherds were sealed by the Early Bronze Age turf-line.

Fig. 35

This figure illustrates Neolithic A pottery from site A.

128-30. Three pots found together from an early neolithic cooking-pit, adjoining the inner neolithic town ditch.

131 and 132. Neolithic A sherds from the upper filling of the inner neolithic town ditch. This level is of Early Bronze Age date.

133. Sherd of a carinated Neolithic A bowl from the layer immediately below the preceding, at a level elsewhere characterized by the presence of Neolithic B.

134. Beaded Neolithic A bowl from a neolithic pit or trench within the line of the neolithic town ditch.

Fig. 36

This figure illustrates a group of Neolithic A pots from a cooking-pit on site A.

¹ *Rec. of Bucks.* xiii (1937), 294 and pl. 1, 1b.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xix (1939), 416.

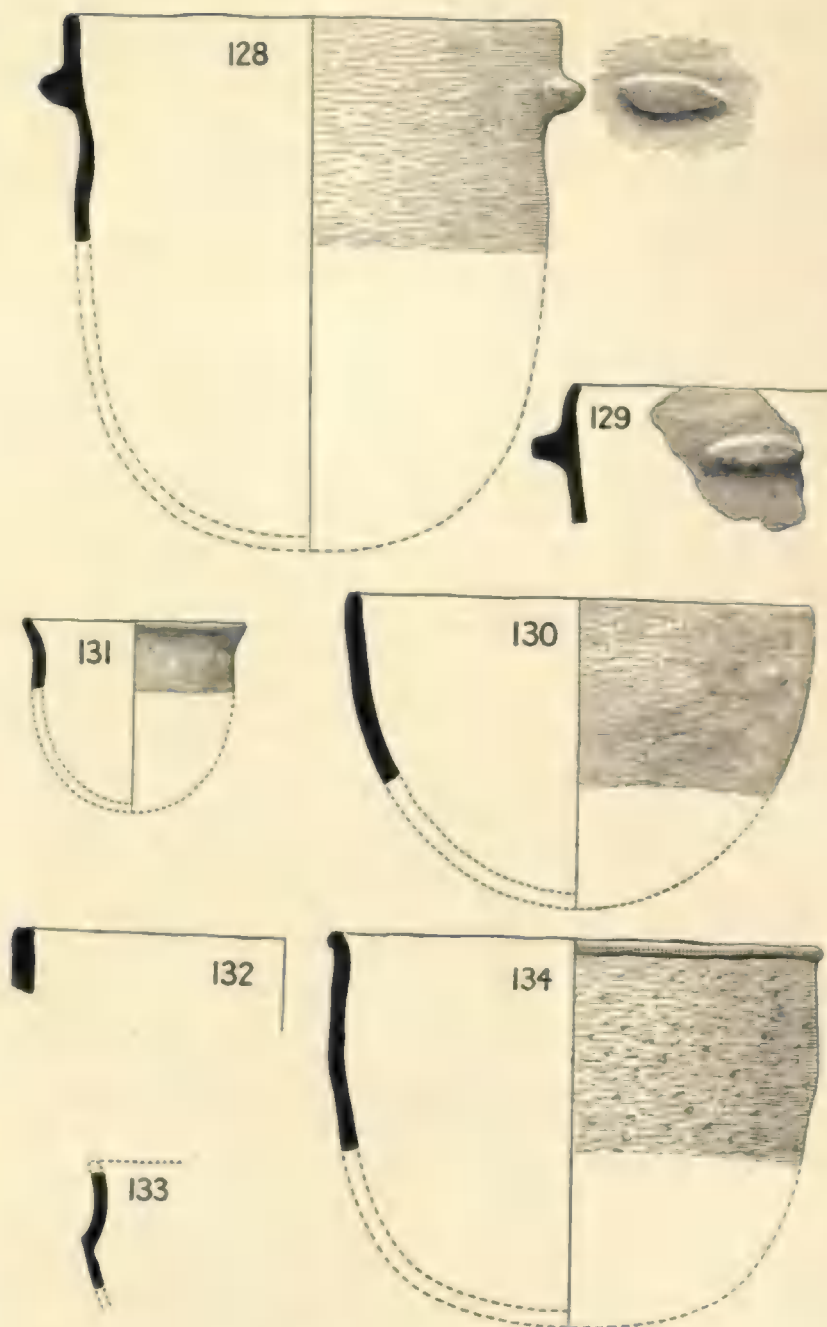
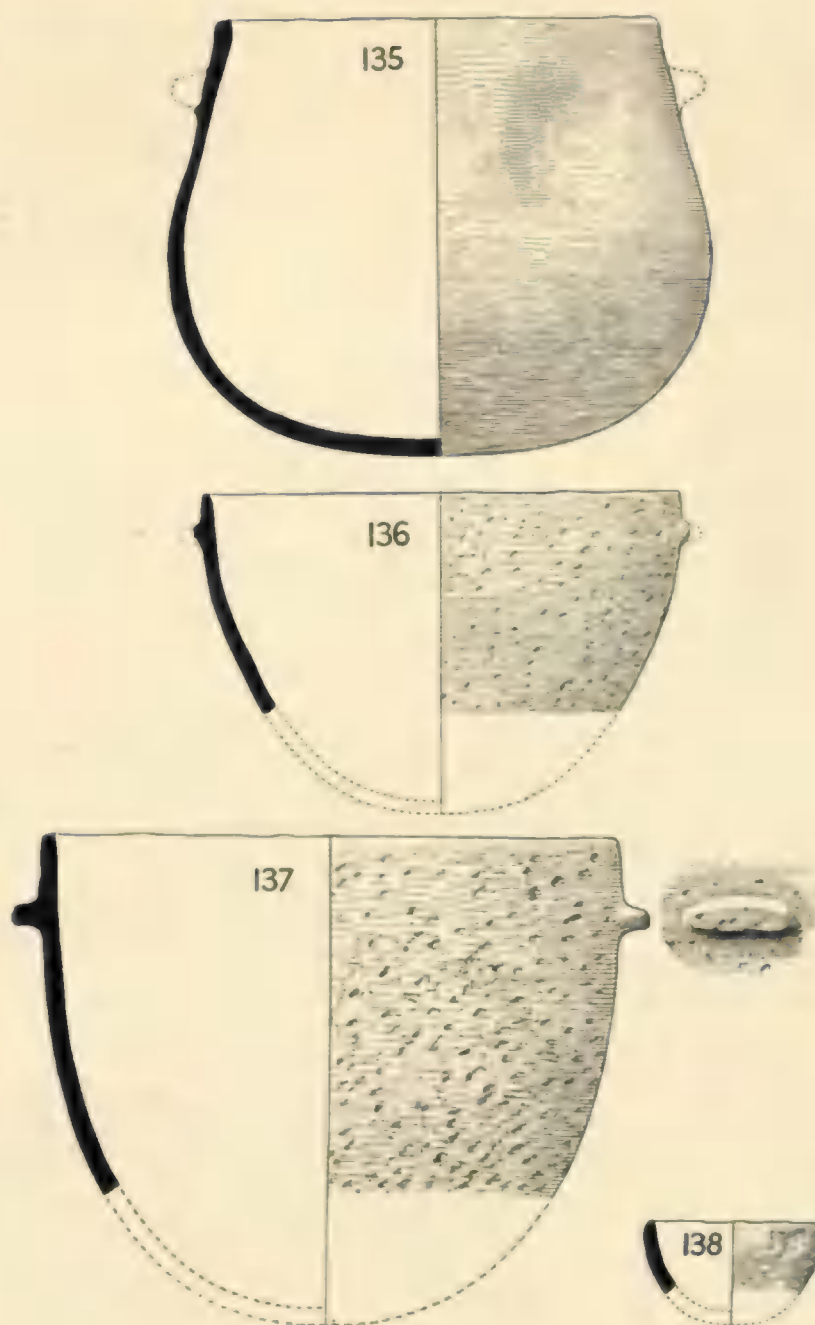


FIG. 35. Neolithic A pottery (1)

See p. 159

FIG. 36. Neolithic A pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 159

Fig. 37

This figure illustrates the varieties of lugs and handles in the Neolithic A pottery of Maiden Castle.

139. Long lug or (less probably) a cordon from the central level in the outer neolithic town ditch on site R. The ditch in question produced only Neolithic A pottery, but sherds were not numerous.

140. Solid featureless lug from the Early Bronze Age turf-line over the northern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound.

141. Circular lug or boss from the central filling of the northern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound, a level characterized by mixed Neolithic A and B sherds.

142. Solid lug which perhaps retains a hint of the expanded or 'trumpet' form dealt with above (p. 137). From the same level as no. 140.

143. Simple lug from the central filling of the inner neolithic ditch on site R. This filling also produced the late form no. 119 above.

144. Pierced lug showing something of the expanded or 'trumpet' form. From the same level as no. 143.

145. Roughly pierced lug from the outer neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance. This ditch produced few sherds, all of neolithic A.

146. Pierced lug from the same level as nos. 143 and 144.

147. A good example of the expanded or 'trumpet' handle from a pit on site L, underlying the neolithic Long Mound. This form of handle appears to have been derived immediately from Brittany.¹

148. 'Trumpet' handle, from the central filling of the inner town ditch at the eastern entrance. Found with sherds of Neolithic A and B.

149. 'Trumpet' handle from an unstratified level at the eastern entrance.

150. Vestigial 'trumpet' handle without piercing, from the outer neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

151. Rough vestigial 'trumpet' handle, from the same level as no. 148.

THE FLINT INDUSTRY²

The flint industry conforms closely with that on other neolithic sites in the south of England. The three main cultures—Neolithic A and B and the Early Bronze Age—each present a certain individuality in detail; but basically the flint industry remains identical throughout the three phases. Large collections of flakes and quantities of unfinished implements, sometimes broken during manufacture, and actual working floors indicate a considerable production on the site.

¹ See Stuart Piggott, above, p. 138, and in *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* ii (1935), 162.

² I am greatly indebted to Miss Veronica Seton-Williams for revising and checking the descriptions of the illustrations.

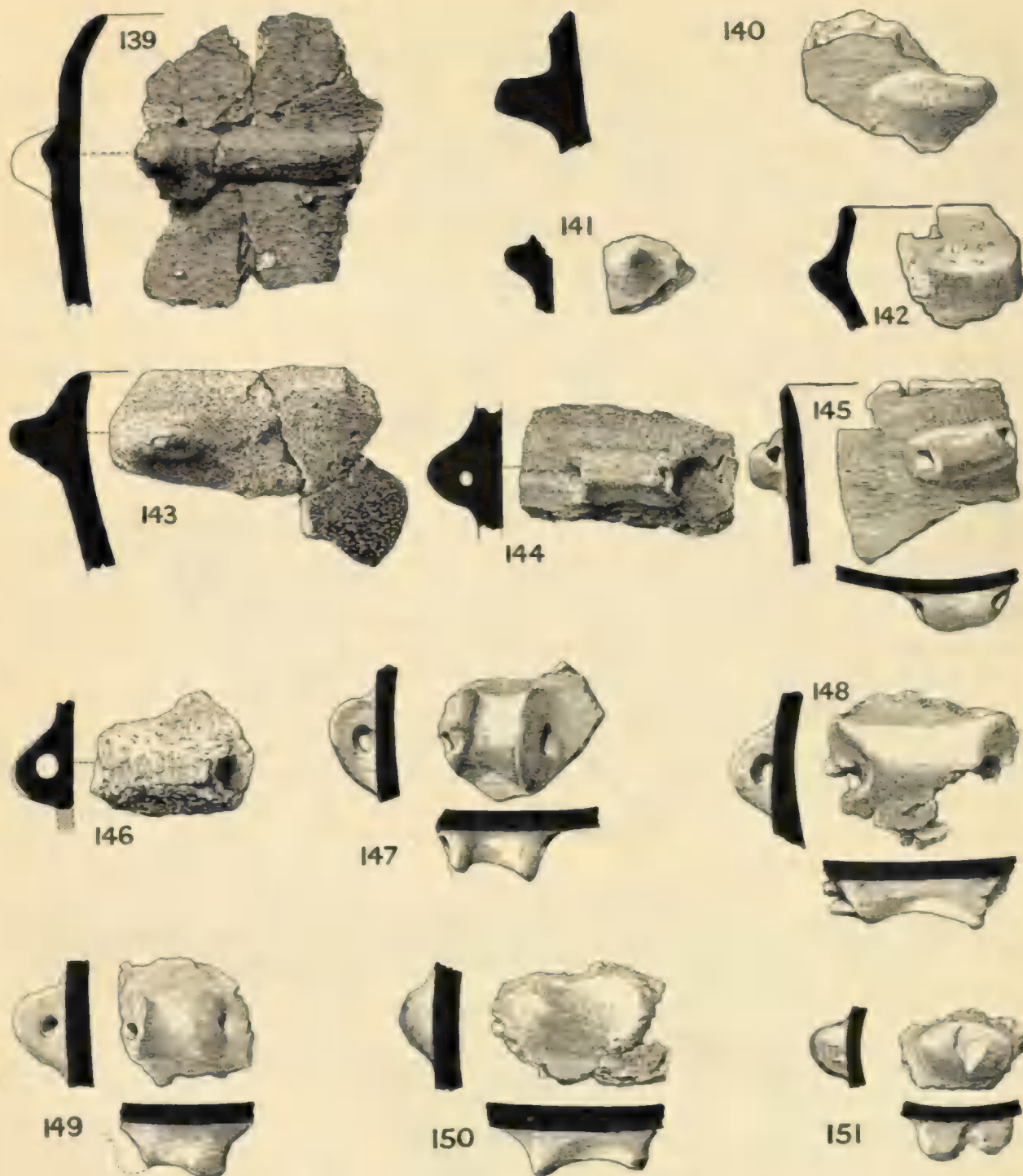


FIG. 37. Neolithic A lug-handles ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 162

NEOLITHIC A

The flint and stone industry of this, the earliest neolithic phase at Maiden Castle, includes almost all the stratified polished axes. They are characteristically of a flattened-oval section with a thin or pointed butt. There is no indication that such axes were manufactured to any considerable extent here in Neolithic B or later.

A notable feature of the phase is the appearance of a number of pecked and polished axes made of epidiorite or greenstone, of which the nearest likely source is the Cornish peninsula. The western connexion thus indicated is consistent with the probable derivation of the Maiden Castle A culture from the Armorican peninsula.

Serrated flakes occasionally showing lustre occur in both Neolithic A and Neolithic B deposits, but are more numerous in the former. Of a total of 3,557 flint flakes from Neolithic A levels in the eastern part of the Long Mound, 84 were serrated, and of these 10 showed lustre on the serrated edge. In the same area 52 flakes from Neolithic B levels were serrated, and of these only 2 showed lustre.¹

NEOLITHIC B

This culture, which reached Maiden Castle considerably later than Neolithic A, is marked by an extreme scarcity of polished flint implements. Where these do (very rarely) occur with Neolithic B pottery, Neolithic A sherds are also present in a majority of cases, and the polishing may therefore still form a part of the earlier culture. Only in one instance, that of a fragment of a highly polished epidiorite axe, fig. 38, 7, was the context exclusively as late as the Beaker phase; but it is obvious that, on so heavily occupied a site, the fragment may well be intrusive.

For the rest, the distinctive feature of the Neolithic B flint industry, here as elsewhere, is the appearance of a certain number of derivative *petit tranchet* forms (fig. 43). Flakes with edges toughened by nearly vertical retouching are also found in Neolithic B, although at Hembury Fort in Devon they occur in Neolithic A.²

BEAKER AND EARLY BRONZE AGE

A single barbed and tanged arrow-head of normal Beaker type is the only distinctive Beaker implement in these late and comparatively restricted strata.

Fig. 38

This figure represents seven axes or fragments of axes of epidiorite or greenstone. Fragments of two or three others were also found during the excavation. They occur in the Neolithic A occupation (nos. 1-4), but survive also occasionally into the Beaker period (nos. 6 and 7). Those from a Neolithic A context have a roughened or 'pecked' surface, whilst the two fragments from a Beaker context have a highly polished surface.

¹ For the probable cause of lustre—the cutting of wood—see *Antiquity*, iv (1930), 184-6 and ix (1935), 63-5.

² *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1931), p. 94; (1932), p. 178.

STONE AXES

165

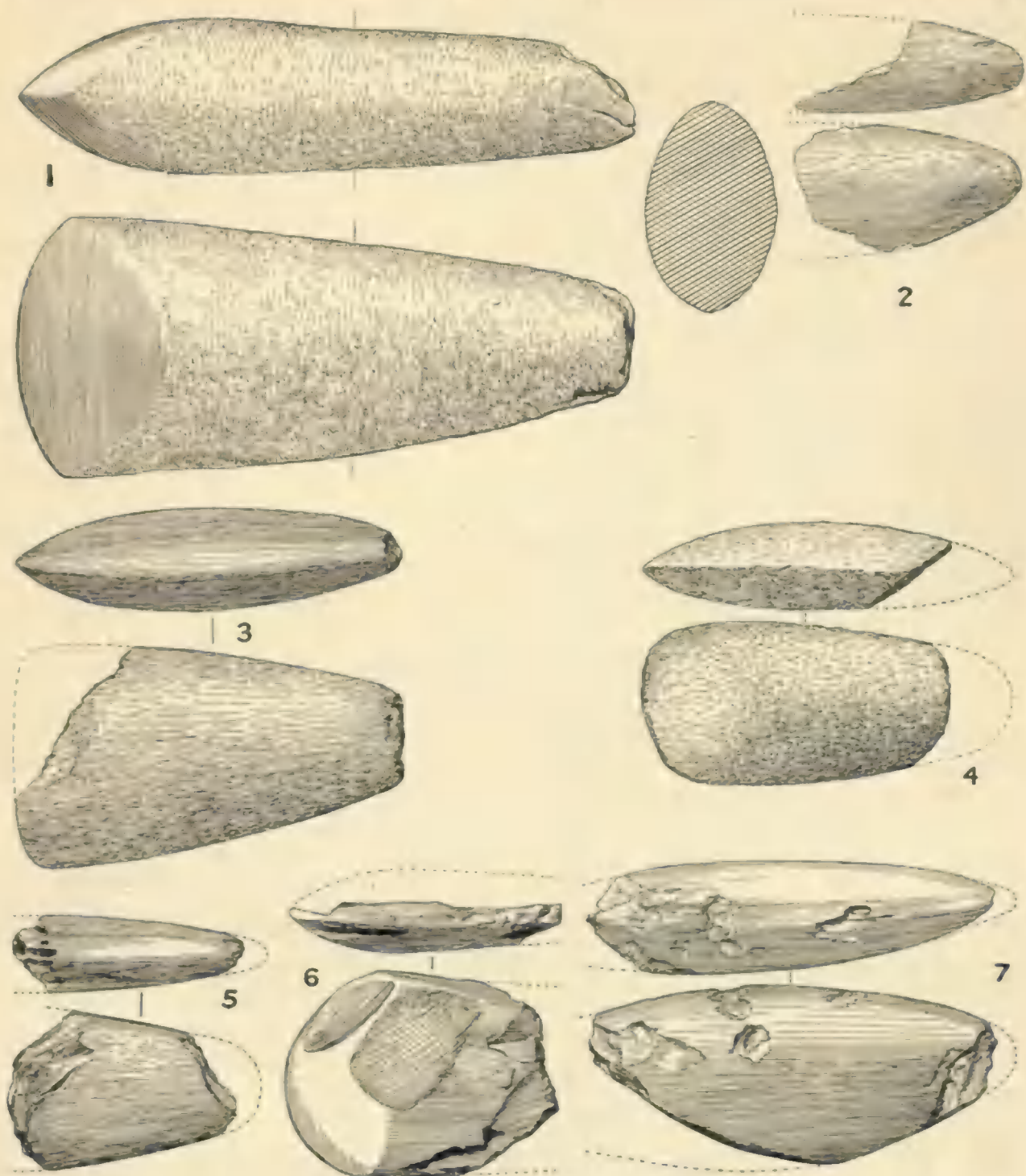


FIG. 38. Polished axes of epidiorite ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 164

This may be a significant distinction; on the other hand, in the case of flint axes a high polish is an early feature. The two fragments found with Beaker may well be derivative. Whether accidentally or not, sherds of Neolithic A pottery were occasionally found in Beaker layers on the site.

The thin wedge-shaped butt and the pointed butt are characteristic of the series.

Several of the axes have been seen by Dr. J. Phemister, of the Geological Survey. Dr. Phemister emphasizes the difficulty of naming the precise origin of the material, since there are many rocks both in Pembrokeshire and in Devon and Cornwall which are essentially of the same nature. Geographical probability is, however, obviously in favour of the Cornish peninsula as the source of the Maiden Castle specimens.

1. Axe with damaged butt, roughened or 'pecked' surface, and carefully ground edge from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.
2. Pointed butt with pecked surface from the neolithic town ditch underlying the Long Mound. The position of this fragment carries it well back into Neolithic A, since the overlying mound is itself of the latter part of that period.
3. Pecked and polished axe with damaged butt, from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.
4. Pecked axe from the structure of the Long Mound. The latter is of late Neolithic A date, but naturally included derived material.
5. Part of a polished and pointed butt from an unstratified deposit on the site of the Long Mound.
6. Flake from a highly polished axe found with Neolithic A, B, and Beaker pottery in the filling of the ditch of the neolithic Long Mound.
7. Highly polished and pointed butt of an axe from a pit at the eastern entrance, with Beaker sherds.

Fig. 39

Polished flint axes were scarce at Maiden Castle and most of those found are represented in this illustration. Of the six examples, three were found in a Neolithic A stratum and the remaining three in strata which included both Neolithic A and B. It is evident, therefore, that the polished axes are characteristic of A rather than of B, and this inference is emphasized by no. 8, which has been rechipped after polishing and is derived from an early Neolithic A stratum. The flint was heavily patinated grey-white to blue in most cases.

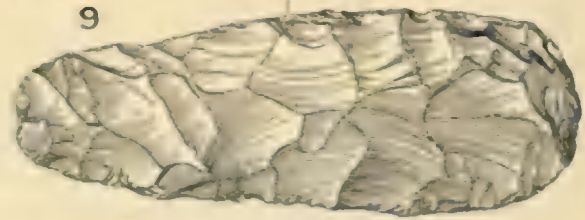
8-9, the latter an unpolished adze, were found together in the original turf-line immediately west of the neolithic town ditch under the Iron Age rampart on site A. They therefore belong to the primary neolithic phase of Maiden Castle. No. 8 has been rechipped after polishing.

10. The forepart of a very finely polished flint axe, found in the structure of the Long Mound and therefore not later than the last phase of Neolithic A. Since it was contained in derived material it may, however, be of considerably earlier date. It has

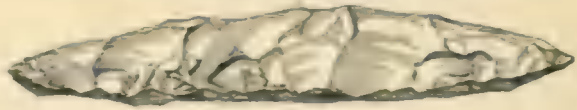
FLINT AXES

167

9



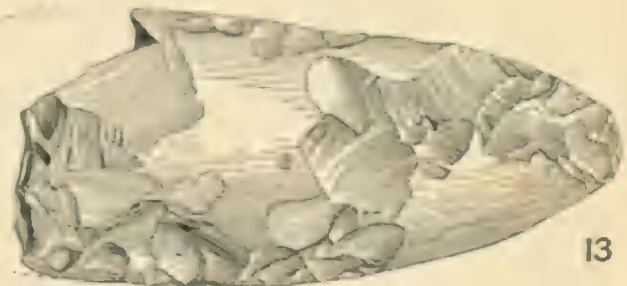
8



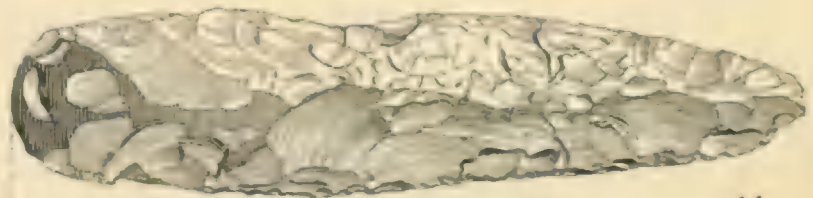
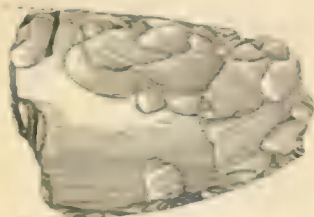
12



10



13



14



11



FIG. 39. Flint axes ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 166

been broken (with a hinge fracture) possibly at the point where it was gripped by the handle.

11. The damaged butt-end of a polished flint axe from the same level as 10. The chipping is mostly prior to the polishing.

12. Butt-end of a flint axe very much damaged, polished over chipping. Found with Neolithic A and B pottery in the central filling of the town ditch at the eastern entrance.¹

13. Part of a polished axe, the chipping prior to polishing. Surface almost destroyed by fire crackling. Found with mixed Neolithic A and B pottery in the filling of the neolithic town ditch on site R.

14. Adze partly polished on upper surface, from the same layer as no. 5.

Fig. 40

This figure illustrates mainly unpolished flint axes from Neolithic A horizons. The cutting-edge is liable to be nearer one plane than the other, and it is sometimes doubtful whether the term 'axe' or 'adze' is preferable. Several were unfinished specimens, and all were heavily patinated.

15. Adze partly polished, from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

16. Adze partly polished with piece of cortex still adhering to the edge. From a Neolithic A pit under the Long Mound and therefore prior to the last phase of Neolithic A.

17. Axe, broken perhaps in manufacture, from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

18. Adze, unfinished, from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

19. Fabricator, from beneath the Long Mound and therefore prior to the last phase of Neolithic A.

20. Axe, broken during manufacture, from a Neolithic A pit beneath the Long Mound.

21. Adze, broken, from a Neolithic A pit on site A.

22. Adze, poorly chipped, probably unfinished. Found with mixed Neolithic A and Beaker pottery at the eastern entrance.

Fig. 41

Most of the objects illustrated in this figure are unfinished flint axes or adzes, and are probably wasters from various chipping-floors.

23. Adze, very much blunted through use, with large portions of cortex still adhering to surface. From a late Neolithic A stratum at the eastern entrance.

24. Unfinished adze, from a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

25. Unfinished adze, with cortex covering large areas of its surface. From a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

26. Butt of an unfinished axe from a Neolithic B deposit at the eastern entrance.

¹ Cf. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxvii (1936), fig. 32, Whitehawk Camp.

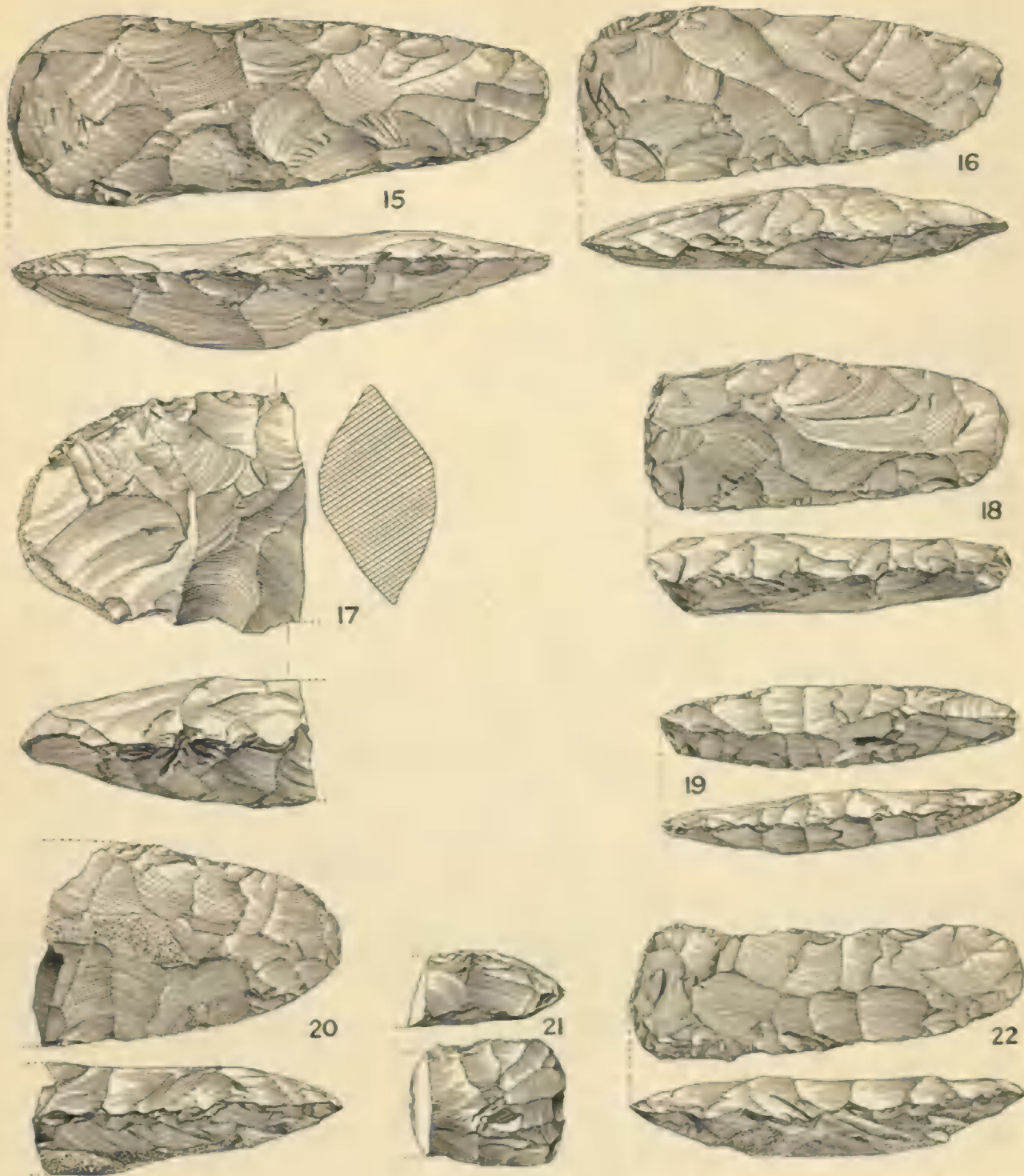


FIG. 40. Flint axes ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 168

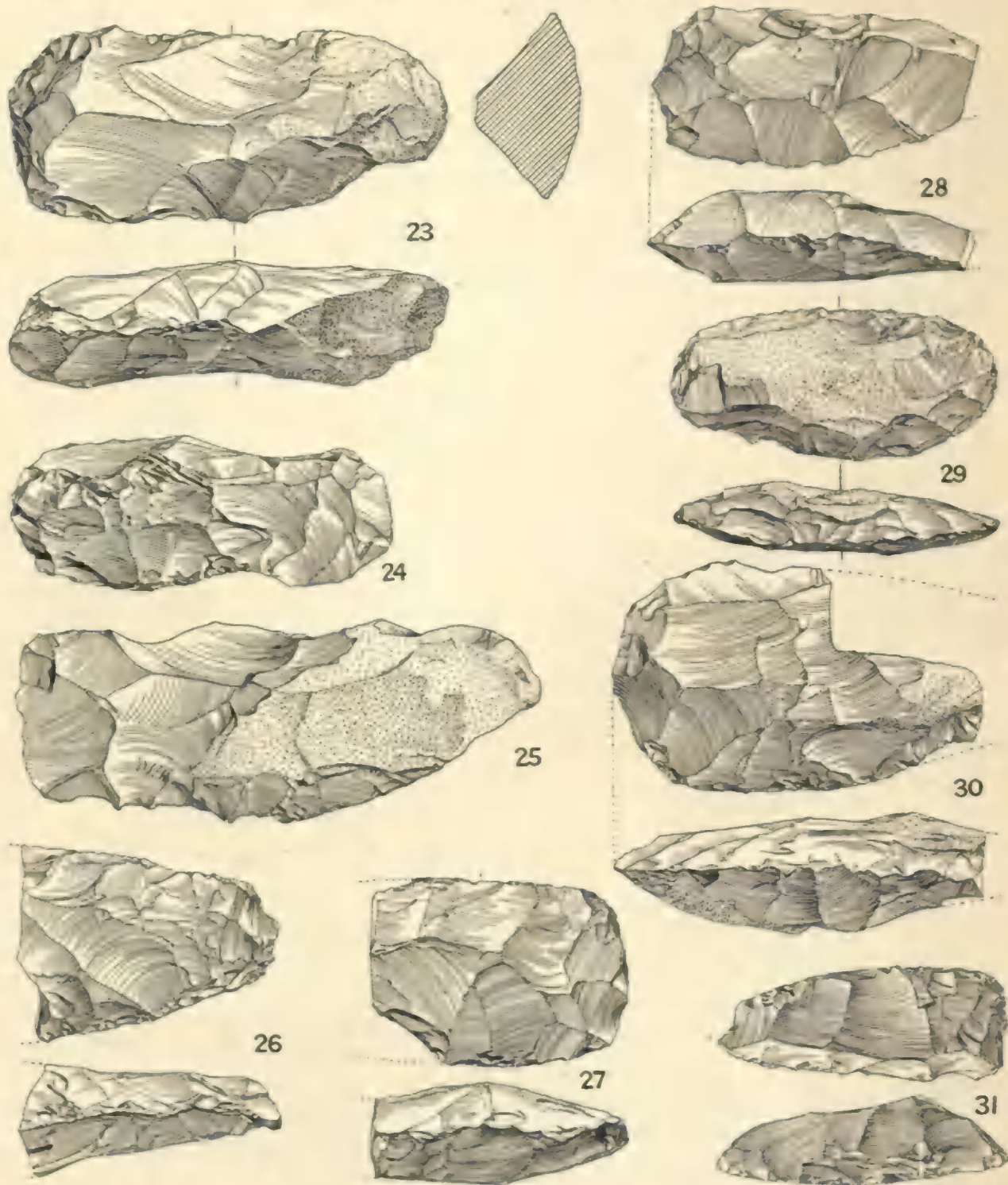


FIG. 41. Flint axes and adzes (1) See p. 168.

27. Butt of unfinished flint axe, broken probably during manufacture. From a Neolithic B stratum, in the upper filling of the main neolithic town ditch under the Iron Age rampart on site A.

28. Unfinished adze, from a pit on site Q containing mixed Neolithic A and B.

29. Adze patinated greyish-white, with a large portion of cortex adhering to the upper face. This shows signs of having been rechipped at one side. From a late Neolithic A level at the eastern entrance.

30. Flint axe broken during manufacture, from a Neolithic B deposit in the inner neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

31. *Lame de dégagement*, from the latest Neolithic A deposit in the ditch of the Long Mound. This layer was immediately succeeded by layers containing Neolithic B sherds.

Fig. 42

Arrow-heads

Of flint patinated grey to white, except for two almost transparent specimens (nos. 33 and 39). The arrow-heads are mainly leaf-shaped and show remarkably finely controlled pressure-flaking.

32. Lozenge-shaped arrow-head¹ with butt broken off, well flaked over both faces, of grey-blue flint. From the Neolithic A level in the inner neolithic town ditch under the eastern entrance.

33. Oval arrow-head, flaked on both faces. From the filling of the Neolithic A town ditch beneath the Long Mound, and therefore of relatively early date.

34. Oval arrow-head carefully flaked on both faces, of semi-translucent flint. Unstratified, from site E in an Iron Age horizon.

35. Leaf-shaped arrow-head. From the rapid silt of the inner Neolithic town ditch and therefore early Neolithic A, from site K.

36. Leaf-shaped arrow-head of almost white patinated flint broken in manufacture, the point ending in a hinge fracture. From the same neolithic level as no. 33.

37. Willow-leaf, unstratified. From the eastern entrance.

38. Leaf-shaped arrow-head,² with tip broken, heat-fractured probably from hearth, butt more rounded than usual. From the make-up of the Long Mound (Neolithic A).

39. Lozenge-shaped arrow-head, finely flaked on both faces, transparent greyish flint. From the make-up of the Long Mound (Neolithic A).

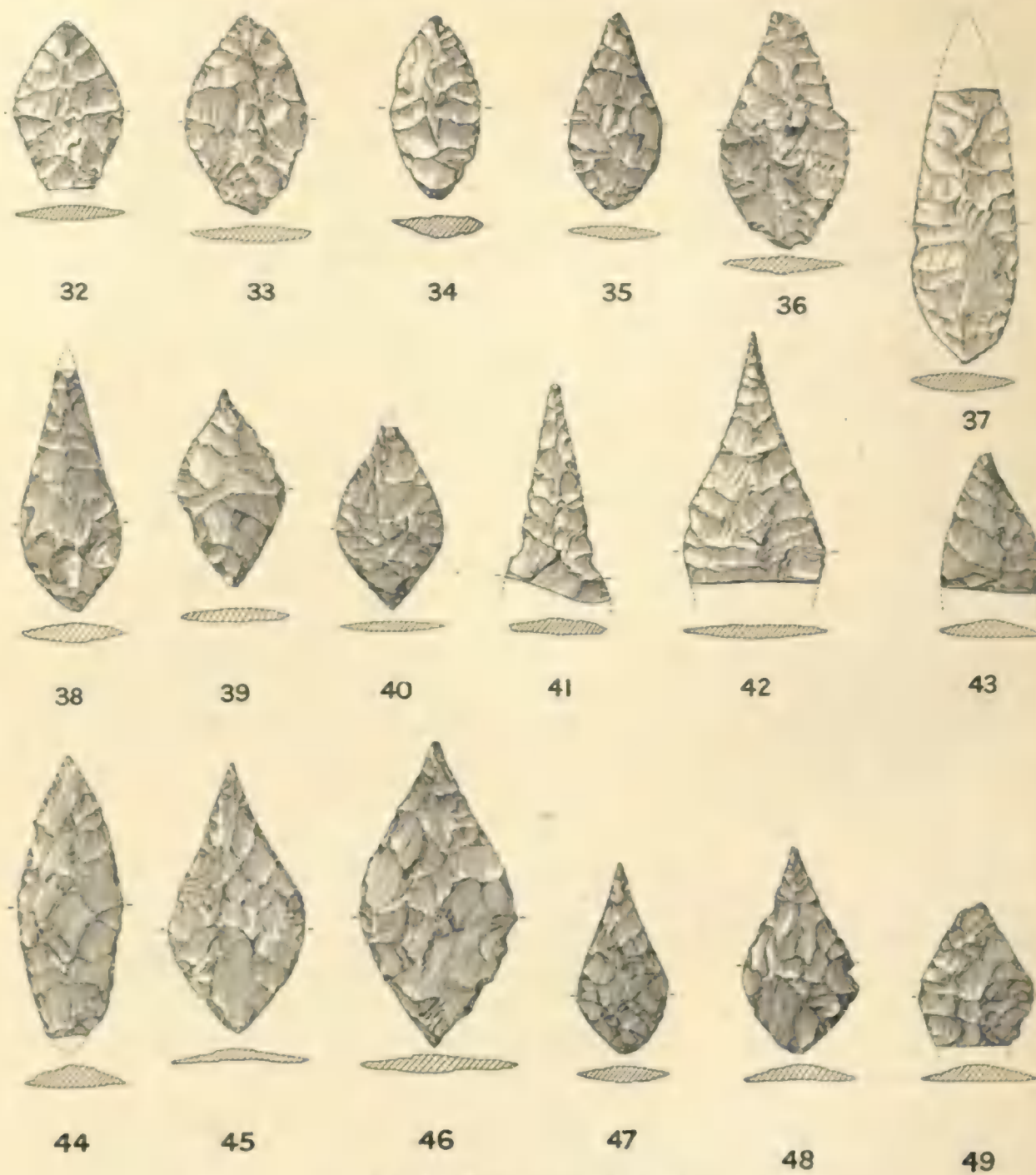
40. Lozenge-shaped arrow-head beautifully worked, patinated white. From a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

41. Tip of birch-leaf arrow-head, tapering to a thin point and finely worked on both faces. From a Neolithic A level at the eastern entrance.

42. Broken birch-leaf arrow-head of opaque creamy flint, finely worked over both faces and tapering to a point. From a Neolithic A level at the eastern entrance.

¹ Cf. *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1932), pl. xxii, 1,000.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxii, 879.

FIG. 42. Flint arrow-heads ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 171

43. Broken arrow-head, tip only remaining. From the make-up of the Long Mound (Neolithic A).

44. Elongated willow-leaf arrow-head worked mainly on the upper face, except for the tip, which is worked on both sides. Butt end broken. From the make-up of the Long Mound (Neolithic A).

45. Birch-leaf arrow-head, with triangular butt. From the make-up of the Long Mound (Neolithic A).

46. Laurel-leaf arrow-head, with triangular butt. From the same level as no. 45.

47. Birch-leaf arrow-head, with rounded butt. From the same level as no. 45.

48. Birch-leaf arrow-head, with triangular butt. From a Neolithic A level at the eastern entrance.

49. Leaf-shaped arrow-head. From a Neolithic A and B level in the filling of the neolithic town ditch, on site R.

Fig. 43

The arrow-heads illustrated in this figure are mainly from Neolithic B levels, except one barbed and tanged specimen derived appropriately from a Bronze Age layer.

50. Broken leaf-shaped arrow-head with butt-end missing. Found in a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance; the pit contained a 'bugle' handle.

51. Willow-leaf arrow-head, from a mixed A and B level in the neolithic town ditch on site R.

52. Broken birch-leaf arrow-head, point only remaining. From a neolithic chipping-floor at the eastern entrance.¹

53. Small birch-leaf arrow-head, very fine flat retouch on under-surface, from the same level as no. 52.

54-8. Are variant forms of the type which Dr. Grahame Clark has described as *petits tranchets*.²

54. *Petit tranchet* derivative of Clark's type D. In grey chert with abraded edge and semi-steep retouch on remaining two sides. From a neolithic chipping-floor at the eastern entrance.

55. Broken *petit tranchet* derivative of type D, with abraded edge and butt missing. From a mixed Neolithic A and B level in the filling of the ditch of the Long Mound.

56. *Petit tranchet* derivative of type F. Semi-steep retouch on both faces, with slightly abraded cutting edge. From an unstratified deposit at the eastern entrance.

57. *Petit tranchet* derivative of type F, from the Neolithic B filling of the neolithic town ditch under the Iron Age rampart on site A.

58-9. These two are here classified as *petit tranchet* types, but they tend to resemble in form hollow-based points.

58. *Petit tranchet* derivative of type F or I, with steep retouch on upper surface only. From a pit containing mixed Neolithic A and Beaker pottery at the eastern entrance.

¹ Devoid of pottery, but probably Neolithic B.

² *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), pp. 32 ff.

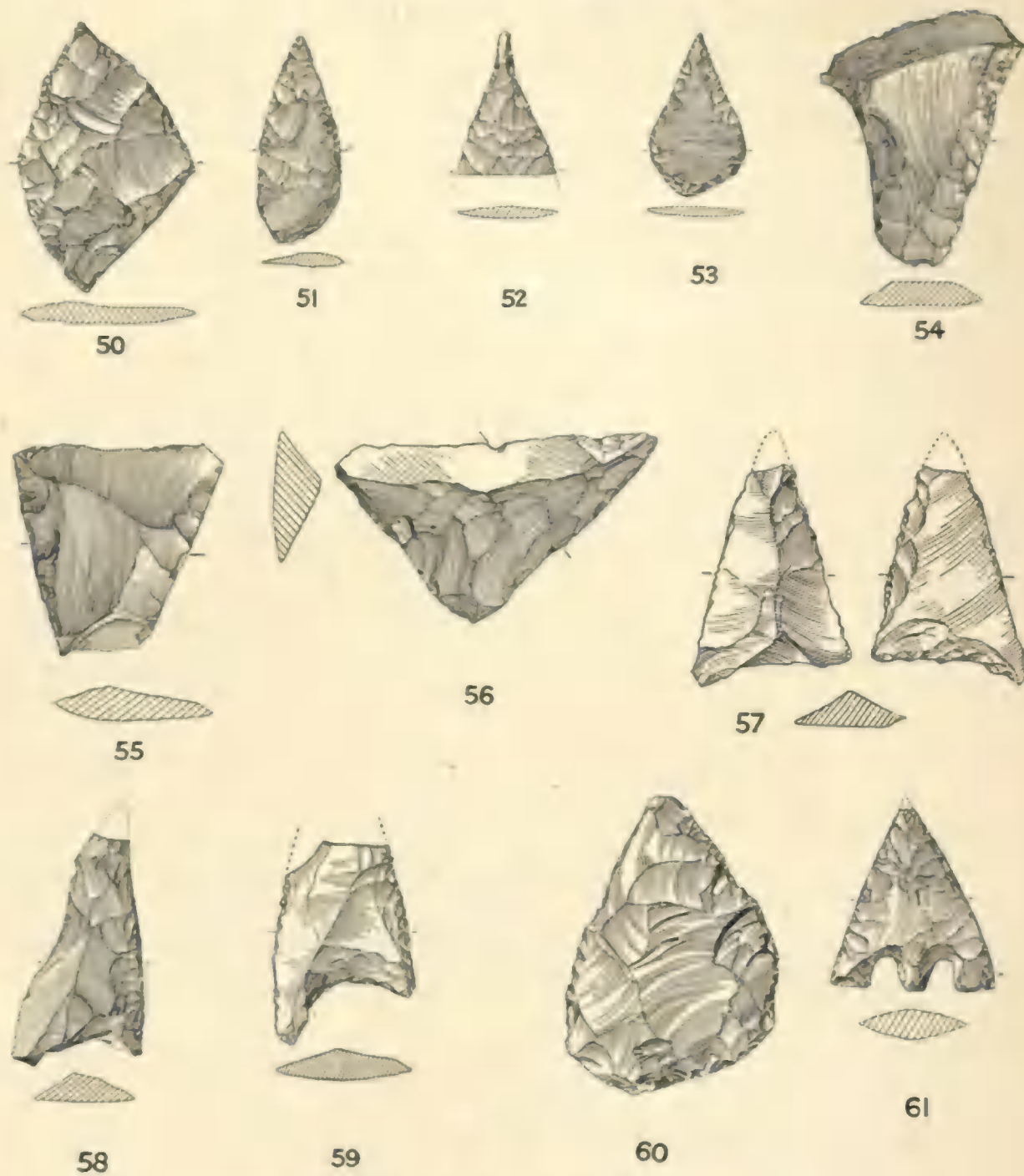


FIG. 43. Flint arrow-heads (1)

See p. 173

59. Broken *petit tranchet* derivative of type H. From an Iron Age level at the eastern entrance, at a point where the Iron Age roadway is cut through the neolithic town ditch.

60. Javelin-head roughly flaked. This strongly resembles similar implements found at Hembury,¹ and there are several others of the same type found at Maiden Castle. From a Neolithic A stratum at the eastern entrance.

61. Barbed and tanged flint arrow-head. Finely flaked over both faces, and patinated white. The only example of this type found at Maiden Castle, and derived appropriately from a Beaker layer in the upper filling of the northern ditch of the Long Mound.

Fig. 44

This figure illustrates a collection of flint scrapers representative of a large number found at Maiden Castle. Scrapers of these types occurred both in neolithic and in Iron Age deposits. In the latter case some, perhaps many, are probably derivative, but their frequent presence, together with the absence of other neolithic types such as axes, suggests the continued use and probable manufacture of scrapers throughout the Iron Age. These scrapers are nearly all made upon flakes: one of the most common forms is the round-end scraper, which has a retouch not only at the end but extending along the greater part of the edge, though it lacks a complete marginal retouch.

62. Round-end scraper patinated whitish-blue, steeply flaked on upper face only. From a Neolithic A pit at the eastern entrance.

63. Round scraper with marginal retouch, large portion of cortex remaining. From the same level as no. 62.

64. Round-end scraper patinated greyish-white and with marginal retouch on three edges. From the same level as no. 62.

65. Small round-end scraper with steep retouch. From the filling of the Neolithic A town ditch under the Long Mound.

66. End-scraper with poor nibbling retouch. From the same level as no. 65.

67. Scraper, much weathered, with battered scraping-edge. From a neolithic working-floor (probably Neolithic A but devoid of associated pottery) under the front of the Iron Age rampart on site E.

68. End-scraper with poor retouch. Made on a flake. From a mixed Neolithic B and Beaker layer in the upper filling of the neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

69. Side end-scraper, patinated white. From the same level as 67. Resembles a scraper from Hembury.²

70. Scraper worked on one side only. From a Neolithic A level in the filling of the neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

71. End-scraper, poor workmanship. From the filling of the Neolithic A town ditch under the Long Mound.

72. End-scraper roughly chipped. From a Neolithic B level in the neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

¹ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1932), pl. xix, no. 856.

² *Ibid.* (1931), pl. xxi, 286.

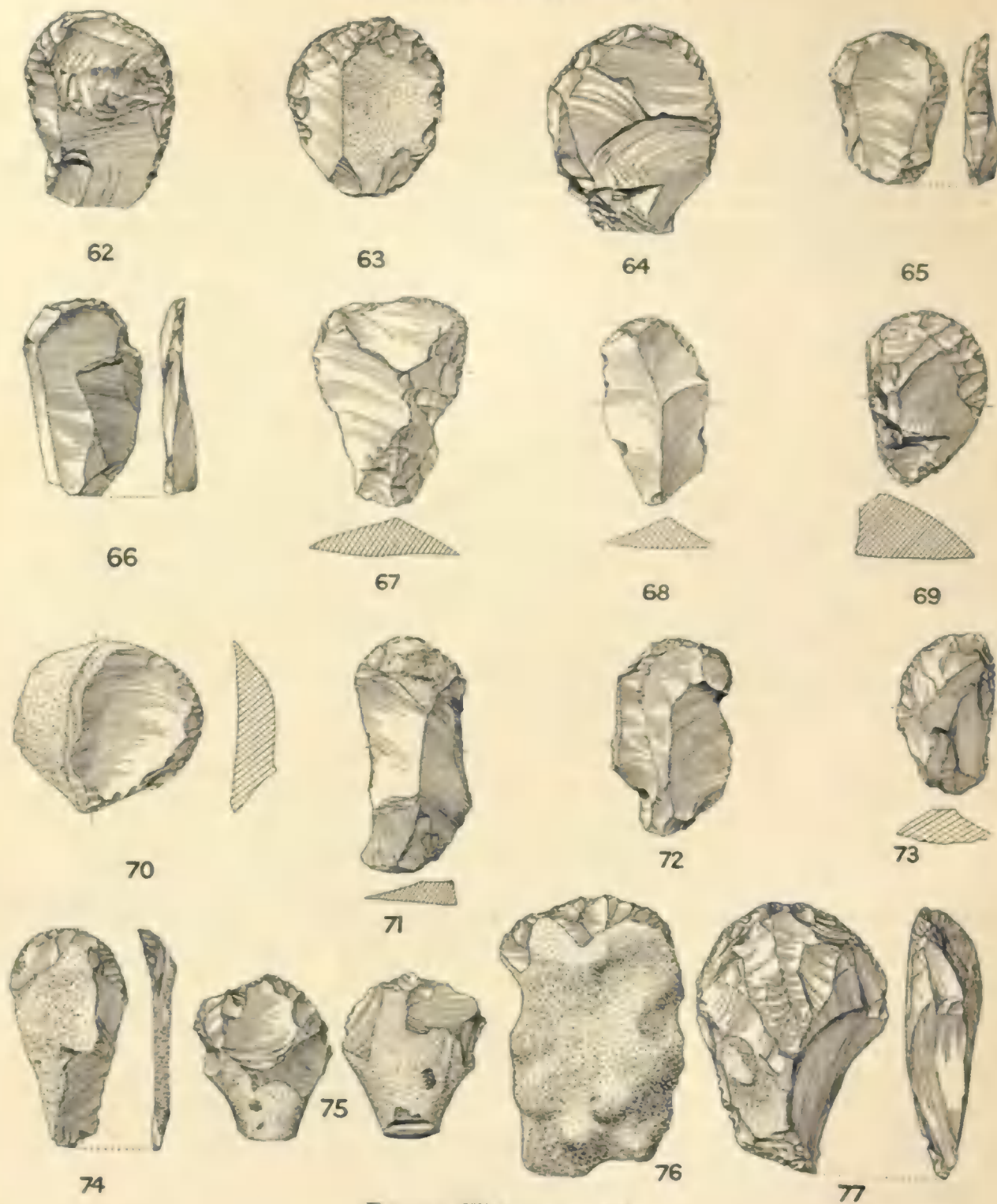


FIG. 44. Flint scrapers ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 175

73. Side end-scraper, worked on both faces and with blunted edge. From the mixed Neolithic B and Beaker top-filling of the neolithic town ditch at the eastern entrance.

74. End-scraper with shallow scale-flaking, patinated whitish-grey, from the same level as no. 68.

The last three implements illustrated are rough choppers or cleavers from neolithic levels at Maiden Castle, all of which are much abraded with use.

75. Rough flint chopper, butt broken with hinge fracture. From the upper filling of the neolithic town ditch on site A. Neolithic B or Beaker period. Similar to an implement from Whitehawk.¹

76. Rough chopper, with the major portion of the cortex still remaining. Patinated greyish-blue with a battered cutting-edge. From the neolithic working-floor under the Iron Age rampart on site E.

77. Broken chopper with very bruised cutting-edge, both surfaces partly flaked. From a mixed A and B level in the town ditch at the eastern entrance.

Fig. 45

Miscellaneous implements, the first eleven being scrapers of various kinds, which were by far the most numerous category at Maiden Castle. The examples are all from Neolithic A levels. The figure also includes two waisted flint scrapers of unusual type, and two Bronze Age plano-convex knives.

78. Round end-scraper, poorly flaked with large portion of cortex adhering to surface. From a Neolithic A level on site A.

79. Roughly made steep end-scraper with fluting running up one side of the ridge. From the neolithic town ditch under the Long Mound.

80. Round scraper, with cortex still adhering to it, finely flaked all round. From the same level as no. 78.

81. End-scraper worked along three sides. From a late Neolithic A-B level on site A.

82. Scraper from the Neolithic B filling of the town ditch.

83. Wide end-scraper, the edge toughened between twin cutting-edges. This is an unusual shape and does not conform to any scraper type. From a mixed Neolithic A and B level in the same ditch as no. 73.

84. End-scraper. From same level as no. 82.

85. Small steep side-scraper of whitish flint, steeply retouched on three sides. From the neolithic working-floor on site E. Probably Neolithic A.

86. Round scraper, from the Beaker level in the filling of the neolithic town ditch on site A.

87. Side-scraper, carefully retouched along one edge and on upper face rising steeply to a keel.² Mottled grey patination. From the same level as no. 85.

88. Rough flint scraper, with hollowed cutting-edge. From same level as no. 85.

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxi (1930), 73, no. 4.

² Cf. *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1931), pl. xxxi, 286.

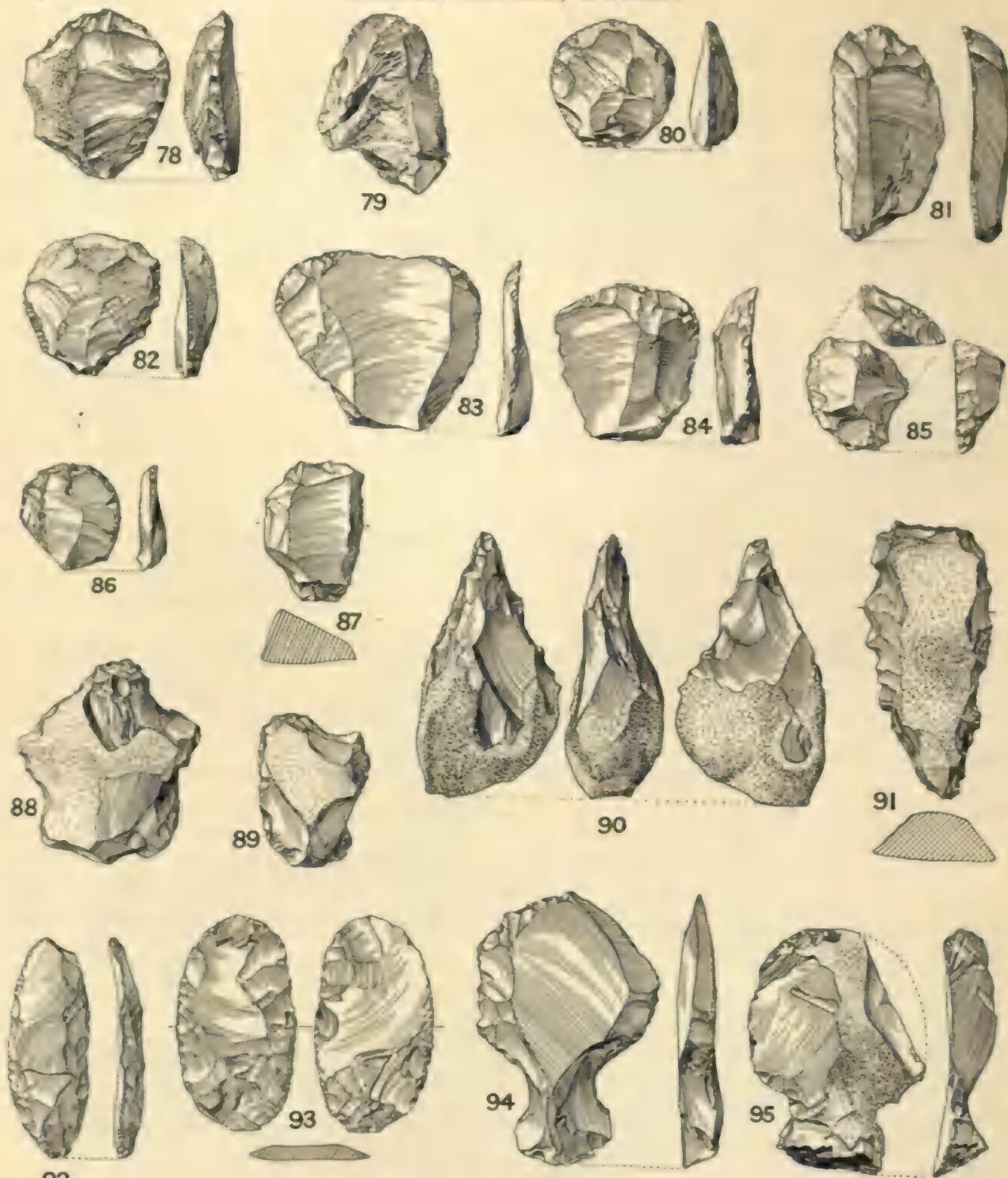


FIG. 45. Flint scrapers and knives (1)
See p. 177

89. Hollow scraper with large portion of cortex still adhering to it. From the same level as no. 85.

90. Pointed implement made from a nodule of flint, with cortex retained to cover the hand-grip, worked on both faces to a rough point, of unpatinated flint. A similar implement was found at the Trundle.¹ From the same level as no. 85.

91. Flake struck off a cortex nodule with very battered retouch on sides, the end abraded through use. From the Neolithic A filling of the neolithic town ditch under the Long Mound.

92. Plano-convex flint knife on a concave flake, with flat pressure-retouch, mostly on the upper face. Slightly worked on bulbar face. Patinated grey-blue. From the Neolithic A filling in the neolithic town ditch under the Iron Age rampart at the eastern entrance. The early context of this knife is noteworthy.

93. Small ovate implement with fine controlled flaking on both faces, the bulb having been removed. This resembles two pointed ovate forms found at Abingdon in a Neolithic B level.² It occurs at Maiden Castle in the Beaker level in the neolithic ditch on site A.

94-5. These are unusual implements and were probably notched for binding. They show practically no retouch on the cutting-edge, but are both broken. From Neolithic B levels in the ditch of the Long Mound.

Fig. 46

There was a large number of flakes at Maiden Castle which were of no particular shape but had been utilized and in some cases exhibited signs of secondary working.

96. Flint flake with bevelled edge, patinated grey. From a layer containing both Neolithic A and B sherds at the eastern entrance.

97. Flake with similar working along both edges ending in a hinge fracture. From a layer containing Neolithic A, B, and Beaker pottery at the eastern entrance.

98. Utilized flake with serrated edge. From the same level as no. 97.

Fig. 47

99. Flint flake with one edge retouched. From a Neolithic B level on site A.

100. Similar bevelled flint flake. From a Neolithic A pit on site A.

Fig. 48

OBJECTS OF BONE AND HORN

1-2. Bone points from the filling of the inner neolithic ditch under the Iron Age rampart on site A. These points came from the middle filling of the ditch, which here produced only Neolithic A pottery but is elsewhere diluted with some B. Similar bone points are not uncommon on neolithic sites: e.g. Whitehawk Camp.³

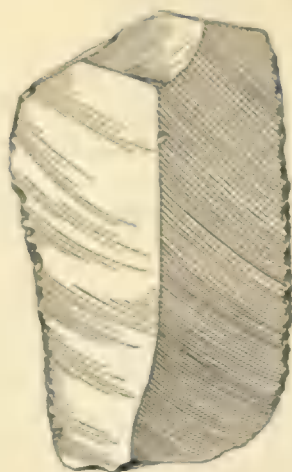
¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxii (1931), pl. xii, 26.

² *Antiq. Journ.* vii (1927), p. 448.

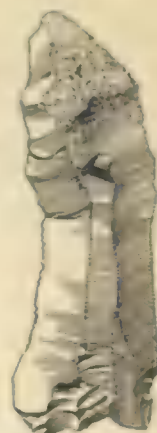
³ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxi (1930), 75, nos. 15-18.



96



97

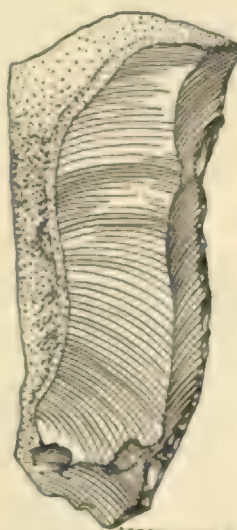


98

FIG. 46. Saw-edged implements ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 179



99



100



0
1
2
INS.

FIG. 47. Saw-edged implements ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 179

3. Worn comb of red deer-horn from a Neolithic A deposit at the eastern entrance: the only representative from Maiden Castle of this distinctive type of comb, found elsewhere (Windmill Hill, Wilts.; Abingdon, Berkshire, etc.) with Neolithic A cultures.

CHALK FIGURINE

Plate xxv and Fig. 49

In some respects the most remarkable object recovered from Maiden Castle was a

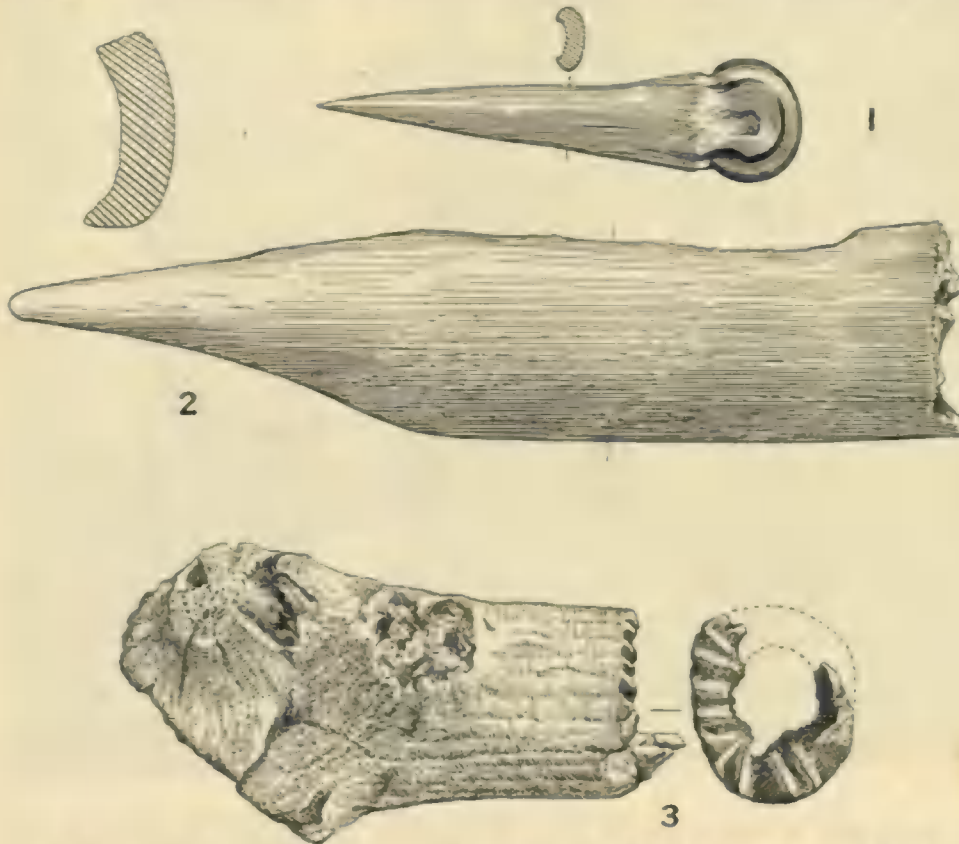


FIG. 48. 1, 2, neolithic bone points ($\frac{1}{4}$); 3, neolithic antler comb ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 179

fragmentary chalk figurine, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, which was found in a Neolithic A pit (T 1) within the outworks of the Iron Age eastern entrance. The body is roughly oblong with a hint of a chest and a waist-line; the arms are little more than the rounded angles of the shoulder; the legs are represented by sockets, presumably for wooden limbs; the head was broken from the neck in ancient times, and the most rigorous search failed to reveal it. The separately attached legs appear to be a unique feature, but the figurine forms an interesting and important link with a long line of figurines extending southwards and

eastwards along the Atlantic and Mediterranean fringes of Europe. The figurines are normally termed 'idols', and many or most of them doubtless served a ritual purpose. It is, in any case, impossible now to distinguish in particular instances the ritual idol from the secular doll.

Apart from Maiden Castle, only two sites in Britain have produced neolithic figurines.

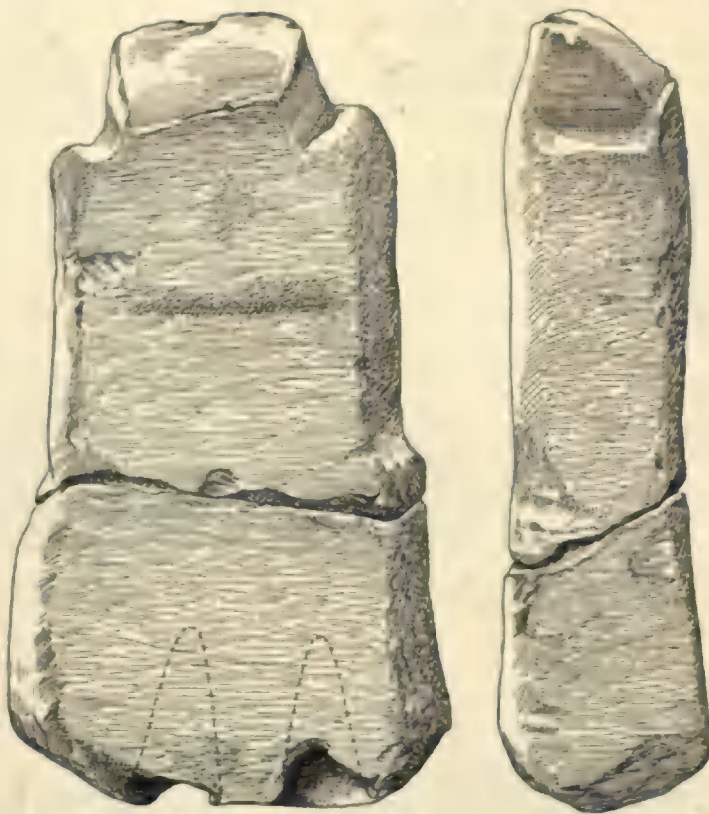


FIG. 49. Neolithic chalk figurine ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 181

A possible example is represented by a fragment of carved chalk from the neolithic settlement on Windmill Hill, Avebury;¹ and Mr. Leslie Armstrong reports the discovery of another in Grimes Graves, Norfolk. Otherwise the nearest analogy is probably the series of clay figurines found in the neolithic settlement of the famous Fort Harrouard, near Sorel-Moussel, Eure-et-Loire; two of these are here reproduced by the courtesy of the Abbé J. Philippe (fig. 50).² Crude though they be, these 'idols' may be accepted as remote witnesses of that maritime trade and interchange which gave a sort of unity to north-western Europe, the Spanish peninsula and Hither Asia in the centuries on either side of 2,000 B.C. What memory of the Asiatic goddess, who appears to be the

¹ I am greatly indebted to Mr. Alexander Keiller for showing me this interesting fragment.

² *Bulletin de la société normande d'études préhistoriques*, xxv (1922-4), 34, and *ibid.*, *Bulletin hors série* (1927), p. 133.



Neolithic chalk figurine: front, back, and sockets for legs
See p. 181

prototype and begetter of the series,¹ remained to the craftsman of the Maiden Castle doll is less certain.

CHALK 'LOOM-WEIGHTS'

Fragments of four rough slabs of chalk with hacked hour-glass perforations were found in neolithic deposits. The example illustrated (fig. 51) is from a Neolithic A level in the neolithic town ditch. Another was derived from a mixed Neolithic A and B level near by; whilst fragments of two more were found in the make-up of the Long Mound

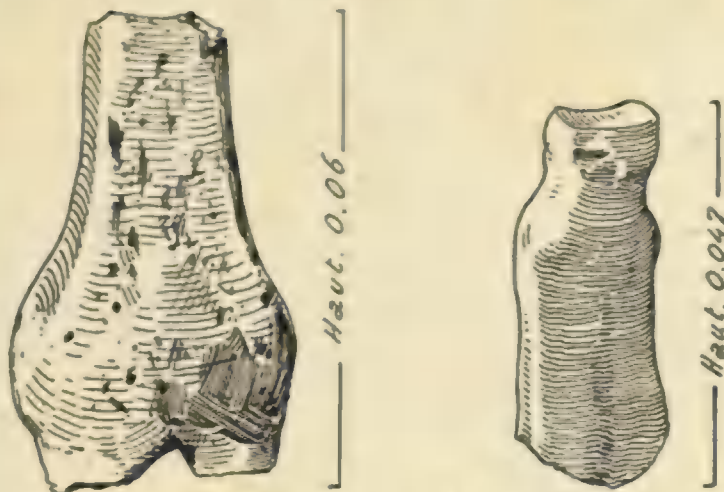


FIG. 50. Neolithic Clay Figurines from Fort Harrouard

(Neolithic A). These objects may well have served the purpose of loom-weights. Somewhat similar slabs of chalk, sometimes of smaller size, were found at Whitehawk.²

QUERNS

See below, p. 321.

SHALE (Fig. 52)

Three pieces of Kimmeridge shale came from neolithic levels at Maiden Castle, but only one of these was undoubtedly worked. This came from a Neolithic A pit (T7).

It is apparently an unfinished bead and measures 2.2 in. by 1.1 in. by 0.9 in. It is roughly oval in long section and square in cross section, and has at each narrow end a hole which may represent the beginning of an attempted perforation.

The following neolithic beads made of material resembling Kimmeridge shale have been found in the south-west of England:

Notgrove Long Barrow, Glos.

E. M. Clifford, *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi (1936), 'Kimmeridge Shale Bead', p. 146, fig. 6.

¹ See Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* i, 594 ff.; V. Gordon Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* (1st ed.), p. 24.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (1934), p. 132; and *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxi (1930), p. 78.

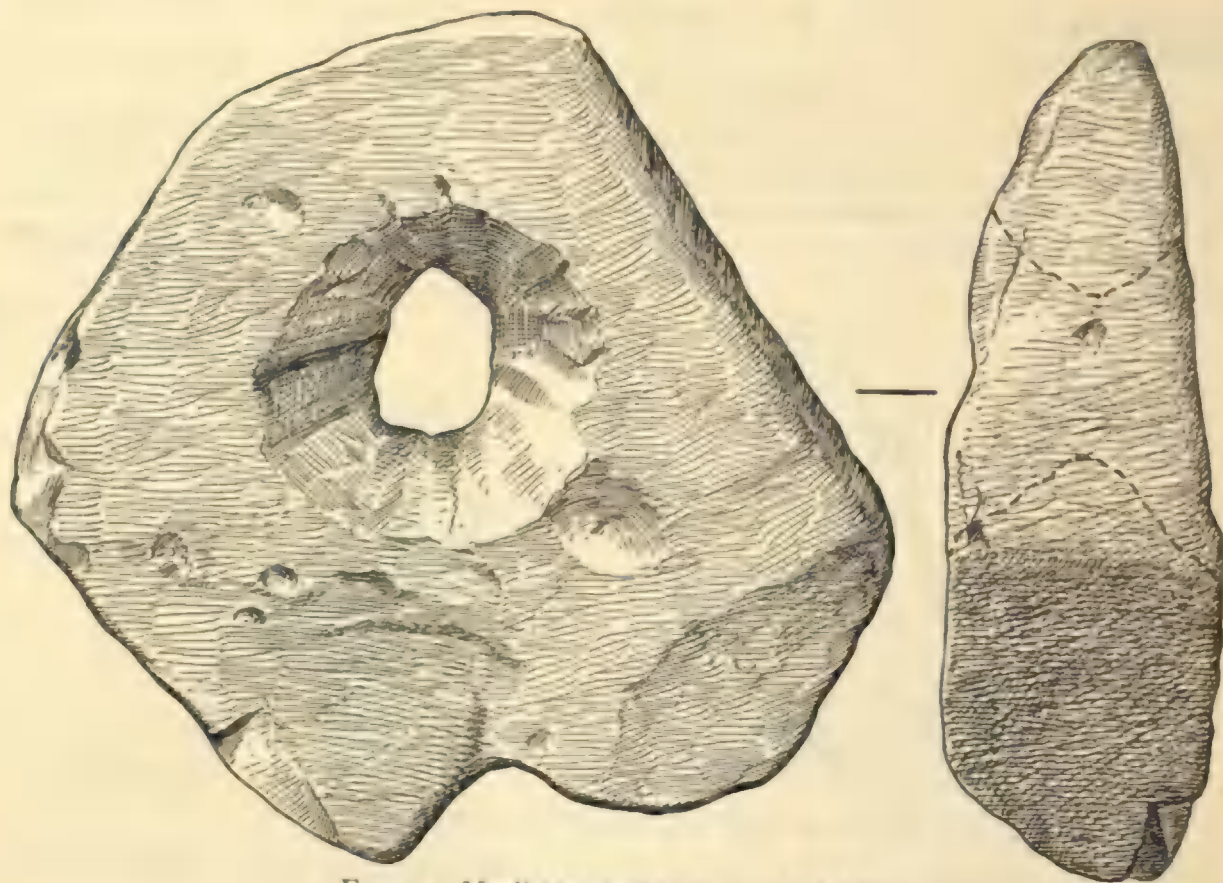


FIG. 51. Neolithic chalk 'loom-weight' ($\frac{3}{8}$)
See p. 183

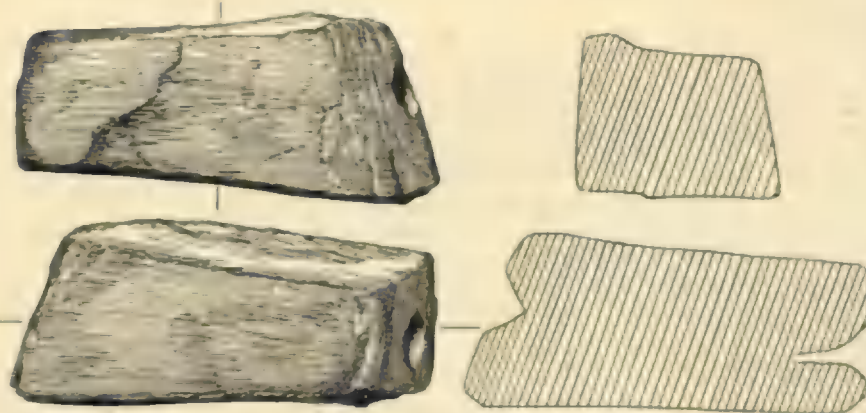


FIG. 52. Unfinished shale bead, neolithic ($\frac{1}{1}$)
See p. 183

Eyford Long Barrow, Glos.

From cist E; see O. G. S. Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds* (1925), pp. 94-7. A bead of similar type to that from Notgrove.

Windmill Hill, Wilts.

Unpublished. From Middle Ditch X. Half a bead of shale or jet. Information from Mr. Stuart Piggott.

Hembury Fort, Devon.

D. Liddell, *Devon Arch. Expl. Soc., Hembury Report* (1932), p. 180, pl. xvi. Part of a bead similar to but larger than the Windmill Hill example.

GRAIN

See below, p. 374.

HAZEL NUTS

In pit A23 on site A a number of burnt hazel nutshells (*Corylus avellana*) were found with Neolithic A pottery and two flint axes or adzes. Similar nuts were discovered in a neolithic cooking-pit at Hembury.¹

MARINE AND LAND SHELLS

See below, p. 372.

BONES

For human and animal remains of the neolithic period, see below, pp. 343 and 360.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

The only relic referable to the Middle Bronze Age is a damaged bronze lance-head with side-loops on the socket (fig. 53). See above, p. 24.

EARLY IRON AGE

THE POTTERY

The post-Beaker pottery from Maiden Castle falls into four main groups: Iron Age A, Iron Age B, Iron Age C (Belgic), and Roman. The illustration of these groups is preceded by a brief discussion of their general characters and relationships.

1. EARLY IRON AGE A POTTERY

The pottery which forms the distinctive feature of the Early Iron Age culture classified by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes as 'Iron Age A' may be described alternatively as 'ultimate Hallstatt'. Its dominant type is derived from the Hallstatt shouldered situla (fig. 61), which undergoes a process of degradation, the shoulder gradually devolving into a merely

¹ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1932), p. 180.

amorphous enlargement of the girth below the lip. Its principal subordinate types are small bowls of varying form which, in Wessex, are commonly given a red coating by the application of a haematite slip. The use of haematite is extended to large, coarse but friable vessels, whose form is rarely recoverable.

Even in so circumscribed a region as western Hampshire, south-western Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and eastern Devon—the region which in this Report is conveniently, if incorrectly, called ‘Wessex’—this Iron Age A pottery is beginning to fall into local groups which it is not easy to correlate with one another. It is evident that they are



FIG. 53. Middle Bronze Age spear-head from Site L (†)

See pp. 24 and 185

not all of equal antiquity, and it is possible here and there to detect earlier and later elements; but a provisional attempt made by the present writer in the interim reports on Maiden Castle to isolate successive A₁ and A₂ sub-groups in Wessex is, on further reflection, too drastic an attempt to simplify the complex (see above, p. 30). There can be no doubt that our Iron Age A ceramic represents the percolation, into various parts of southern and eastern Britain, of various population-units differing alike in their points of departure and in the moments of arrival and—what is not less important—in the period of their subsequent dominance or survival in their new homes. As in the case of Iron Age B (see below), the only safe general classification of Iron Age A in Britain is on a geographical, not a chronological, basis.

Chronologically, one generalization is possible, however, within the Iron Age A period: the period of immigration seems in certain regions (including Wessex) to have been followed by a period of isolation and devolution, varying in character in different localities but in all or most of them providing a lull before the further phase of unsettlement which resulted in the influx or upgrowth of Iron Age B. This period of ‘A stagnation’ was an important one positively as well as negatively: positively, it represented a period of relatively peaceful agricultural settlement and an increasing population, whilst negatively it lacked the stimuli required to maintain and develop a lively craftsmanship even of peasant grade. The enlargement of Maiden Castle in this phase illustrates the former process; the latter is eloquently represented by the degraded pottery, which there reflects the corresponding material culture. Other aspects of this detached provincialism will be discussed below (pp. 251, 269, 381).

It has already been remarked that the Iron Age A pottery of Maiden Castle falls into two main categories, situlate jars and small bowls. The former may be described as the common denominator of our British Iron Age A. Its typological development is simple: as already remarked, it begins with more or less exact copies of the angular metallic situlae of the Hallstatt world, and it gradually loses its angularity and precision in favour of a round, drooping shoulder which itself sometimes dwindles to vanishing-point. Unfortunately, this process of devolution follows no constant time-scale. Examples at the classic site of All Cannings Cross in Wiltshire retain the sharp metallic profile and may be early (c. 400 B.C.), but other examples in Oxfordshire and south-eastern England may well have retained a considerable angularity until the first century B.C., whilst at Maiden Castle, which is unlikely to have begun later than the beginning of the third century B.C. (see above, p. 31, and below, p. 354), true angularity is the rare exception.

No attempt is therefore made here to regard the main All Cannings Cross culture as chronologically the 'A1' of the Wessex group, with the more devolved Maiden Castle A as representative of 'A2'. Nevertheless, there are further features of the All Cannings Cross pottery which seem to give it priority; notably, the use of finger-tip or finger-nail impressions as ornament round the shoulder and sometimes round the rim of the situlate jars. This feature is to be regarded as a link with the Late Bronze Age or transitional ceramic, and its almost complete absence at Maiden Castle is a point in favour of relative lateness for the A pottery there. Significantly, it lingers sometimes in the closely-related pottery from Swallowcliffe Down, S. Wilts.,¹ where some of the situlate jars retain a more angular and early-looking profile than is observable at Maiden Castle. Elsewhere, in Britain as in Brittany,² there is every likelihood that the occasional use of finger-tip ornament lasted to a relatively late date; only in respect of Wessex is it here claimed as a symptom of relatively early date in the A sequence.

When we leave the widespread situlate type and turn to the small bowls, we abandon the 'common denominator' for a series of distinctive types which form a better index for local grouping. At All Cannings Cross and related sites these bowls are normally coated with red haematite; in type, they are divided into an earlier series, ornamented with horizontal grooves, and a later, ornamented with cordons and, often, with multiple chevrons scratched after firing. Both types of bowl commonly have an omphaloid base, though in some cases the omphalos is represented by a mere 'dishing' of the under surface.

These features are all present in the class A pottery of Hengistbury Head (where the culture was first recognized);³ but, with the exception of a doubtful fragment of a cordoned bowl (below, fig. 56, 4), both types are absent from Maiden Castle and, indeed, from Dorset generally.

¹ R. C. C. Clay, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925-7), 70. (1934), 521 (example ascribed to La Tène III).
Cf. also Fifield Down, *ibid.*

³ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury Head Report* (Soc. Ant.

² e.g. in the Quiberon peninsula, *L'Anthropologie*, xliv Lond., 1915), pp. 30 ff.

On the other hand, small haematite-coated bowls of other types are characteristic of Maiden Castle, particularly in the *earlier* Iron Age A levels. The most notable type, which occurs in devolving variants, has a flaring rim, a carinated or rounded body, and a vestigial-omphalos or 'dished' base (below, fig. 56, 5). Farther east in Dorset other types of haematite-coated bowl occur on Iron Age A sites,¹ and, as observed above, it would appear that the type of bowl provides a more satisfactory basis for local grouping than do the larger and more amorphous jars.

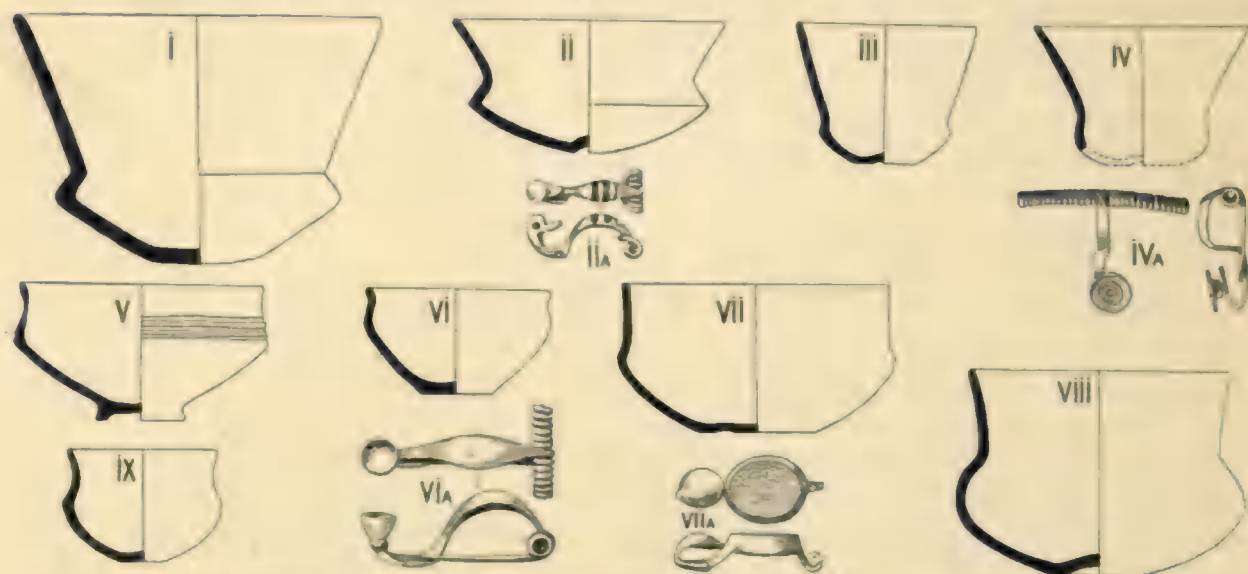


FIG. 54. Bowls and brooches from continental Late Hallstatt sites: bowls, $\frac{1}{2}$; brooches, $\frac{1}{4}$. i, from Baerle-Nassau, N. Brabant (Genootschap Mus.); ii, from Les Jogasses, Marne, grave 106, with iiA, coral-mounted brooch (Épernay); iii, from same, grave 89; iv, from same, grave 168, with ivA, brooch; v, from same, grave 102; vi, from same, grave 179, with viA, brooch; vii, from same, grave 60, with viiA, brooch; viii, from S. Vincent, Luxemburg; ix, from the Bois de Montzéville, Meuse

See pp. 188-9

The continental parentage of our Wessex A culture can only be discussed in a general way until more material is available from northern France. The finger-tip ornament of the situla-urns has already been noted as a Bronze Age 'hang-over' on both sides of the Channel, the situla-type itself lingering far into the La Tène of north-western France. The small bowls are a more difficult problem. Their greater individuality and their more restricted distribution emphasize the general poverty of the French material available for comparison. The *grooved bowls* of All Cannings Cross have partial analogies at Les Jogasses, Marne (e.g. fig. 54, v, from grave no. 102 in the Épernay collection), which link up with other grooved bowls of the Hallstatt tradition from Holland (e.g. Bergeyk, Valkenswaard, Knolt), eastern France (e.g. the Camp d'Affrique, Messein), and the

¹ e.g. Kimmeridge. See *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1936), 210.

Middle Rhine (e.g. Langenlonsheim). The *cordoned bowls* of All Cannings Cross are at present without close continental analogy and are therefore more difficult. It has been suggested that they derived their cordons from Marnian cordoned wares of the Hengistbury class B; but, if they did so, the derivation certainly occurred before their arrival in this country, for the Marnian wares in question are excessively rare in Britain outside Hengistbury, and Hengistbury class B are probably not earlier than c. 100–50 B.C.¹ The chevron-patterns frequently scratched on the red surface of these bowls after firing, in such a manner as to show the underlying yellow clay, are a clear attempt to produce the polychrome effect of certain continental Hallstatt painted wares: e.g. a bowl at Les Jogasses with similar but *painted* yellow chevrons on a red ground (grave no. 19 in the Épernay collection, with a Hallstatt D fibula). The *carinated bowls with flaring rim*, from the early A levels of Maiden Castle, have closer prototypes at Les Jogasses, associated with Hallstatt D or proto-La Tène brooches (notably fig. 54, ii, from grave 106); and the type, usually but not always with an omphalos-base, extends towards the lower and middle Rhine (e.g. from Ryckevorsel, Antwerp, in the Cinquentaenaire at Brussels, and from Baarle-Nassau, Brabant, in the Leiden Museum).² See fig. 54, i.

In the present state of knowledge the famous Hallstatt–La Tène cemetery at Les Jogasses (Marne), 3 miles south-east of Épernay, thus forms a main point of convergence for our Iron Age A on the one hand and the late Hallstatt of the Lower and Middle Rhine on the other. That cemetery, ably excavated by the Abbé P. M. Favret,³ is divided by its excavator into two parts, between which he sees a definite cleavage alike in location and in culture: a late Hallstatt part and a La Tène ('Marnian') part. In detail, it may be questioned whether the cultural cleavage is quite so distinct as the Abbé is inclined to insist that it is. For example, one of his distinctively Marnian types, the bead-rim situla, is itself partly a Hallstatt derivative and, in at least one grave (no. 188, fig. 62, i), is associated with late Hallstatt fibulae, whilst a Hallstatt bowl occurs with a proto-La Tène fibula (grave no. 106, fig. 54, ii). Such interlocking is indeed natural, and a recognition of it need not prevent us from agreeing with the Abbé that the two cultures are, in bulk, essentially successive and distinct from each other. The La Tène or 'Marnian' may be described as the more aristocratic of the two, and its pottery bears more definitely the imprint of metal-craftsmanship—a feature of which more will be said below.

In short, it may reasonably be maintained that Les Jogasses represents the relatively sudden intrusion of a La Tène culture into a late Hallstatt culture, with the general replacement of the latter by the former. The succession of cultures is sufficiently defined to suggest that a great part of the older culture was actually evicted by the newer; and a possible context is thereby provided for the arrival in Britain, shortly after this time, of

¹ Cordoned bowls similar to those of Hengistbury B were found with coins of c. 56 B.C. in the oppidum at Le Petit Celland, Manche, in 1938. See *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 78–9.

² For examples from western Brabant, see J. H. Holwerda,

Nederland's Vroegste Geschiedenis (1925), p. 105, fig. 39.

³ *Revue archéologique*, xxv (1927), 326, and xxvi (1927), 80; and, more recently, *Préhistoire*, v (1936), 24.

bearers of an equivalent late Hallstatt culture, our Iron Age A. On the current dating, the arrival of the La Tène culture in the Marne cannot long have preceded the end of the fifth century B.C., and, on the other hand, a date within the earlier half of the fourth century B.C., for the first arrival of our Iron Age A cannot be lowered materially without unduly congesting the British Iron Age and, above all, without nullifying the established continental dating of brooch types (see p. 251). The synchronism is at least suggestive.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the inferred migrations from the Marne to southern Britain were a direct and simple process. Indeed, it is clear that they were not. There can be no doubt that, when the Seine Inférieure, Calvados, and the Manche are adequately explored, intermediary stations will be identified. It may be anticipated that these intermediary stations will both add to and subtract from the Jogassian culture, or may even provide more direct links with the Rhine. One feature in particular will be explained: the use of red *haematite* colouring which certain of our western Iron Age A pottery exhibits from the moment of the first arrival of the culture on the Hampshire coast. In an Appendix (p. 379) Dr. Kenneth Oakley discusses this feature of the Maiden Castle pottery. Here it will suffice to note that the use of haematite in southern Britain bears no relation geographically to the natural distribution of the raw material, and it is therefore from the outset a purely cultural phenomenon. It was clearly a part of the equipment of the first bringers of our Iron Age A in this region. Aesthetically, it continued the tradition of the red-painted wares of Hallstatt Europe. As a process, however, it had undoubtedly been invented or popularized in northern France, where the technique can be traced sporadically throughout this period,¹ and may be supposed to have coincided at the outset more closely with the geological distribution of the raw material. Dr. Oakley notes that that distribution includes southern Brittany and western Normandy, whilst deposits of yellow ochre, convertible into red ochre by roasting, occur in the Haute Marne. There, pending further research in those regions of France, the continental aspects of the problem may be left.

In Britain, the pattern made upon the map by the distribution of haematite-ware is significant and useful (fig. 55). It may indeed be regarded as representative of the primary and, to a considerable degree, the secondary distribution of the western branch of the intrusive A culture. Of 73 sites of haematite-ware here listed (p. 192), no fewer than 45 are in Hampshire, Dorset, and Wiltshire. The most easterly outlier is an isolated site on the Kentish coast, and the most northerly (represented by three sherds only) are Radley and Cassington in southern Oxfordshire. It is evident that the Oxfordshire A culture as a whole did not arrive from the south; as at other periods, the upper Thames at the beginning of the Iron Age may have been approached partly from the Thames estuary, more certainly from the direction of the Wash, where a kindred but variant

¹ e.g. on late Bronze Age or Hallstatt pottery from Beg-er-vil (Morbihan) in the Vannes Museum; and on a sherd, identical in fabric with some of the coarser haematite-wares

at Maiden Castle, from the Iron Age cliff-castle, Castel Coz (Finistère), in the Quimper Museum.

branch of the ultimate Hallstatt culture seems to have landed at least as early as the Wessex branch. This wider problem, however, lies outside the present context.



FIG. 55. Distribution of haematite-coated pottery in Britain¹ See p. 190

In summary, then, the Maiden Castle A culture represents a local sub-group in that important Wessex Iron Age A province into which it is convenient to group the main distribution of haematite-coated wares. That province was based primarily upon the harbours of the Hampshire coast. It early extended into central Wiltshire; later, perhaps, it was enlarged by the addition to its western fringe of closely related variants (Maiden Castle, Kimmeridge) which may best be ascribed to minor but independent immigrations.

¹ To the sites represented on this map should be added Epsom, Surrey, Hatford and Rams Hill, Berks., Rockbourne Down and Winklebury, Hants.

If a date be demanded for these western sub-groups, the answer must largely be guess-work. But a few factors help to narrow the issue and are discussed elsewhere in this report (pp. 30 and 251 ff). Briefly they are these. No brooch-form earlier than La Tène I has been found in association with Iron Age A in Britain; therefore, in spite of its Hallstatt derivation, Iron Age A did not reach this country until La Tène I brooches were freely circulating on the Continent. In other words, it did not arrive before the latter part of the fifth century B.C. On the other hand, brooches late in the earliest category of the Viollier-Fox classification are found on British Iron Age A sites; and, since the continental chronology may reasonably be applied fairly closely to the opening phase of the immigrant culture, it may be assumed that Iron Age A reached our shores within measurable distance of the terminal date of the continental brooch-category in question, i.e. c. 400 B.C. On the other hand, La Tène I brooches, once established, seem to have enjoyed a long life in their Iron Age A environment (see pp. 252-3), and the occurrence of an early form on any particular site within the A province is not in itself sound evidence for the early date of *that particular site*. The fact, therefore, that Maiden Castle A has produced a brooch which, on the Viollier dating, might be ascribed to 400 B.C. is not sufficient evidence for ascribing the beginning of Maiden Castle A to that date; and the very devolved character of the situlate pottery from the site is itself in favour of a later beginning. On this admittedly subjective ground, I prefer to regard c. 300 B.C. as representing the more probable initial date.

Maiden Castle A continued into Maiden Castle B, which may safely be said to have arrived in the first half of the first century B.C. (see below, p. 206). In other words, the *floruit* of Maiden Castle A was the third and second centuries B.C.

HAEMATITE WARE

List of sites in Britain (see map, fig. 54)

BERKSHIRE

- Blewburton Hill*. A. Probably quite plentiful. *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 15. Cf. *Trans. Newbury Dist. F.C.* vi, 4 (1933), 219 ff.
Boxford Common. A. *Trans. Newbury Dist. F.C.* vi, 3 (1932), 3 ff.; vi, 4 (1933), 210 ff.
Cherbury Camp. Particulars from Mr. John Bradford. *Oxoniensia*, iv, 15.
Easthampstead, Caesar's Camp. 1 sherd (Mr. Stuart Piggott). *Trans. Newbury Dist. F.C.* vi, 3 (1932), 3 ff.; vi, 4 (1933), 210 ff.
Frilford. A. Fair amount. *Oxoniensia*, iv, 15-19.
Hatford. Unpublished. Ashmolean Museum.
Radley. 2 possible sherds. Noted *Oxoniensia*, iv, 15; cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xi (1931), 402.
Rams Hill. *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 473-5.

DORSET

- Chalbury Camp*. A. Abundant.
Charnel (1 m. W. of Kimmeridge). A. (Mr. W. Friend.) Dorchester Mus.
Encombe (nr. Kingston, Corfe Castle). (Mr. W. Friend.) Dorchester Mus.
Kimmeridge Bay (Gaulter Gap). A. Abundant. Dorchester Mus. B.M., Calkin Coll.

- Kinson (Russell Road), Bournemouth.* 1 uncertain sherd. *Proc. Dorset F.C.* liv, 80, fig. 1. In Urnfield.
- Langton Matravers, nr. Swanage.* A. *Proc. Dorset F.C.* lx, 66-72; and unpublished, Calkin Coll.
- Maiden Castle.* A. Abundant.
- Marnhull, nr. Stalbridge.* A. Abundant. (Bean Coll.).
- Newton Herston, nr. Swanage.* A. Calkin Coll.
- Shroton.* A. Dorchester Mus.
- Sleight, Corfe Mullen.* A. Not abundant. Calkin Coll.
- Strouden Farm, nr. Bournemouth.* A. 2 sherds. Calkin Coll.

HAMPSHIRE

- Bournemouth, Romney Road, Ensbury Park.* A. Calkin Coll.
- Bury Hill, Upper Clatford.* A. Not abundant = Camp I (excav. 1939). *Proc. Hants. F.C.* xiv (1940), 3.
- Ellingham, Blashford (Avon valley).* A. 1 sherd only. Calkin Coll.
- Hengistbury Head.* A. Abundant = 'Class A'. Bushe-Fox, *Heng. Rep.* 30 ff.
- Meon Hill, nr. Stockbridge.* A. Fairly abundant. *Proc. H.F.C.* xii, 2 (1933), 149; xiii, 1 (1934), 27 ff.
- Pokesdown, Hill Brow Road.* A. 2-3 sherds of one pot, from an Urnfield site. Druitt Coll.
- Quarley Hill.* A. Abundant considering smallness of occupation. *Proc. H.F.C.* xiv, 2 (1939), 182-6.
- Redenham, nr. Weyhill.* A. *Proc. H.F.C.* ix, 2 (1925), 217-18.
- Rockbourne Down.* 1 sherd only (Mrs. C. M. Piggott).
- St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester.* (i) A. Rare, pre-hillfort. *Proc. H.F.C.* xi (= St. Catharine's Hill), 97-8.
- (ii) A. Rare. *Ibid.* 107-9 (roughly = 1st period of hillfort), E2, 77, 118.
- Stanmore Housing Estate, Winchester.* A. *Proc. H.F.C.* x, 1 (1927), 65.
- Winklebury.* *Proc. H.F.C.* xv (1941), 56.

ISLE OF WIGHT

- St. Lawrence, nr. Ventnor.* 1 small sherd from midden. Mr. G. C. Dunning.

KENT

- Margate.* Sherds of one pot in B.M. Jessup, *Arch. of Kent*, p. 132.
- Worth.* Below Romano-Celtic temple. 2 sherds. *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 82.

OXFORDSHIRE

- Cassington.* 1 sherd only. *Oxoniensia* iv, 59.
- Dorchester, Mount Farm.* 1 sherd only. *Ibid.*

SOMERSET

- Ham Hill.* A. Rare. Taunton Mus.
- Meare Lake-Village.* A. One sherd. Taunton Mus.

SURREY

- Carshalton.* Mr. A. W. G. Lowther.
- Epsom.* Mr. S. S. Frere.
- Farnham.* Mr. A. W. G. Lowther.
- Wisley.* A. (B.M.) *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1922), 42, fig. 5.

SUSSEX

- Angmering*. 1 sherd among a few other Iron Age fragments nr. Roman villa, excavated 1937.
Caburn, nr. Lewes. Rare, and pre-hillfort: A. *S.A.C.* lxxviii (1927), 31; lxxx (1939), 224-8.
Eastbourne. A. *Antiq. Journ.* ii, 354-9; Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, pl. xxvi, 1-2.
High Down, nr. Worthing. A. Secondary in hillfort, excav. 1939. *S.A.C.* lxxxi (1940), 193.
 Dr. A. E. Wilson.
Lancing A. In B.M. Curwen, op. cit., pl. xxvi, 3.
Park Brow. Rare. All A. *Antiq. Journ.* iv, 351-2; *Arch.* lxxvi, 16-18.
The Trundle, Goodwood. Rare. A. *S.A.C.* lxx (1929), 53, pl. x, Nos. 99-100.

WILTSHIRE

- All Cannings Cross*. A. Abundant. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, 149 ff.
Bowerchalke. 1 sherd (Salisbury Mus.) *W.A.M.* xliii, 321; xlvi, 599.
Chisenbury Trench, Enford. A. Fairly abundant. *W.A.M.* xlvi, 2.
Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill. A. *W.A.M.* xxvii, 289; *Devizes Mus. Cat.* ii, (1934), 115.
Fifield Bawant Down. A. Fairly abundant. *W.A.M.* xlii, 473 ff.
Figsbury Rings. A. Fairly abundant. *W.A.M.* xliii, 51.
Harnham Hill. A. Not many. *W.A.M.* xlvi, 518.
Highfield (Fisherton, Salisbury). A-AB. Abundant. *W.A.M.* xlvi, 599-601.
Lidbury Camp. A. Fairly abundant. *W.A.M.* xl, 12 ff.; xlvi, 203.
Liddington Castle. Probably A. *W.A.M.* xxxviii, 576-84.
Oldbury Camp, nr. Cherhill. A. 2 sherds. *Devizes Mus. Cat.* ii (1934), 147.
Oliver's Camp, Bromham, nr. Devizes. A. Rare, sherds under rampart. *Ibid.* 147-8.
Potterne. A, 1 sherd. *Devizes Mus.* *W.A.M.* xlvi, 599.
Swallowcliffe Down. A. Abundant. *W.A.M.* xliii, 70, 73.
Wedhampton. A. 1 sherd. *Devizes Mus.* *W.A.M.* xlvi, 599.
Wilsford Down, nr. Marden. A. Fairly abundant. *Devizes Mus. Cat.* ii (1934), 155.
Woodbury (Briisford parish), Salisbury. (i) Hill-fort 'Great Woodbury': late A: stratified primary silt of ditch. *P.P.S.* vi (1940), 109.
 (ii) Late A. A few sherds = earlier part of occupation of farmstead site adjacent to (i), including House 1 and primary silt of encircling ditch.
Yarnbury Castle. Abundant = primary silt of ditch of inner camp. *W.A.M.* xlvi, 203.

Pottery with Finger-tip Decoration

Fig. 56

1. Sherd of coarse grey pottery with applied band bearing finger-tip ornament. This is the only sherd with applied decoration of this kind from Maiden Castle. It was found immediately overlying the neolithic turf-line at the base of the Iron Age A succession on site L. Stratigraphically, therefore, it may have been lying on the surface at the time of the arrival of Iron Age A, or have been incorporated in the earliest phase of that culture. In any case, it is a vestige of the Late Bronze Age urn-field tradition.

2. Shoulder of a dark grey vessel bearing finger-tip ornament. Found on site Q in identically the same conditions as those of no. 1 above.

3. Fragment of flat-rimmed vessel with finger-tip ornament below the rim. From the make-up of the third and latest phase of the Iron Age A rampart at the eastern entrance. It may be derived, therefore, rather from the middle than the end of

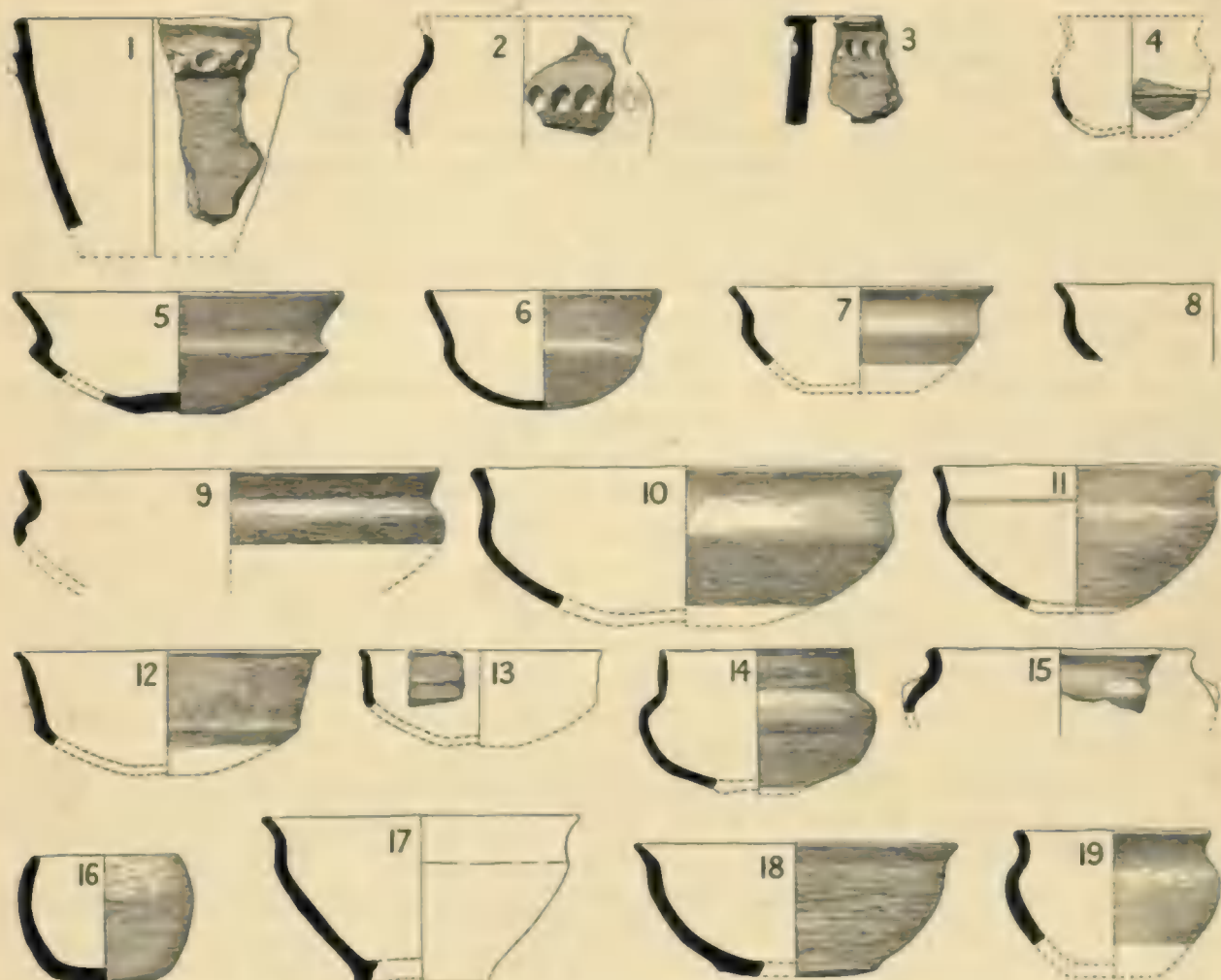


FIG. 56. Iron Age A pottery: 4-15 coated with haematite ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 194

Iron Age A. It occurred in the same layer as the fragment of ornamented coral illustrated in fig. 106, 8, and the haematite bowl, no. 14 below.

Haematite-coated Bowls

Fig. 56

Although the use of a haematite slip is carried forward from Iron Age A through B to C, a series of bowls coated with this material is peculiar to A. They are especially characteristic of the earlier part of A, but they linger sporadically until the close of the phase. Their general affinity with bowls of the latest Hallstatt phase in north-eastern France and western Germany has already been noted (p. 188); and the continental region in

which they are likely to have picked up their haematite technique is also discussed elsewhere (pp. 190 and 380).

4. Small sherd of a cordoned haematite bowl, restored on the lines of the later bowls of the All Cannings Cross culture.¹ This restoration may not be correct; no other cordoned haematite sherd was found at Maiden Castle, and such sherds are absent or extremely rare in Dorset. The present fragment is derived from a pit (B9) which is unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the A period (i.e. c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier).

5. Haematite-coated bowl with flaring rim, sharp carination, and slightly 'dished' or thickened base. This type occurs in occupation-layers associated with the original camp and with the earliest form of the extension; but a slightly 'blunted' and devolved type is found with a La Tène I brooch of phase C of the brooch classification (fig. 81, 3). The latest stratified occurrence is in the occupation-layer on rampart 2-3 of the extension (site H); it died out well before the end of Iron Age A, and belongs mainly to the earliest part of that phase. It may be ascribed approximately to the period extending from the end of the fourth to the end of the third century B.C.

The type is a direct derivative, with vestigial omphalos, from a Jogassian type with true omphalos base dating from the extreme end of the Hallstatt phase (latter half of the fifth century B.C.). The example here illustrated from Les Jogasses (fig. 54, ii) is associated with a late Hallstatt D or proto-La Tène fibula. See also above, p. 189.

In Britain the type is rare; it may be akin to types at All Cannings Cross² and Meon Hill, Hants,³ but the affinity is not close.

6. Haematite-coated bowl with flaring rim, blunt carination, and rounded base. From the earliest Iron Age A level on site L, where all the Maiden Castle phases are well represented. With it was a fragment of a haematite omphaloid base, probably from a bowl of the preceding type, with which the present form has a general affinity, c. 300 B.C. A similar bowl was found in the top level of the silting in the original western ditch (site H) under the material of the first Iron Age A extension-rampart. The type doubtless lasted throughout the third century B.C.

7. Haematite-coated bowl with blunt carination; a more generalized or devolved variant of no. 5, above. This variant is found approximately twice as often as no. 5 and was probably longer-lived, but it first occurs at Maiden Castle nearly, if not quite, as early. The present sherd is from a pit (A18) which may be ascribed to the middle of the A phase, i.e. c. 200 B.C.

8. Haematite-coated bowl similar to the preceding, and from a pit (A15) of similar date.

9. Haematite-coated bowl from a middle Iron Age A group on site D.

10. Haematite-coated bowl from a middle Iron Age A group on site G. Found with a La Tène I brooch of type Ic (fig. 81, 3), c. second century B.C.

11. Haematite-coated bowl of weak outline, probably devolved from nos. 7 and 8.

¹ Cunington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 28, 3-4.

² *Ibid.* 5.

³ *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xiii (1934), 31, pl. 27, P314.

Found in rampart 4 (site G) with an iron ring-headed and swan-necked pin (fig. 87, 6), and derived material of the middle or latter part of Iron Age A on site G (M1).

12. Upper half of haematite-coated bowl, from a floor on site G, equating with the middle of the three successive rampart constructions of Iron Age A.

13. Rim of haematite-coated bowl from a layer on site G dating from the middle of Iron Age A (200 B.C. or a little later). The rippling of the vertical side above the carination may probably be regarded as a remote reminiscence of the grooved bowls of the Les Jogasses complex (see fig. 54, v), which is more clearly represented at All Cannings Cross.¹

14. Poorly made haematite-coated bowl with globular body and vertical rim; found in the latest of the three successive Iron Age A ramparts on site G, with derived material which included the finger-tip sherd, no. 3 above c. second century B.C. Cf. fig 54, viii.

15. Haematite-coated bowl with bosses round the shoulder. From a level on site A ascribable to the middle of the Iron Age A period.

16. Globular haematite-coated bowl from an early-mid Iron Age A level on site L.

Other Bowls

17. Bowl of rather coarse brown ware, from a pit (G10) ascribable to the middle of Iron Age A. The form is probably derived from haematite-coated bowls such as no. 7 above.

18. Bowl of coarse black ware, in form generally akin to the preceding. Found with a sherd of a haematite bowl similar to no. 5 above in a pit (L20) ascribable to the earlier half of Iron Age A, c. third century B.C.

19. Bowl of coarse brown ware, from a level on site A ascribable to the first half or middle of Iron Age A.

Situlate and other jars of Iron Age A

Fig. 57

The fabric of these vessels exhibits considerable uniformity, being coarse and relatively light, sometimes almost cork-like in texture. In colour the ware varies from a greyish-brown, through a reddish-brown, to black, according to firing.

20. Amorphous roughly made pot with a pronounced foot-stand from a hearth built during the actual construction of the earliest rampart on site D. The pot may be ascribed to the earlier half or middle of the A culture.

21. Rim of pot showing a sharper carination than the majority of vessels from Maiden Castle, and proportionately nearer to the situlate prototype. From the second of the three Iron Age A ramparts at the eastern entrance. First half of Iron Age A.

22. Situlate pot, likewise with an exceptionally pronounced carination, found on site L with a brooch of La Tène I, A-B type (fig. 81, 2). This should belong to the early part of Iron Age A.

¹ Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 45, 5.

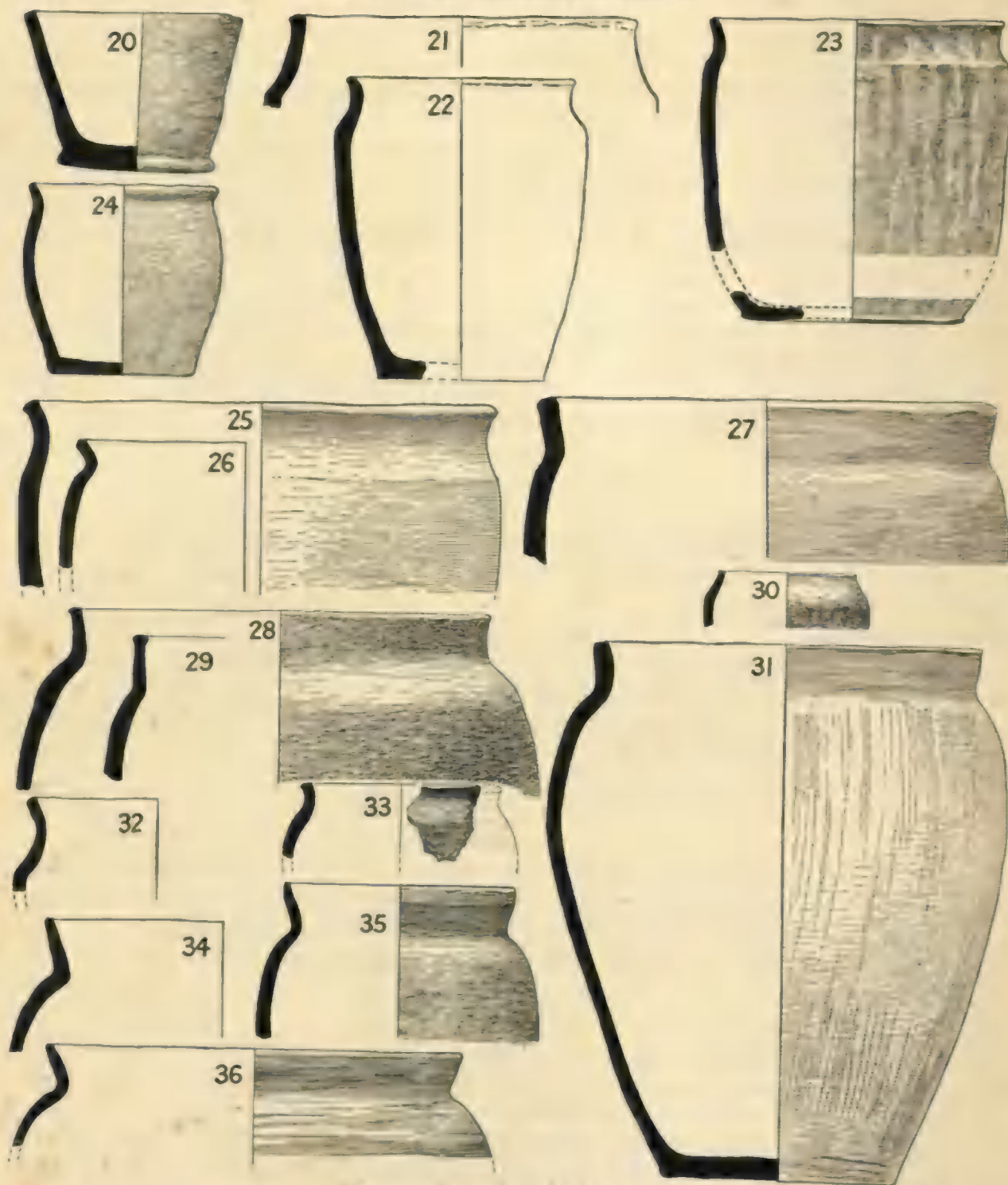


FIG. 57. Iron Age A pottery (1)
See p. 197

23. Devolved situlate pot from an Iron Age A pit (B8).
24. Pot with a curvilinear outline, doubtless devolved from the situlate type. From pit (F6), with pottery of early or middle Iron Age A type.
25. From an early to middle A level on site A.
26. From a middle A level on site A.
27. From a middle A level at the eastern entrance.
28. From an early to middle A level on site D.
29. From the same level as the preceding.
30. From the same level as the preceding.
31. From a middle A level on site F.
32. From a middle A pit (B32). The carinated shoulder on this example is unusually pronounced for the middle A phase of Maiden Castle.
33. From the same level as nos. 28-30.
34. From a middle A pit (G12) at the eastern entrance.
35. From a middle to late A level at the eastern entrance.
36. From a similar level to the preceding.

Fig. 58

37. From a middle A level on site A.
38. From a late A level on site E.
39. From a late A pit (B8).
40. From a middle A pit (A18).
41. From a middle to late A level which seals two earlier A pits on site F. This form represents the final devolution of the Iron Age A situlate type at Maiden Castle, and is one of the commonest forms from the site.
42. From a late A pit (B19).
43. From a middle to late A pit (A16).
44. From a late A pit (A16).
45. From a late A pit (B19).
46. From an early to middle A level on site A. This form, from a relatively early stratum, illustrates the devolved condition of the Iron Age A pottery at Maiden Castle in its earlier phases.
47. From a late A pit (B23).
48. From a late A pit (A16).
49. From a late A pit (A16). This rolled rim is not characteristic of A and may contain a hint of B influence.

Fig. 59

50. From a late A pit (A19).
- 51-3. Three rims from a late A level on site A. No. 52 contains the elements of the flattened rim discussed below, p. 213.



FIG. 58. Iron Age A pottery (1)
See p. 199



FIG. 59. Iron Age A pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 200

nd

54. From a mid A level on site A. Carinated bowls of this type are exceptional; they presumably owe their distinctive form to the influence of the situlate type. Cf. a bowl from the Hallstatt area of Park Brow, Sussex.¹

55. From a late A level containing a ring-headed iron pin at the eastern entrance. The bevelled rim is an unusual feature.

56. Bowl from a late A pit (B9). Cf. No. 54 above.

57. From a level on site E dating from the extreme end of Iron Age A. The horizontal incisions on this rim are a unique feature at Maiden Castle, but are comparable with those on a Glastonbury sherd (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXXXV, P273).

58. From a late A level on site D. The bevelled rim is in some degree comparable with that of no. 55 above.

59. Dish with flanged rim decorated with incised zigzag pattern. A unique type at Maiden Castle, from a mid A level on site Q.

60. From a mid to late A level which sealed two A pits on site F. The surface of this vessel is slightly polished, showing a higher finish than the majority of Iron Age A pots from Maiden Castle.

61. Fragment of a bowl with clubbed rim, from a late A level on site A.

62. Sherd showing everted rim, from a mid A level on site A.

63. From an early to mid A level on site D.

64. From a late A pit (L14).

Fig. 60

65. Iron Age A pot with a turned-over rim which probably represents the influence of Iron Age B bead-rims. From a layer on site G dating from the transition from A to B.

66. Rim of a fabric from a layer on site E containing Bi bead-rims.

67. Rim of A type found with Bi pottery in pit B9.

68. Pot of A fabric with a turned-over rim probably representing the influence of B. From a late A level on site D.

69. Rim from the same level as the preceding, showing the clubbed rim already noted under fig. 59, 52 above, as antecedent to the flat rim of the B period. The present example shows the definite influence of the bead-rim.

70. Pot with attached handles showing evidence of the use of grass or straw in smoothing the surface. From a late A level on site D.

71. An interesting pot of A fabric with eyelet handles slightly countersunk and with the rim showing B influence. From a level on site D containing A and Bi sherds, c. 50 B.C.

72. A small amorphous pot in the Iron Age A tradition from a Bi pit (B23).

73. Base of haematite-coated ware showing a blunt flattened form which may represent the last vestige of the rounded omphaloid bases of some of the earlier bowls. From an A pit (Q39).

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1926-7), 19, fig. 9.

74. Pedestal base of haematite-coated ware from a mid to late A pit (Q21).

75. Good haematite-coated pedestal base probably used secondarily as a cup. Found with a La Tène brooch of type A-B (fig. 81, 2) and the situlate pot (fig. 57, 22). From an early A layer on site L.

76. Pedestal of coarse brown ware from the same level as nos. 68-9 above. Late A.

77. Solid pedestal of coarse grey-brown ware from a late A pit (Q12).

These pedestals (nos. 74-7) may be supposed to represent a slight admixture of Mar-nian influence in the Iron Age A tradition; they are comparable with the pedestals from

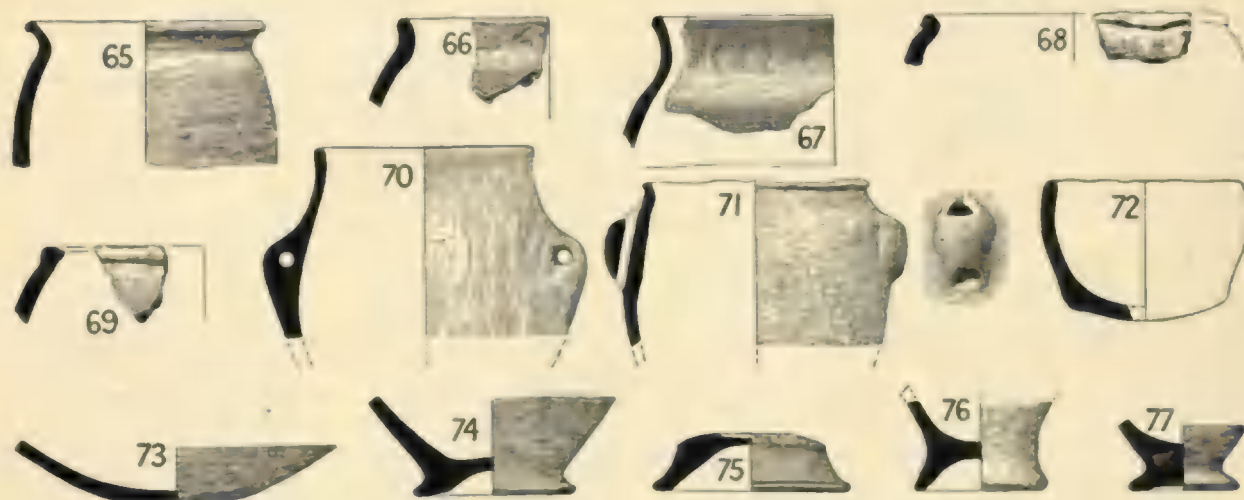


FIG. 60. Iron Age A pottery: 73 and 75 coated with haematite ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 202

Park Brow, Sussex (*Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 1926-7, p. 19, figs. 10, A-B). Although derived from the same stem they have no direct connexion with the pedestals noted below from the Belgic levels. Indeed, something like a century of time separates the two groups.

2. EARLY IRON AGE B POTTERY

(‘Wessex hill-fort B’)

The changes wrought in the Maiden Castle pottery during the first half of the first century B.C. by the intrusion of the new elements to which the name ‘Wessex hill-fort B’ is here given were at the same time drastic and gradual. The new and distinctive forms appear suddenly alongside the old, but the essential continuity of the personnel of the craft is indicated by the following facts: (a) the new B types, although in some cases markedly different from the traditional A types, retain certain technical features of the A tradition, notably the absence of the potter’s wheel and the occasional use of a red haematite coating; (b) they remained for some time subordinate to the continuing A tradition and only by gradual stages attained a position of dominance; and (c) certain

types in the B complex are retained from, or evolved out of, A. The historical implications of this partial change, combined with a basic continuity, are discussed elsewhere (pp. 55 ff.).

In considering the composition, character, and chronology of the Wessex B complex, it will be convenient to divide the subject into four main groups or aspects: (i) bead-rims, (ii) the countersunk-handle, (iii) flat-rimmed and other large jars, and dishes, (iv) local decorated wares, (v) imported 'Glastonbury' ware. The wider context of

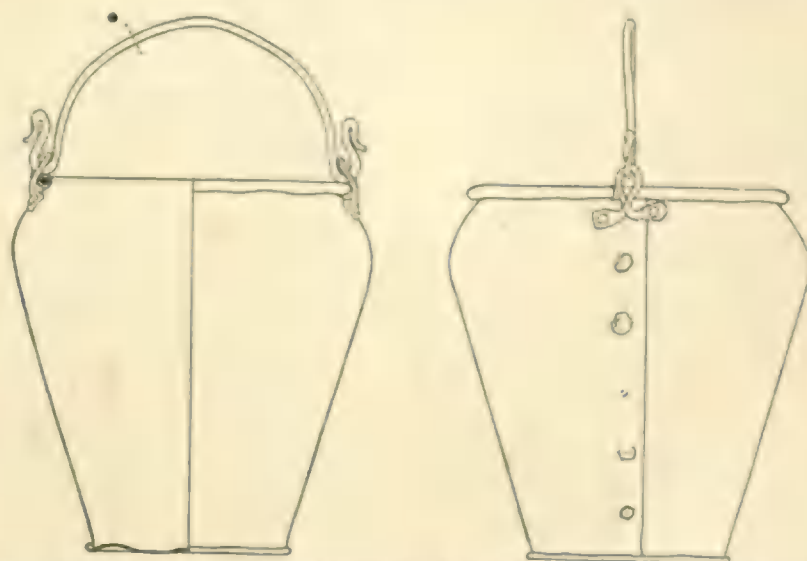


FIG. 61. Bronze situla from Caverzano, Venetia (Ashmolean Museum) ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See pp. 187 and 204

Wessex hill-fort B will be discussed at a later stage, when all classes of evidence have been examined (see p. 381).

(i) *Bead-rims, and the chronology of Wessex hill-fort B*

The rolled or 'bead' rim, which is predominantly characteristic of the 'Wessex hill-fort B' pottery, is in origin a device, not of the potter, but of the metal-worker, who thus gave rigidity to the lip of a vessel of thin metal. For example, it was copied from classical models by the Hallstatt metal-workers, who normally strengthened the rims of their bronze situlae and buckets with this device (fig. 61); and from these metal prototypes the La Tène potter not infrequently transferred the form to pots of derivative type. The disseminating centre was the La Tène I culture of the Marne region, with its predilection for metal-work and its tendency to subordinate the humbler craft of the potter to the more aristocratic craft of the smith (fig. 62, i and iii). From this Marnian source, directly or indirectly, may be derived the bead-rim situlate pots which occur occasionally elsewhere in northern France (fig. 62, ii and iv) and as class C at Hengistbury in Hampshire. At

Maiden Castle only a single late example was found (below, fig. 70, 153). In all probability the cylindrical bead-rim 'flower-pots' or 'saucepan-pots' from Maiden Castle (below, fig. 70, 156), Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii,

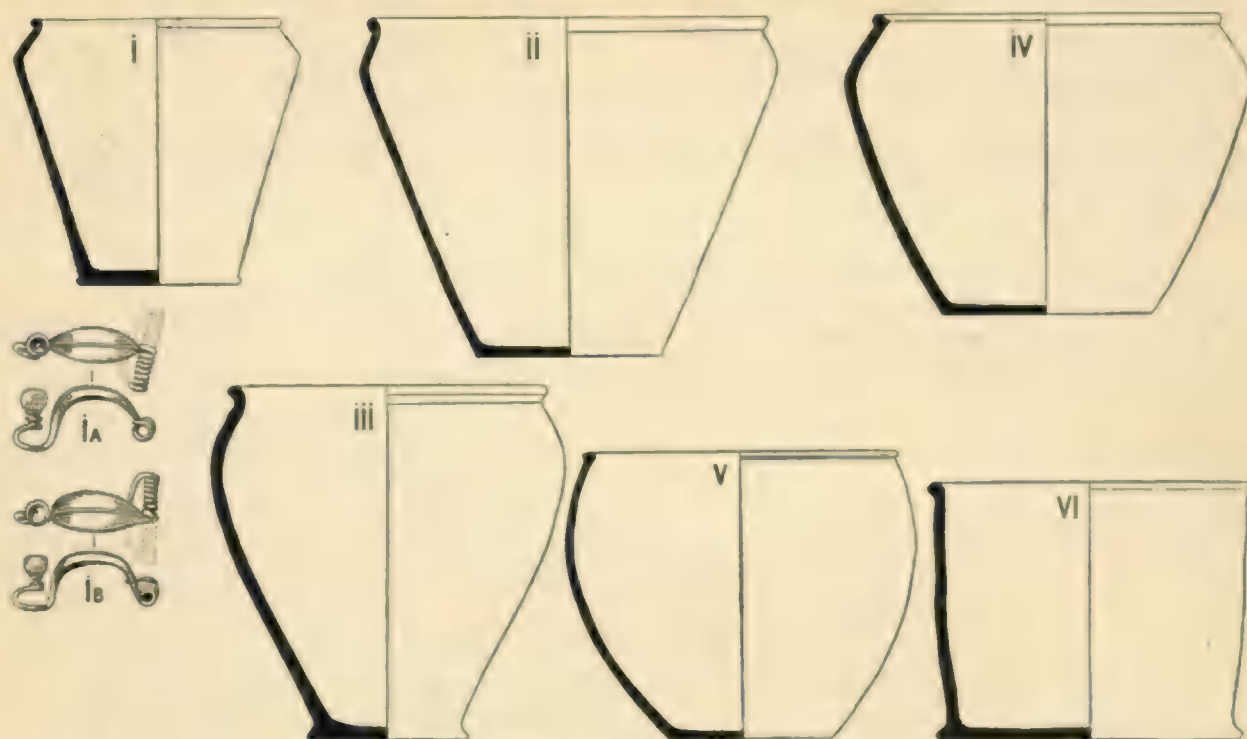


FIG. 62. Pottery and brooches from La Tène sites in northern France: pottery, $\frac{1}{2}$; brooches, $\frac{1}{4}$. i, from Les Jogasses, Marne, grave 188, with iA and B, brooches (Épernay); ii, from an early La Tène burial at Boquidet, Serent, Morb. (Carnac); iii, from Les Jogasses; iv and v, from Sablonnière, Fère-en-Tardenois, Aisne (S. Germain-en-Laye); vi, from Les Jogasses

See p. 204

pl. LXXVI), Sussex (E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, p. 273), and elsewhere are the result of a parallel development from the cylindrical bead-rim vessels which, again in the Marnian area, perpetuate in a simplified form the metal buckets of the *cisti a cordoni* type (fig. 62, vi).

But at Maiden Castle the bead-rim is normally found on convex-sided vessels to which countersunk-handles (see below, p. 210) may or may not be added. These vessels are invariably hand-made (without the potter's wheel) until the arrival of Belgic influence after c. A.D. 25; a fact which prepares us for our failure to trace any immediate ceramic prototype for them in France, where the wheel was commonly used from La Tène II onwards. True, continental examples of the ceramic situla tend occasionally, as time goes by, to lose the sharpness of their shoulder-carination and to become vaguely convex in profile (fig. 62, iii and v). But these devolved continental bead-rim pots are

rare and cannot be held to constitute a prototype-series for our dominant Maiden Castle form. Nor, on the other hand, are the bead-rim situlate pots sufficiently common in this country to support a parallel evolutionary process on this side of the Channel. The source of our characteristic Dorset type must be sought elsewhere.

The problem is not an easy one, but I am driven to the view that, since in this case a ceramic origin is unlikely, the only feasible postulate is a direct transference from metalwork. Here evidence is hard to find for the good reason that metal bowls, made usually of thin and friable material, are rarely preserved; but their former existence in considerable quantity is deducible from their occasional survival and from the high skill displayed by the surviving examples. The bronze bowls of Glastonbury in Somerset and Spettisbury in Dorset are familiar,¹ and these—particularly the latter—are convincing prototypes for our bead-rim bowls. Immigrants from overseas would more readily bring metalwork of this kind than breakable pottery vessels; and, if the immigrants were not accompanied by any considerable train of craftsmen (or craftswomen), then it would be these metal bowls that would tend to impress the native craftsmen of their adopted land. Elsewhere I have on other grounds suggested the likelihood that the immigrants in question were relatively small bands of Veneti from southern Brittany, arriving in south-western Britain partly (in the Cornish peninsula) as pre-Caesarian traders and partly (in Wessex) perhaps as refugees from Caesar's ruthlessness after their naval defeat in 56 B.C.²

We may even go a little farther than this, and say that partial ceramic analogies to the Wessex bead-rim do, in fact, occur to a limited extent in or close to the Venetic area of southern Brittany. At Castel Coz, between Douarnenez and the Pointe du Raz, pottery of two kinds—possibly to be equated with the two structural periods which the superficial remains of this cliff-castle indicate—were recovered many years ago by excavation and are now in the Quimper Museum. One group is of the late Hallstatt series, often decorated with finger-tip ornament, which we should in this country call Iron Age A. The other is of finer ware, usually wheel-turned, which not infrequently exhibits a hint of the bead-rim (fig. 63, i-viii). Whether we should regard this as in any sense parental to the Wessex bead-rims is doubtful; it may be a collateral development from the same metallic source; but it at least illustrates a traditional Venetic liaison between the two crafts. It should be remarked once more that the technical cleavage indicated by the presence of the potter's wheel in Brittany and its absence in western Britain in the first century B.C. is antagonistic to any considerable direct interchange between the potters of the two countries.

Categorically, I would state the problem of the Wessex bead-rim bowls as follows:

1. The beading is a metallic feature, functional in metal but largely non-functional in pottery. Its occurrence in our Wessex pottery is therefore ascribed to the propensity of the potter for copying metallic forms.

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 179; *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1940), 120.

² See pp. 56 and 383; and *Antiquity* xiii (1939), p. 77.

2. Pottery bead-rim bowls of our Wessex type are practically non-existent in northern France; and the difficulty of presupposing any wholesale transference of a *ceramic* tradition from N.W. France to Wessex is enhanced by the use of the potter's wheel in the former area and its absence in the latter. Our ceramic bead-rim is therefore, in the main, an insular development.
3. Only two metal bead-rim bowls have, it is true, been found in recognizable condition in south-western England, but the skilled workmanship of these implies the former existence of a considerable number of their kind. Their apparent absence in north-western France—hypothetically their immediate source¹—is commensurate with the scarcity of the total material available from the area and the lack of care with which most of it has been garnered and preserved, and cannot be regarded as determinate. Even in England the amount of



FIG. 63. Pottery from Brittany: i–viii, from Castel Coz, Finistère;
ix, from Plouvorn, Finistère. All in Quimper Museum (†)
See p. 206

excavation carried out in our Wessex hill-forts in the bead-rim area has been exceedingly small, and in these circumstances, in view of the poor 'chance of life' of a thin-plated bronze bowl, the survival even of a single hill-fort example may be regarded as significant. It at least proves the former existence of bead-rim metal bowls in our hill-fort area, and, whatever their ultimate origin, provides the required prototype for our bead-rim ceramic.

So much for the possible origin of the Wessex bead-rims. Let us turn to their classification. For this purpose I have thought it best to divide the almost infinite and largely insignificant varieties of pre-Belgic bead-rim into three main categories, ignoring rare or transitional forms, and have here illustrated these categories by examples found on the same site (site D) in clear stratigraphical sequence (fig. 64). Site D provided a particularly comprehensive series of strata in the quarry formed at the back of the main rampart during the principal constructional work of Iron Age B; and since these strata thenceforth accumulated continuously until the Roman period and contained an abundance of material, they fairly illustrate not only the sequence of types but the extent of their overlaps. Of the ten superimposed strata, the topmost two (1 and 2) were of the Belgic or Romano-Belgic phase, and the remainder of pre-Belgic B with A survivals. The Belgic material is reserved for later treatment (p. 230).

¹ It is difficult or impossible to postulate a source in the 'metal' cultures of north-eastern Britain (see p. 381), since not only are these bowls absent there also, but the bead-rim already dominates Wessex at a time when no collateral in-

fluence from the north-east appears in that area. On the other hand, it is directly associated with other elements—countersunk-handles and multiple defences—which are at home in Brittany.

Bead-rims, group i (fig. 64, 78–80). In this, the earliest, group the rim is boldly rolled into a bead, with only a blunt line of definition externally between the bead and the shoulder. Of the examples illustrated, no. 78 (from layer 10) is stratigraphically the earliest. It has a lustrous, metallic surface. The associated wares were almost exclusively of Iron Age A. No. 79 (from layer 8) also occurs with a majority of A wares, and itself shows considerable A influence in fabric and perhaps in form. No. 80 (from layer 7) is from a layer contemporary with the building of rampart 5, i.e. with the final Iron Age B remodelling of the defences. It is coated with red haematite and is there-

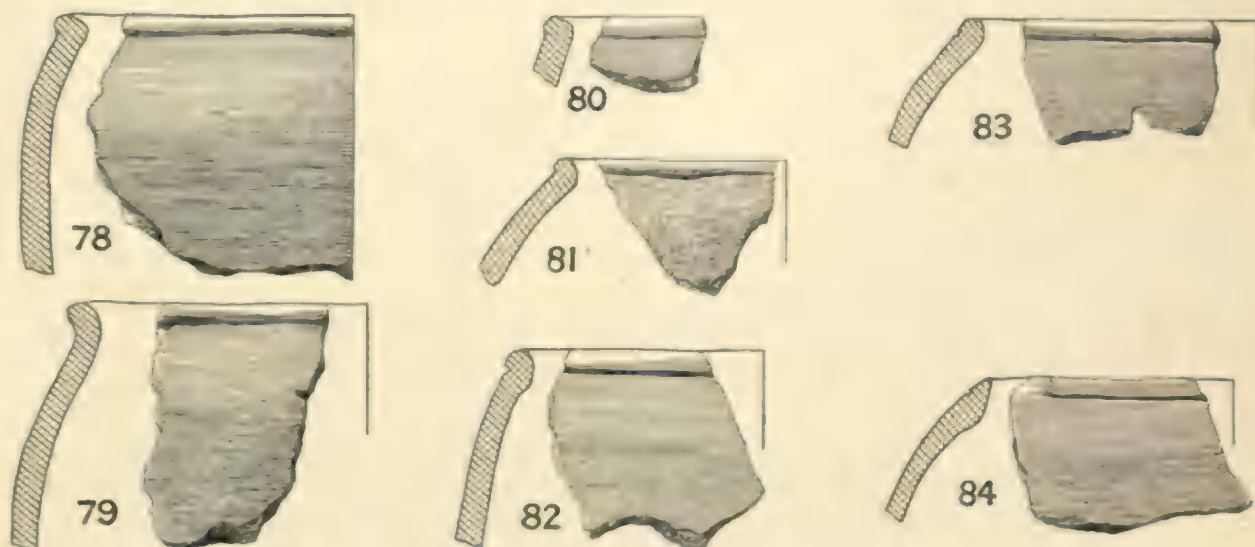


FIG. 64. Developing types of Iron Age B bead-rims, from successive layers on Site D: 78–80, Bi; 81–2, Bii; 83–4, Biii (½)

See p. 208

fore technically in the Iron Age A tradition, but is typologically transitional to group ii. The associated pottery is of A and B types in approximately equal proportions, doubtless in part derivative.

Bead-rims, group ii (fig. 64, 81 and 82). In this the bead is sharply, though sometimes irregularly, defined externally, and, in profile, forms a sort of beak. Both sherds are from layer 4, which contains only a slight surviving A element. The appearance of this 'beaked' type everywhere marks the maturity of Iron Age B. In the preceding layer, 5, it occurs in small proportion with a larger proportion of group i.

Bead-rims, group iii (fig. 64, 83 and 84). In this the bead is little more than vestigial, being represented merely by an incised line just below the lip of the vessel. The two sherds illustrated are from layer 3, i.e. from the latest layer prior to the arrival of Belgic influence. The type is characteristic of this late phase; but in the present series there are one or two approximate examples in layer 4, and the first appearance of the type cannot very long have post-dated that of group ii.

For the *dating* of the three groups a firmly fixed point is provided by our exact knowledge of the dominant ceramic types in use at Maiden Castle at the time of the Roman invasion in A.D. 43-5. From this datum-point it is legitimate to affirm that the uniform and limited Belgic culture which those types represent, considered in relation to the restricted depth of the deposit in which they normally occur, cannot have anticipated the Roman invasion by much more than twenty years, and its arrival may safely be ascribed to c. A.D. 25. But our pre-Belgic bead-rims of group iii frequently, and those of group ii occasionally, survived the arrival of Belgic influence, and were therefore still in use after A.D. 25. It may indeed be assumed that the manufacture, and not merely the use, of the abundant group iii continued after the Belgic impact.

Working backwards from the fact that examples of bead-rim group ii were still in occasional use c. A.D. 25, we have to infer or guess the time-interval between that moment and the first emergence of group i. Here the absence of determinate metal forms (see pp. 252, 381) enhances the difficulty; but it can at least be affirmed that, of the two earliest groups, the first can only have been of comparatively short duration. The layers and pits where it is characteristic are few, although the position of the layers at the bottom of the 'B' series is consistent. It is a fair inference that Bi merged into Bii within little more than a quarter of a century of the appearance of the former. Equally, having regard to overlaps with other types at both ends of the scale, I should find it difficult to allocate more than two generations to Bii and, in view of the comparative vitality of the craft at the time, the period of its dominance may well have been less. Admittedly these guesses are subjective; but they are the result of the handling of great masses of potsherds and of the close observation of the association of types, and, although the results of such experience cannot easily be reduced to an objective formula, a certain substantive value may, I think, be conceded to them. In summary, my view is that no one having the same experience of the material, and with the fixed terminal date in view, would readily carry back the first appearance of bead-rims at Maiden Castle far beyond the middle of the first century B.C.

It was with this estimate already formulated that, in 1938, the probable origin of the multiple defensive system, as developed in our south-western camps, was traced to Brittany and, in particular, to the Venetic area between the Breton Black Mountains and the Bay of Biscay.¹ If that identification is correct—and it is difficult to find an alternative—then the historic commercial links between the Veneti and Britain,² whilst providing a ready explanation of multiple earthworks of Venetic type in Cornwall, are less easy to accept as an explanation of multiple earthworks in the purely agricultural and self-centred milieu of Wessex. This matter is discussed elsewhere (pp. 56 and 383). Here it will suffice to say that, without undue emphasis, I am inclined to regard the extension of multiple fortification (and all that this implies) into Wessex as a result of the settlement of dominant minorities from Brittany at the time of its conquest by Caesar in and about 56 B.C., when the Veneti were treated by the conqueror with exemplary

¹ See *Antiquity*, XIII (1939), p. 73.

² Notably Strabo, *Geog.* iv, 4, 1.

severity. Without urging this possibility further here, I propose to take 56 B.C. as a provisional initial date for Wessex hill-fort B, with the proviso that even a pre-Caesarian context could not reasonably carry the date more than a decade or two farther back. If ultimately it should be found desirable to substitute the more extended dating, the adjustment would thus involve very little alteration of a scheme which, in the formulation of *relative* periods of duration, is firmly based.

The following chronological scheme is therefore here adopted for Wessex hill-fort B as represented at Maiden Castle:

Bi, the new ceramic form occurring as a minority type with abundant Iron Age A pottery, and overlapping very slightly with Bii, may be ascribed to *c.* 50–25 B.C., with occasional survival until towards the end of the century.

Bii emerges during the great structural phase of Maiden Castle (the period of rampart 5), and its relative position in the series would best suit an initial date of *c.* 25 B.C. It overlapped considerably with the typologically derivative Biii and is occasionally found after the arrival of Belgic influence, *c.* A.D. 25. Its period of dominance may be placed at *c.* 25 B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.D.

Biii does not appear until Bii is well established, but was already abundantly in use before the closing of the pits, *c.* A.D. 25, and lasted on hand-made vessels in decreasing numbers throughout the period of Belgic influence (up to and even after A.D. 50).

(ii) *The countersunk-handle, and the distribution of Wessex Hill-fort B*

A Breton origin for Wessex hill-fort B is supported by its use of the distinctive 'countersunk' handle. This is formed by squeezing a thickened portion of the shoulder of the vessel in such a manner as to form an eyelet, one side of which is thus constituted by a concavity in the profile of the shoulder. The handle differs alike in shape and construction from the more normal types, which are made separately and affixed to, or inserted into, the side of the vessel. Countersunk or eyelet handles are rarely large enough to take a finger, and their main purpose was clearly to take a cord for suspension.

As one of the distinctive features of the 'Wessex hill-fort B' ceramic, the countersunk-handle calls for comment. It is found on two types of pot: (i) with bead-rim (fig. 65), (ii) with everted rim (fig. 74, 216). The former is the original type and is a primary feature of the B complex of *c.* 50 B.C. onwards; the latter is a variety resulting from the impact of Belgic influence about A.D. 25, and lasts into the Roman period. During the Belgo-Roman overlap (*c.* A.D. 25–70) the two types occur for a time side by side, the former in diminishing numbers.

The dislocating influence of the Roman régime tended to disperse this form of handle, but after the first century A.D. it is of rare occurrence until its revival or reinvention in northern Britain in the fourth century.¹ With these later groups we are not here concerned, for in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. the type was strictly localized in the

¹ Notably in the 'Huntcliff ware', *Journ. of Roman Studies*, ii (1912), 227.

south-west and is absent east of the Salisbury Avon. The list appended to this section includes nine sites in Dorset, four in Somerset, three each in south Wiltshire and Hampshire, and one each in Devon and Cornwall. Dorset is therefore the focus of the type. (See map, pl. xxvi.)

The fact that the countersunk-handle is an original feature of the 'Wessex hill-fort B' complex, and appears there suddenly without local antecedent, indicates the probability of a foreign origin. A systematic search for prototypes has accordingly been carried out in the collections of northern France, with results that are scanty though, within their

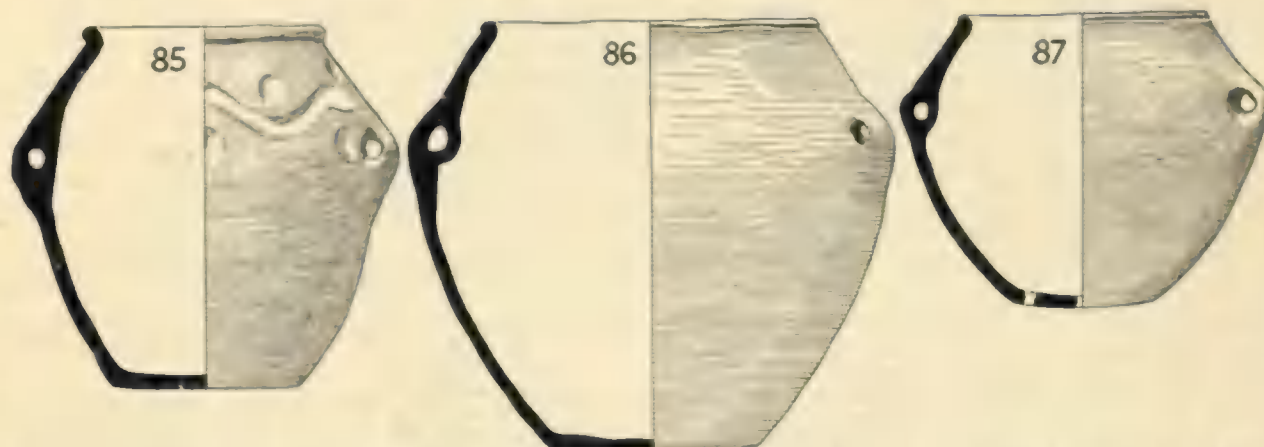


FIG. 65. Pots with bead-rims and countersunk-handles: 85, Iron Age Bi; 86, Iron Age Bii; 87, Iron Age Biii (†)

See p. 212

limits, significant. Five sites only appear to have produced indisputable examples of this type of handle: at Plouzévéde and Huelgoat in Finistère, near Carnac in the Morbihan, at S. Nazaire near the mouth of the Loire, and near S. Briec in the Côtes-du-Nord (see list below). Of these sites, two are within or closely adjoining the tribal area of the Veneti, the probable authors of 'Wessex hill-fort B' (see pp. 56, 282); and all lie within that part of France which confronts Dorset and Devon. So far as it goes, therefore, the continental distribution is of the kind required to complete our Wessex picture. And it should be added that the scarcity of continental examples is proportionate to the general scarcity of Iron Age material at present available from the area concerned.

Sites known to have produced Iron Age countersunk-handles are as follows (pl. xxvi):

COUNTERSUNK-HANDLES FROM BRITAIN

(Note: an asterisk * denotes a site which has produced *only* the late type with an everted rim.)

1. Containing hoard of early Roman coins from Bedmore Barn, Ham Hill, Somerset, 1882. Taunton Museum.
2. From Ham Hill, Somerset. Taunton Museum.

3. Glastonbury Lake-Village, Somerset. Less than a dozen examples, all told. *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 518.
4. Milborne St. Andrew, Dorset. Common. Dorchester Museum. *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lii (1930), 14.
5. Maiden Castle, Dorset. Common.
6. Hengistbury Head, Hants. Common. *Hengistbury Report*, class J.
- *7. Hanging Langford Camp, S. Wilts. With everted rim; found with Belgic pottery. Newall Collection.
- *8. Fordingbridge, Hants. With everted rim. British Museum.
9. Armsley, near Breamore, Hants. Private collection.
10. Hamworthy, Dorset. *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* liii (1931), 12.
11. Corfe Mullen, Dorset. With everted rim. Poole Museum.
12. Strouden Farm, Bournemouth, Hants. Calkin Collection.
13. Langton Matravers, Dorset. Dorchester Museum.
- *14. Exeter. With everted rim. *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* ii, pt. 2 (1934), 89. Also examples in the British Museum.
15. Westbury, Wilts. Romano-British. Devizes Museum.
16. Kingsdown Camp, Somerset. Taunton Museum.
17. Polcoverack Farm, Coverack, S. Cornwall. Information from finder, Mr. C. E. Bean, Sherborne.
18. Woodcuts, Dorset. Common. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, 114 and ii, 169.
19. Rotherley, Wilts. Common. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 152, 155, etc.
- *20. Dorchester, Dorset. With everted rim. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 152.
21. Sturminster Marshall, Dorset. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 152.
22. Woodyates, Dorset. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Bokerly Dyke*, p. 121.

COUNTERSUNK-HANDLES FROM NORTHERN FRANCE (pl. xxvii)

- 1-2. From Plouzévéde, northern Finistère. Two wheel-turned pots of burnished grey ware. Quimper Museum.
- 3-7. From 'Gaulish habitations' at Kerhillio, commune of Erdeven, NW. of Carnac, Morbihan. Five countersunk-handles of coarse grey ware, possibly not wheel-turned; complete forms of most of the vessels uncertain. Carnac Museum.
8. From the site of a dock at S. Nazaire, Loire Inférieure, with material of various periods. Brown ware, possibly not wheel-turned. Nantes Museum.
9. From S. Donan, 10 km. SW. of S. Briec, Côtes-du-Nord. Two handles of coarse but burnished ware, either hand-made or roughly wheel-turned. S. Briec Museum.
10. (Not illustrated here, but similar to the examples from Plouzévéde, above.) From the Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat, Finistère. Found in the excavations of 1938 and thereby dated to c. 56 B.C.

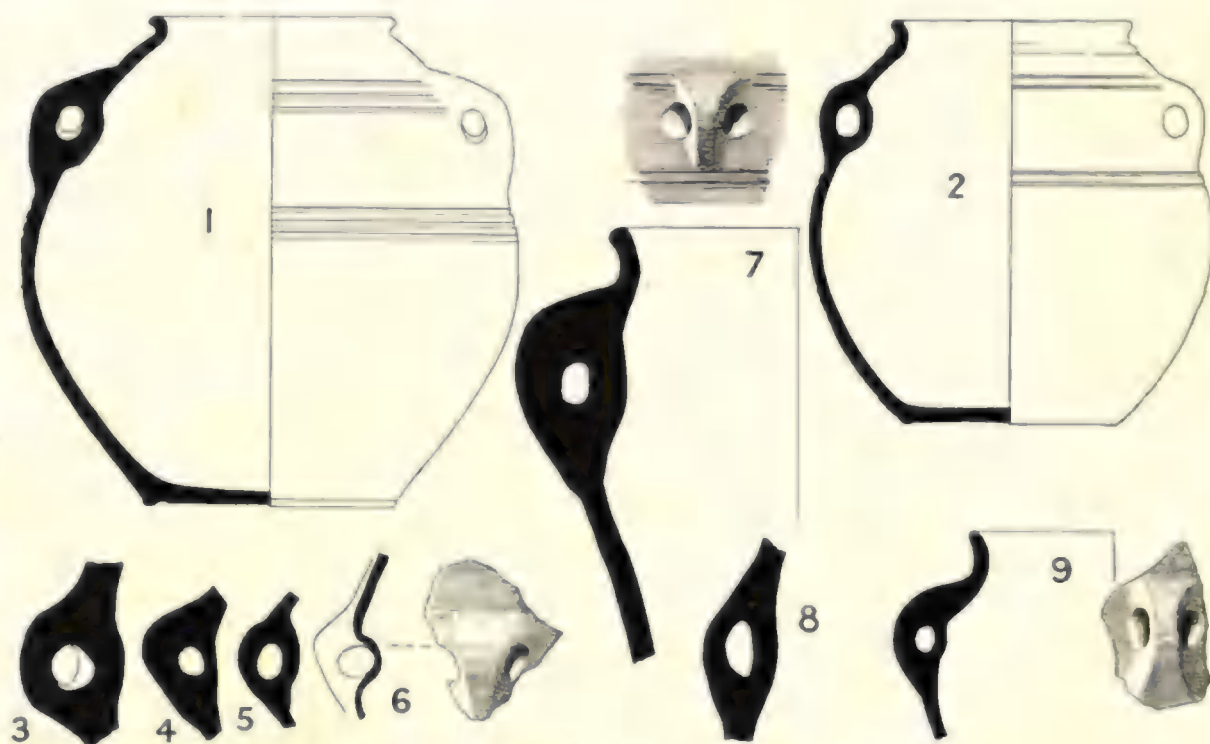
Fig. 65

This figure illustrates three countersunk-handle pots with bead-rims of each of the three types classified above as Bi, ii, and iii. They are all of dark grey ware and, like all Iron Age B pottery, made without the wheel. For the Iron Age C or Belgic type, see fig. 74, 216.

85. With boldly rolled rim of the type classified as Bi, but found in fact in an early



Distribution of pots (a) with countersunk-handles, (b) with internally-grooved rims. See p. 211



Countersunk-handles from north-western France. $\frac{1}{4}$

1 and 2, from Plouzévéde, northern Finistère; 3-7, from Kerhillio, near Carrac, Morbihan; 8, from S. Nazaire, Loire Inférieure; 9, from S. Donan, Côtes-du-Nord. See pp. 211, 212

Bii layer on site D, dated from the last quarter of the first century B.C. The grooved wave interspersed with circular depressions is another example of devolved 'Celtic' pattern and is similar to the Ham Hill sherd illustrated by Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXX, iv. (Cf. the somewhat simpler example from Glastonbury itself, *ibid.*, pl. LXXVIII, P186.)

86. With bead-rim typical of Bii. From a pit (A11) on site A, dating from the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D.

87. With bead-rim typical of Biii. From a pit (B7) on site B, dating from the first quarter of the first century A.D.

(iii) *Flat-rimmed and other large jars, and dishes*

In contradistinction to the bead-rim and the countersunk-handle, other features of the B complex are traceable to origins in Iron Age A. Notably, large jars were characteristic of Iron Age A, and, with modifications, their manufacture was extended into Iron Age B and C. A derivative characteristic of the latter part of Iron Age B and of the following Belgo-Roman phase is that of a large jar with a flat rim which, in the later examples, sometimes assumes large proportions. These jars not infrequently have a form of vertical eyelet handle, or an ornament based upon that feature (fig. 68, 137). The type is essentially of Iron Age A derivation, though it owes something also to the bead-rim of B, and reached its fullest development at the end of B and during the Belgo-Roman period. The general process of development is illustrated below in figs. 67 and 68. There was from the outset a tendency in Iron Age A to flatten the top of the rim, and in some of the larger and heavier vessels this flattened rim became a pronounced feature. In Iron Age B a variety of this A rim was sometimes retained, though generally rendered in the somewhat better technique of the later phase; but by the middle of B (end of first century B.C.) there was a tendency for the outer junction between flange and shoulder to assume the character of a bead. The resultant beaded flange, reserved almost exclusively for large storage vessels, was popular in Biii and C. The general evolution of the type down to the end of Iron Age B is illustrated by fig. 67. Examples of the Belgo-Roman period (c. second quarter of first century A.D.) are illustrated below under Iron Age C (fig. 74, 224-6).

The distribution of these flat-rimmed vessels is confined mainly to Dorset. Apart from Maiden Castle, they occur abundantly at Milborne St. Andrew, Dorset (*Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lii, 1930, pl. vii, 2-6), and, in Roman fabric, on the Roman site on the eastern side of Ham Hill, Somerset (Taunton Museum), and on the Hamworthy peninsula, Dorset (Poole Museum). The type is illustrated amongst the 'miscellaneous wares' from Hengistbury Head, Hants (*Hengistbury Report*, pl. xxviii, 57); and a variant occurs at Woodcuts, Dorset (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. LIII, 7). Farther afield, isolated examples are known from Iron Age pits on Hawk's Hill, near Leatherhead, Surrey (in possession of Mr. A. W. G. Lowther), and from Crayford in Kent (*Prehist. Soc. Proc.*, iv, 1938, p. 157).

Widely splayed bowls or dishes, not uncommon in Iron Age B, are likewise developed from Iron Age A prototypes (see below, fig. 69, 143-7).

(iv) *Local decorated wares*

The Iron Age A pottery of Maiden Castle is almost entirely devoid of decoration. Rarely a simple chevron-pattern relieves the tedium (fig. 59); for the rest, the monotony of the culture is varied only by the bright haematite colouring sometimes employed (above, p. 195). The same essential lack of artistic sensibility pervades the Iron Age B culture, which, on this site, was substantially the work of the same line of craftsmen. The basic B types are normally unornamented or, at the most, adorned with a series of widely spaced finger-tip impressions (fig. 66, 104), which may be a sort of inverted reminiscence of the studs found on bronze bowls. But in and after Bii half-hearted extravagance sometimes manifests itself, and more or less detached units of 'Celtic' decoration occasionally appear. It can be no accident that the moment of their appearance synchronizes with the arrival of scraps of 'Glastonbury' pottery on the site; and indeed they can in detail be traced back to the lake-village repertoire, which, as a whole, was beyond the comprehension or skill of the hill-fort potter.

A common form of decoration is that consisting of a frieze of intermittent double arcs, the so-called 'eyebrow' pattern, which is not uncommon on the periphery of the Glastonbury culture and is an abstracted unit of the Glastonbury decoration. See figs. 66, 110; 67, 125; 69, 142; etc. This motif occurs as far west as western Gloucestershire on the one hand and as far east as Hengistbury Head on the other,¹ but not, in isolation, at Glastonbury itself. It forms, however, an integral part of the more complex and coherent Glastonbury decoration (e.g. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. Lxx, iii, and pl. Lxxxiv, P256).

A further simplification of the same motif is the simple arc (fig. 66, 109) or a grooved arc (fig. 66, 100). Occasionally, the motif is reversed, e.g. fig. 66, 115, where it is associated with circular depressions to form a more coherent pattern. These circular depressions are also found in association with a continuous grooved or incised wave (figs. 65, 85; 70, 158) in a manner more closely paralleled at Glastonbury (cf. op. cit. ii, pl. Lxx, iv, possibly there an importation from the hill-fort culture).

Attempts to copy the more distinctive Glastonbury 'hatched' pattern are rare at Maiden Castle, but fig. 70, 151, is a notable example and, by its feebleness and lack of understanding, explains why such copies were not more frequent. Another local attempt to reproduce a Glastonbury element is represented by fig. 70, 152. Once only does the Maiden Castle pottery exhibit a really successful boldness, almost approaching originality, in its decoration—in the large vessel with the simple but strongly drawn spiral decoration, represented in fig. 68, 138.

Attention may be drawn to fig. 70, 154, a coarse sherd with a weak decoration which includes lines of punctuation. These are a direct inheritance from metal decoration in

¹ See *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond.), p. 96.

which the design is picked out with punctured lines, and slightly recalls the use of this technique in the Hengistbury Head class F pottery (*Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. xii). The tradition of this technique is to be sought elsewhere than at Glastonbury, and it is possible that more direct links with northern France are here in question. Meanwhile, partial analogies in Britain are to be found in the Hampshire-Sussex region (see below p. 228).

(v) *Imported 'Glastonbury' ware*

(See below, pl. xxix, A and fig. 71)

In considering the derivative art of the hill-fort potters before discussing their 'Glastonbury' prototypes, the cart has been put before the horse. It was convenient, however, to use the local products as a transition to the more ornate Lake-Village imports, which are relatively rare on the site and are mostly collected on pl. xxix, A and fig. 71. For clearness, the typical Glastonbury pot may be described as hand-made, globular in form, with a high rim occasionally grooved on the inner side, and with incised decoration which characteristically includes Celtic scroll-pattern differentiated by hatched or shaded units. With pots of this kind are grouped similar forms with unhatched scroll-pattern or, rarely, with simple rectilinear pattern. At the type-site, Glastonbury in Somerset, the chronological succession of the styles of decoration was not traced; but at Wookey Hole in the same county Mr. Balch notes that an example with *unhatched* curvilinear pattern occurs with a Belgic pot, and is therefore presumably late in the series.¹

At Maiden Castle four years' intensive excavation yielded only some thirty sherds of Glastonbury or closely allied ware, of which twenty-four are here illustrated (pl. xxix, A and fig. 71). At Hengistbury, an equivalently small proportion of Glastonbury sherds—'only about one dozen' (*Hengistbury Report*, p. 40)—was found during six months' work; and, as remarked above, it is otherwise evident that this ware is intrusive into the hill-forts and was not produced by them. On the other hand, their association at Maiden Castle with an abundance of bead-rim pottery facilitates a closer dating of the sherds than has generally been possible in the past. Thus five sherds (pp. 229–30) occur in the Belgic layers formed after c. A.D. 25, and that these are not accidental survivals is shown by the occurrence of the majority of the remainder in Bii and Biii, i.e. c. 25 B.C.—A.D. 25. Even if the beginning of the bead-rim series be placed some ten or twenty years earlier than the initial date (56 B.C.) here adopted by me, the extent of the period covered by the Glastonbury sherds at Maiden Castle is not seriously increased. It is evident that this class of ware on our site was not current appreciably on either side of the period 25 B.C.—A.D. 30.

Within that period of little more than half a century the Maiden Castle sherds do not safely indicate any specific evolution. Examples on which the decoration is formed by broad polished grooves as well as by incised lines (pl. xxix, A, 9) do not appear in the latest groups. On the other hand, one of the latest examples (fig. 71, 167, after A.D. 25) bears an

¹ Balch, *Wookey Hole*, pl. xiii; and *Archaeologia*, lxi (1911), 565 f. and fig. 11.

unhatched curvilinear pattern, and its late date is consistent with that of Mr. Balch's example, noted above. One or two of the sherds (pl. xxix, A) show a simple geometrical pattern which, as noted below, is reminiscent rather of Cornwall than of Somerset, but may owe this resemblance rather to local variation than to any causative relationship with Cornwall.

The more general question of the origin of the Glastonbury ware scarcely calls for prolonged discussion in the present context. Déchelette long ago drew attention to a short series of decorated La Tène pots from Brittany in this context;¹ but the hesitant labours of a subsequent generation of French archaeologists have failed to add to their number, and there is no hint of any considerable Breton school of curvilinear decoration of a kind likely to have been parental to that of Glastonbury. Moreover, both the style and the refined technique of the Breton examples (e.g. pl. xxviii, 5 and 6) are far closer to Marnian metal-work (such as the famous helmet from Berru, Marne, or the bronze bowl from Les Saulces-Champenoises, Ardennes)² than to the coarse, vigorous draughtsmanship of the Glastonbury potters. On stylistic grounds—above all, the closer approach to the palmette prototype and the use of the metallic *pointillé* background—the Breton examples must be supposed to be of appreciably earlier date than the Glastonbury series; and, if a relationship between the two must be defined, it may best be said that Glastonbury is a second cousin to Brittany, both deriving variously from a common (metal) tradition in the province of the Marne culture.

Now the Marnian metal culture, recently re-examined by Professor Ward Perkins,³ appears to have entered Britain mainly through east-coast channels and to have penetrated later, by overland routes, to the south-west. A provincial British variety of this culture replaced the *pointillé* backgrounds of the Marnian (and derivative Breton) prototypes by linear hatching. This trick was copied by the potters of the Somerset plain and became an integral feature of their school. It does not occur in Brittany, which adhered to the *pointillé* tradition—a fact which supports the local, British, invention of the Glastonbury variant. On the other hand, certain features of the Glastonbury pottery, although possibly derived also along the Marne–East Coast route, are consistent with Breton influence. Some of the more symmetrical, less flamboyant, elements in the Glastonbury repertoire—notably intersecting or counterchanged semicircles, sometimes fringed with dots, concentric circles, hatched lozenges⁴—are reminiscent of motifs which certain groups of Breton pottery retained until a relatively late date from Hallstatt metal-work. Again, the use of the groove on the inner side of the rim of some Glastonbury pots (e.g. fig. 71, 166 and 168) is characteristic of Brittany. It is a feature derived ultimately from the functional groove designed to take a lid, but the process of devolution from lid-rebate to vestigial groove did not occur in this country; it seems to have occurred in north-western France.⁵ And both it and the high-rimmed bowl on

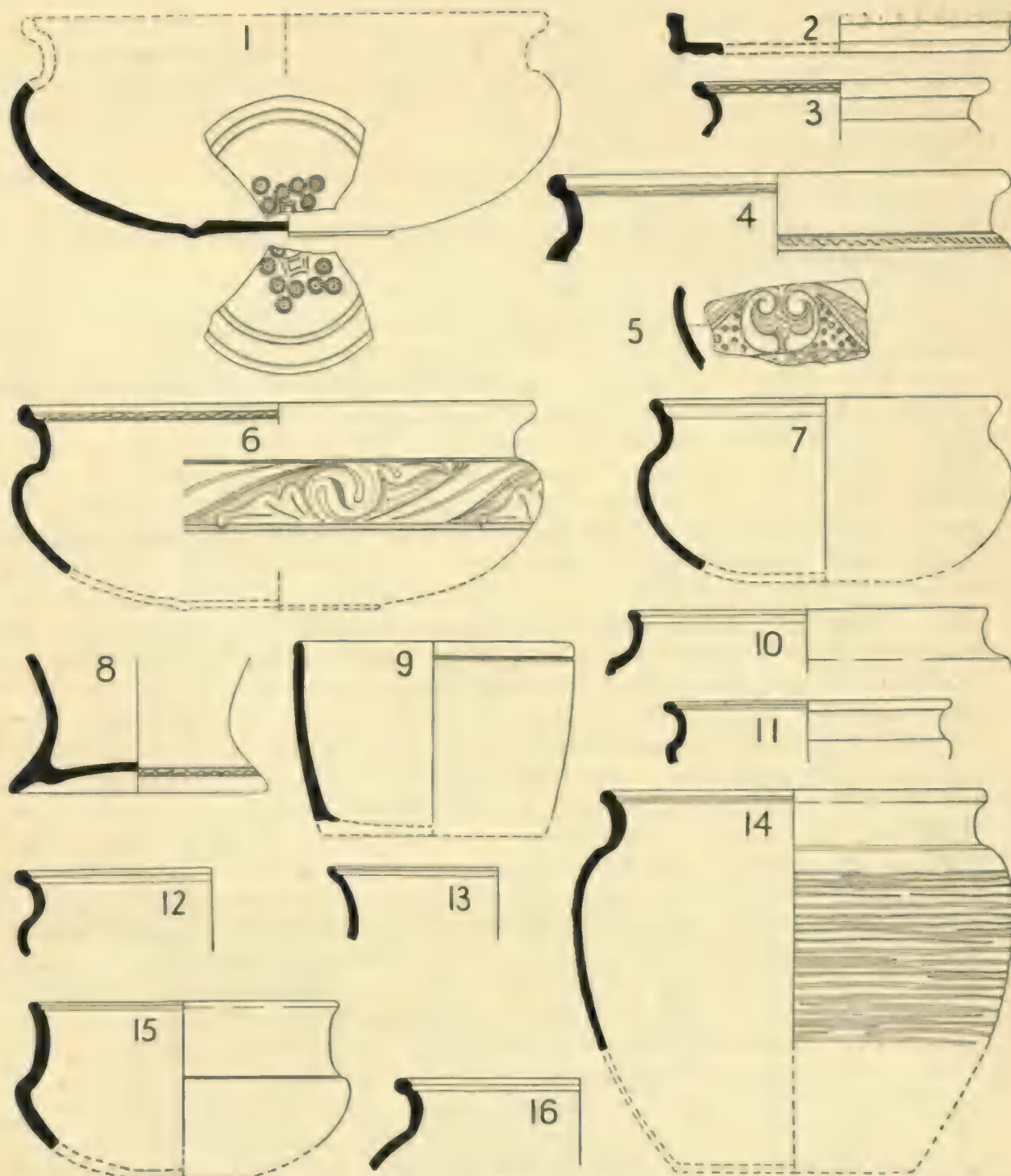
¹ *Revue archéologique*, ii (1901), 51.

² Déchelette, *Man. d'arch.* ii, pt. 3, pp. 1452–3.

³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v (1939), 173 ff.

⁴ e.g. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pls. lxix, lxxi, lxxiv, and fig. 163.

⁵ See forthcoming *Brittany Report*, and pl. xxviii.



Pottery in the museum of S. Briec, Côtes-du-Nord, showing 'Marnian' decoration and internally-grooved rims, from local sites. $\frac{1}{3}$. 1-7, from Henon; 8-11, from a grotto at S. Glen; 12, from 'Tertre Aubert'; 13-16, from S. Donan. See p. 216

which it normally occurs may best be regarded as intrusions from north-western France into south-western Britain.

Now all these foreign elements—geometric ‘sub-Hallstatt’ patterns, internally grooved rims, high-rimmed bowls—first occur in Britain, so far as we can see, about the middle of the first century B.C. It is not unreasonable therefore to regard these as products of the scattering of Gaulish elements by the Caesarian conquest. Be it emphasized again that they do not represent the mass migration of a Gaulish culture to Britain; be it repeated that the absence or scarcity here of the potter’s wheel—familiar in northern Gaul—is in itself sufficient to preclude a direct derivation of ‘Glastonbury B’ from Brittany. On the other hand, their incorporation in the composite Glastonbury culture is consistent with the presence of refugee-units from Brittany in the Glastonbury area, and, indeed, it may well be that the arrival of these units provided some part of the stimulus which induced the formation of the Glastonbury culture. We may go farther: the native environment of the Glastonbury culture—marsh-villages and caves—is itself suggestive of a refugee-element, arriving at a time when the more desirable hill-fort regions were already fully occupied or were at any rate beyond their acquisitive capacity. Geographically, the distribution of the Glastonbury pottery, reaching the southern coast in Kent’s Cavern and Milber Down, near Torquay, is consistent with the penetration of refugee-groups along the flanks of the hill-fort zones by way of valleys such as that of the Exe. In such circumstances the building of marsh settlements—a mode of existence never far from the mind of the prehistoric European—is not a thing to be wondered at. Still less is it necessary to seek antecedent marsh settlements in northern France. Given the circumstances, this method of occupying the wide no-man’s-land of the Somerset plain explains itself. A possible contributory factor has indeed been suggested recently, in conversation, by Sir Cyril Fox, but rather as a *jeu d’esprit* than as a serious theory. Fox has studied the distribution of Late Bronze Age sickles in this country and has noted the concentration in Somerset of a type with affinities in the latest Swiss lake-villages of the Hallstatt period. May we suppose that the break-up of those villages, which seemingly drove Alpine settlers to the banks of the Thames at Whitstable, Brentford, and elsewhere, drove others to the Somerset marshes; and that their tradition lingered there until revitalized in the first century B.C. by contact with the vigorous La Tène craftsmanship of eastern Britain and by refugees from Armorica? No evidence of these hypothetical marsh-folk has been found beneath Glastonbury or Meare, and the picture, which at present offers chronological difficulties, may admittedly be a fantastic one. It is here repeated merely as a line of thought offered for momentary consideration.

To summarize: two at least of the factors in the Glastonbury culture can be recognized provisionally: the influence of the eastern British La Tène (or B) metal-work on the one hand, and the influence of Breton elements on the other. The impulse or impulses which combined to fuse these elements into the Glastonbury culture are, as usually in such cases, difficult to determine. But amongst them we may reasonably recognize, on the one hand, the increasing circulation of ideas between the east and the west of

Britain after the emergence of new and powerful Iron Age groups within the orbit of the Forest of Dean iron-field ('Severn B', see below, p. 385), and, on the other hand, the disturbing effects of the Caesarian conquest of north-western Gaul in and about 56 B.C. There, in the present remote context, this elusive problem may be left.

Fig. 66

This figure illustrates the whole range of bead-rims at Maiden Castle, Bi-iii. All are made without the use of the wheel, and, unless otherwise stated, the ware is somewhat coarse and dark grey in colour. In each case an approximate (sequence) date is given in accordance with associated types and with the scheme outlined above.

88. Roughly made vessel of brown ware from a pit (B29) on site B. It is associated with the bead-rim pot no. 102 (below), and, although essentially an A type, has itself an emphatic rim suggesting bead-rim influence. It may be classed amongst the few A pots which thus show contact with B. With early Bii types, *c.* 25 B.C.

89. Brown ware with a slightly beaded rim but retaining strong influence of the A tradition. From a Bi level on site A, *c.* 50-40 B.C.

90. Heavily rolled bead-rim; a line of oval indentations round the shoulder. From a Bi pit (B19) on site B. The oval indentations are a not uncommon form of ornament on B pottery, *c.* 50 B.C.

91. Unemphatic bead-rim from a late Bi level on site E, *c.* 25 B.C.

92. Unemphatic bead-rim from a Bii pit (B49) on site B. Early first century A.D., but probably a survival from a somewhat earlier date.

93. Boldly rolled rim from a Bi level on site A, *c.* 50 B.C.

94. From a Bi level on site A, *c.* 50-25 B.C.

95. Boldly rolled bead-rim, with a hint of the angularity which was to form the 'beaked' variety characteristic of Bii. From a pit (B38) on site B transitional from Bi to Bii, *c.* 25 B.C.

96. Early form of bead-rim on a pot with the red haematite coating of the A tradition. With A and early B pottery in a pit (B23) on site B. Bi, *c.* 50 B.C.

97. Brown ware, rough and slightly angular bead, incised double-wave pattern. From a pit (G4A) on site G. Early Bii, last quarter of the first century B.C.

98. Rough double bead-rim, akin to 101 and 111 below. From a Bii level on site A. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

99. Emphatic bead-rim from an early Bii level on site A. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

100. Blunt bead-rim; three or four grooved segments round the shoulder, a variant of the 'eyebrow' pattern of 109 (below). From an early Bii pit (B24) on site B. Soon after 25 B.C.

101. Double bead-rim pot (cf. 98 and 111) from an early Bii pit on site D, *c.* 25 B.C.

102. Pot of lustrously smoothed black ware, with unemphatic bead-rim; secondary piercing above base. Found with no. 88 (above). Early Bii, *c.* 25 B.C.



FIG. 66. Iron Age B pottery (†)
See p. 218

103. Pot of notably gritty grey ware, from an early Bii level on site H. Soon after 25 B.C.

104. Pot with angular or 'beaked' bead-rim; indentations round the shoulder, and secondary piercings above the base. A very typical example of Bii from a pit (A8) of that phase on site A. End of the first century B.C.

105. Bowl with thumb-nail indentations round the shoulder. The rim is late Bii in type, but the pot was found in a layer which included an example of Biii, and therefore illustrates the overlap of the two groups. Early first century A.D.

106. Late example of Bii from a pit (F8) of that phase on site F. Beginning of the first century A.D.

107. Pot with four (originally perhaps five) secondary piercings in the base. From a late Bii pit (B11) on site B. End of first century B.C. or beginning of first century A.D.

108. Bowl with lightly grooved panel-pattern on the shoulder. From a Bii level on site Q. End of the first century B.C.

109. Unemphatic bead-rim of a type transitional from Bii to Biii. Round the shoulder are incised crescents which may be regarded as a simplified version of the 'eyebrow' pattern (see no. 110, below). From pit (B14) on site B, *c.* A.D. 1-25.

110. Pot with 'eyebrow' pattern on the shoulder. This pattern is frequent on the B pottery of Maiden Castle and occurs abundantly throughout the Wessex area in that phase (including derivative pottery of the succeeding Belgo-Roman phase).¹ It is not, as might be thought on an example such as the present, a vestigial handle, but is a detached unit of the Celtic repertoire used mechanically and unintelligently by the in-artistic hill-fort potters. The process of its emergence as an isolated motif can be seen in a Glastonbury sherd where, however, some profession is still made to co-ordinate it with a hatched background.²

111. Triple bead-rim, derived probably from the multiple beading of a metal prototype such as the Glastonbury bronze bowl. A similar rim occurs amongst the pottery types of Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXXVI, no. xxiii). From a late Bii or early Biii pit (A24) on site A. Early first century A.D.

112. Incised wave-pattern round the shoulder. Found with no. 109 above, *c.* A.D. 1-25.

113. 'False' bead-rim, formed by a groove below the rim; typical of Biii. From 'hearth C' on site E, *c.* A.D. 1-25.

114. Circular indentation (doubtless part of a series) on the shoulder. From the same pit as nos. 109 and 112, but from the layer below them. Early first century A.D.

115. Circular indentations and incised swag-ornament—another instance of derived and simplified Celtic motifs, extracted from designs such as *Glastonbury Lake-Village*,

¹ e.g. at Hengistbury Head, Hants; Ham Hill, Somerset; Rushmore, Cranborne Chase; Lydney, Glos., &c. (see *Lydney Report*, p. 95). A somewhat similar use of the 'eyebrow' unit on a larger scale occurs in south-eastern England at about the same time, e.g. at Park Brow (*Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 1926-7,

23, fig. 19), and elsewhere in Sussex and Kent (see Ward Perkins in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* iv, 1938, pp. 156, 164-5).

² Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXXXIV, no. P256.

ii, pl. LXXXII, no. P221. From the same pit as no. 104. End of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D.

116. Typical example of Biii in which the 'bead' is represented by little more than an incised line. From the same pit as nos. 109 and 112, *c.* A.D. 1-25.

Fig. 67

This and the following figure illustrate the development of the 'flat rim', discussed above, p. 213.

117. Heavy flat rim of dark smoothed ware, from pit L12 on site L, sealed by the latest Iron Age A level and therefore of middle-late A period. Other examples of this type, occasionally with a haematite surface, occur throughout the Iron Age A phase save, apparently, at the very beginning.

118. Sherd of large vessel with a flanged rim dimpled on the top surface. From the upper filling of pit B9 on site B, a pit transitional from Iron Age A to Iron Age B, *c.* 50 B.C.

119. Jar of coarse buff ware with flattened or 'clubbed' rim, from a late A level at the eastern entrance.

120. Rim of dark brown ware from pit B38 on site B, with Bii pottery ascribable to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. The 'clubbed' form has a close affinity with no. 119.

121. Rim of dark brown ware with polished external surface. From pit Q13 on site Q, with pottery of late Bii or early Biii; early first century A.D. The affinity of the form with nos. 119 and 120 is manifest.

122. Rim of blackish ware from pit A22 on site A. With pottery of late Bii types; beginning of first century A.D. A more formalized version of the preceding.

123. Rim of dark brown ware from a Biii level (first quarter of the first century A.D.) on site H. Akin to the preceding examples of A and B.

124. 'Clubbed' rim of dark brown ware from pit A11 on site A, with late Bii pottery; *c.* beginning of the first century A.D.

125. Flat or 'clubbed' rim on grey sherd with 'eyebrow' pattern (see above, p. 214), from pit B14 on site B, with Bii pottery; end of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D. A developed variant of no. 124.

126. Jar of orange ware, with formalized flat rim and late B bead, from a late B-Belgic layer in the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25. This rim shows the final development of nos. 124 and 125.

127. Flat rim of orange-brown ware, with Bii pottery (late first century B.C.) at the eastern entrance. This represents the bolder type of derivative from the A prototypes.

128. Flat rim of orange-brown ware from the same pit as no. 124 above. Beginning of the first century A.D. This is an early example of the final development of the flanged type.

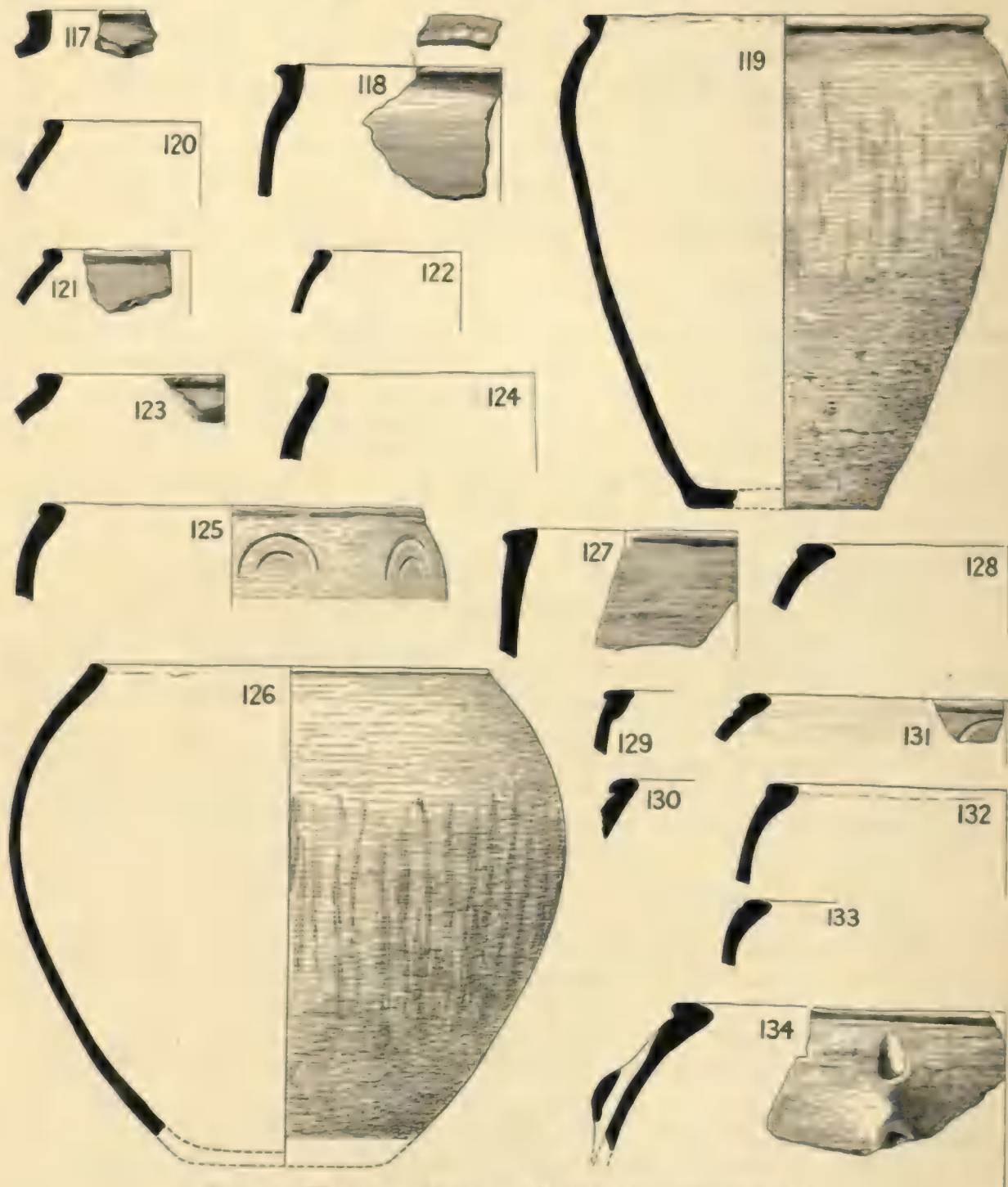


FIG. 67. Flat-rimmed pottery, Iron Ages A, B, and C (†)
See p. 221

129. Flat rim of brown ware from pit G13 at the eastern entrance. With Bii pottery; beginning of the first century A.D.

130. Flat rim of brown ware from pit A8, with Bii pottery; late first century B.C.

131. Rim of brown ware from the layer in pit B14 immediately below that containing no. 125 and approximately contemporary. Turn of first centuries B.C. and A.D.

132. Flat rim of brown ware from the same layer as no. 131.

133. Flat rim of developed bead-form, from the upper filling of the same pit, with late Biii pottery; *c.* A.D. 25.

134. Flat rim of brown ware, with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D. This represents the mature form of the beaded flat rim, and the vertical eyelet handle—of which there were four to six on a single large pot—is characteristic.

Fig. 68

This figure illustrates further examples of the large storage-jars of Iron Age B, generally with a flattened rim inherited from Iron Age A.

134A (with 134B). Jar coated with red haematite, from the pit B9 which produced no. 118 above. With it was the Bi bead-rim here illustrated as no. 134B; this sherd is likewise coated with red haematite. The contents of the pit are transitional from Iron Age A to B, but the present jar is A rather than B; *c.* 50 B.C.

135. Jar of smooth dark grey ware decorated with groups of bluntly incised lines, and with blunt everted rim akin to no. 134 above. Found with no. 136, below, on site E, hearth C, with early Biii pottery; early first century A.D.

136. Dark brown ware, with line of incised arcs round the shoulder. Found with 135.

137. Flat-rimmed jar of dark brown ware, formerly with six vertical eyelet handles. From a late B level on site C; first quarter of the first century A.D.

138. Jar of dark brown ware, with flat rim and four bold double spirals bluntly incised round the shoulder. With Bii pottery on site D; last quarter of the first century B.C.

Plate XL, B (facing p. 376)

'Dimpled' base of large storage jar, from a deposit (pit B1) of *c.* A.D. 25. Compare *Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. xv.

Fig. 69

Two jars, nos. 139 and 142, are here added by way of further illustration of the flat-rimmed types discussed above.

139. Flat-rimmed jar of reddish-brown ware, with cruciform impression derived from the eyelet handle. Vestigial handles on vessels of this type are specially characteristic of the Belgic-Roman period, *c.* A.D. 25–50. With late Biii types in the infilling of pit B36 on site B, *c.* A.D. 25.

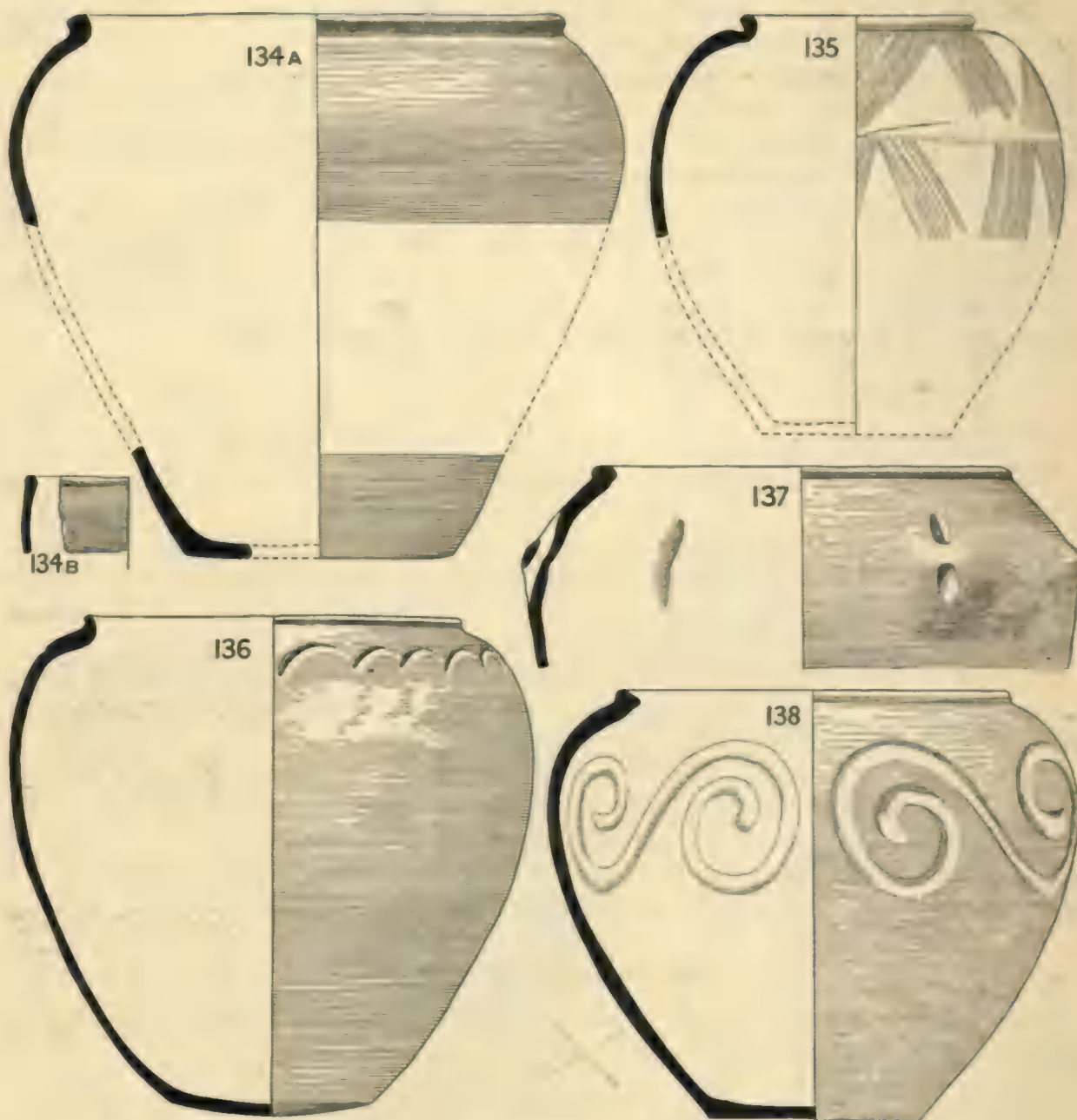


FIG. 68. Iron Age B pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$), Nos. 134 A and B coated with haematite
See pp. 214, 223

140. Sherd of similar jar with vestigial eyelet handle. From a late Biii or early Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25.

141. Similar sherd from a Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-50.

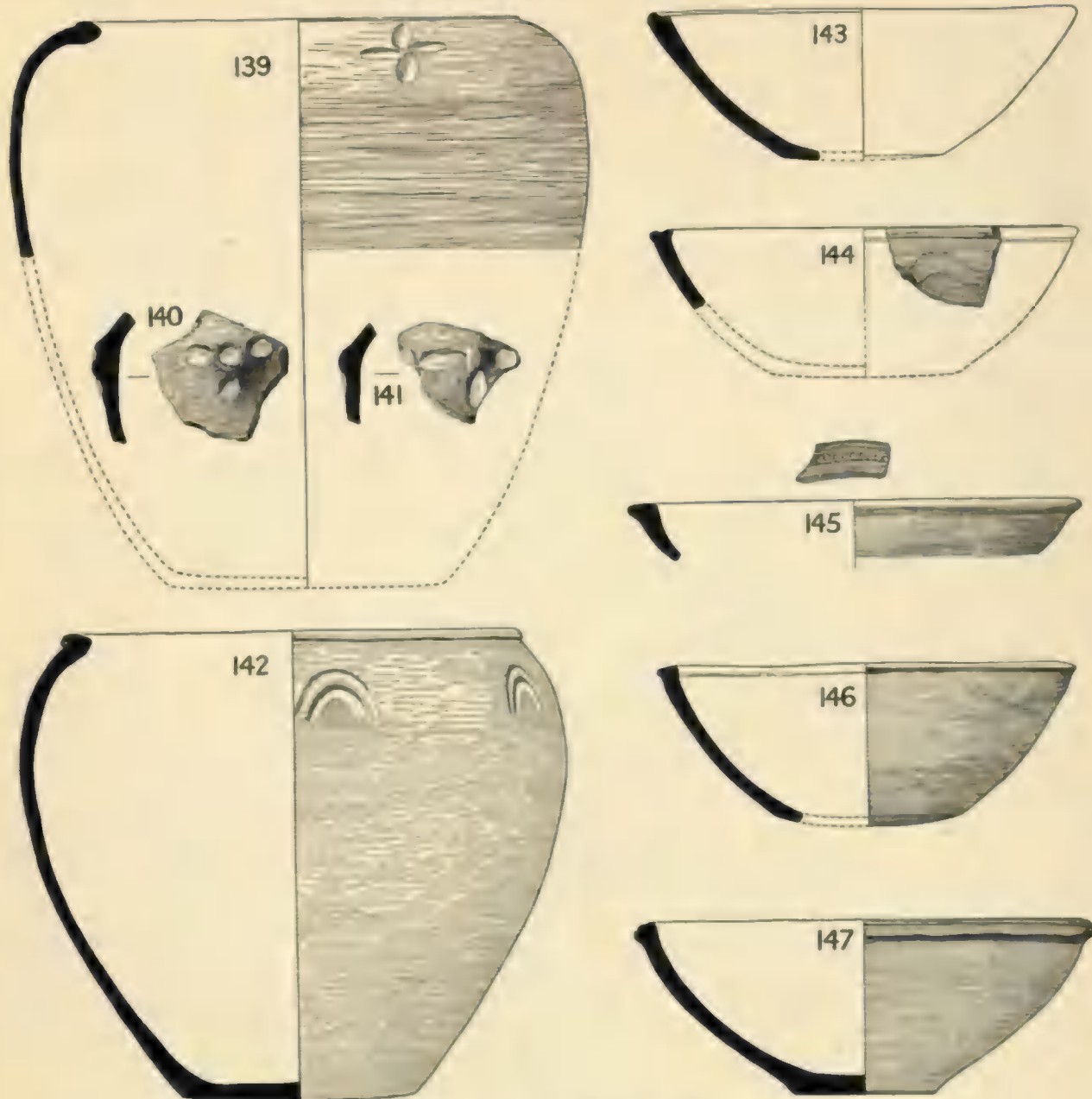


FIG. 69. Iron Age B-C pottery (†)

See p. 223

142. Flat-rimmed jar of greyish-brown ware, with 'eyebrow' patterns round the shoulder. From pit B29 on site B, with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

Nos. 143-7 represent the range of bowls or dishes associated with the Iron Age B culture. They are derived in the main from equivalent dishes of the Iron Age A culture,

cf. fig. 59, 59 and 61, above, and the Swallowcliffe type, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 1925-7, pl. vi, 8), although the beaded and reeded rims are modifications due to B.

143. With grooved rim, from a Bii pit (B24) on site B. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

144. With grooved and beaded rim, and incised double wave-pattern. From a pit (G16) with A and Bii sherds on site G. End of the first century B.C.

145. With flanged rim ornamented with dots between incised lines. With Bii-iii pottery in pit G4 on site G. Early first century A.D.

146. With beaded rim, from a Bii-iii layer on site L. Early first century A.D.

147. With beaded and reeded rim, from a Biii pit (B1) on site B. First quarter of the first century A.D.

Fig. 70

(Miscellaneous B-types)

148. Coarse dark grey ware, plain flattened rim, secondary piercings in base. From a Bii pit (B14) on site B; last quarter of the first century B.C. In form and fabric this type is derived from Iron Age A, but the moderate size and the slightly more careful technique show the influence of B. It is indeed the most characteristic example of the modified survival of A in B. A 'small number' of vessels of this type are recorded from the Glastonbury lake-village,¹ but the form was not typical there.

149. Brown ware, coarse fabric, slightly beaded rim, roughly scratched decoration on shoulder. From a Bii pit (B12) on site B; last quarter of the first century B.C. The fabric is that of Iron Age A, but the slight beading and the rough decoration are a tribute to the influence of Iron Age B. Its 'artistic' parentage can be traced in *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. lxxxI, P208.

150. From a Bii pit (A11) on site A; last quarter of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D. An uncommon form.

151. Good dark grey ware with roughly scratched decoration round shoulder. From a Bii pit (B12) on site B; last quarter of the first century B.C. The decoration is of a feeble sub-Glastonbury type.

152. Smoothed black ware, decorated with incised arcs bordered by dots. From a Bii-iii level on site D, with no. 165 (below); early first century A.D. The large and simple units of the decoration are reminiscent of 'South-Eastern B' pottery (cf. *Proc. Preh. Soc.* iv, 1938, p. 164, fig. 10, 3), but the resemblance may have no special significance. In both cases the craftsman has abstracted and emphasized a unit widely familiar in the La Tène repertoire (cf. *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. lxxxv, P270).

153. Dark grey ware, beaded rim, bluntly carinated shoulder ornamented with roughly incised swags; secondary piercing above base. From a Bii level on site L; end of the first century B.C. This is the only example, from Maiden Castle, of the situlate type which in a somewhat coarser form occurs in class C at Hengistbury Head. In northern

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 505 and pl. lxxv, xi.



FIG. 70. Iron Age B pottery (4)

See pp. 214, 226

France the form is found from La Tène I onwards (see above, fig. 62 and p. 204); but in the present example the summary sub-Glastonbury decoration confirms the late date indicated by stratigraphical association.

154. Large roughly made jar with heavy rim and dark smooth soapy surface. The decoration is indicated by shallow grooves, with the main lines emphasized by lines of punctuations. From a Bii-iii pit (D2W) on site D; end of the first century B.C. or

beginning of the first century A.D. This specimen is unique at Maiden Castle. The use of punctuations is in the direct tradition of metal-technique, and occurs, though as an exception, at Glastonbury (*Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXXXI, P215, and LXXXVII, P289). A nearer comparison is provided by the superior Hengistbury Class F ware, and, above all, by an example from St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester.¹ It is evident that this type of decoration is at home in the Wiltshire-Hampshire-Sussex region, and is an intruder into Maiden Castle from the east.

155. Brown smoothed ware, boldly recurved rim, depressed and incised decoration. From a Biii level on site Q; first quarter of the first century A.D. This specimen is also unique at Maiden Castle. The rough decoration consists of the unskilled reassemblage of elements which occur in the Glastonbury repertoire.

156. Smooth grey-brown ware, beaded rim, band of shallow oblique lines bordered by horizontal grooves and lines of roulette-punctuations. From a Bii-iii pit (G2); beginning of the first century A.D. This type, the so-called 'saucepan' pot, is rare at Maiden Castle, but closely analogous forms occur at Glastonbury, and the type ranges from Dorset to Sussex.² It is derived, directly or indirectly, from Marnian pots (cf. above, fig. 62, vi) which are, in turn, ceramic derivatives from metal prototypes. In Britain they belong, with other Marnian forms, to La Tène III.

157. Grey 'saucepan' pot with slightly marked bead-rim and shallow double-chevron pattern. From a B level.

158. Fragment of bead-rim vessel with frieze bordered by incised lines and containing a wave-pattern interspersed with occasional circular depressions. From a Bii pit (B49) on site B; end of the first century B.C.

159. Base decorated with two parallel lines of punctuations. From the same pit as 158.

160. Small vessel of brown ware from a Bii pit (E1) on site E. The form is apparently unique. End of the first century B.C.

161. Small vessel of coarse brown ware, probably a crucible, from a Bii pit (G4). End of the first century B.C.

162. Eyelet handle, not countersunk, from a Bii level on site A; last quarter of the first century B.C. Handles, other than countersunk, are rare in Iron Age B.

Plate XXIX, A (facing p. 274)

In this plate and in fig. 71 are illustrated sherds bearing decoration of 'Glastonbury' or closely related types (see above, p. 215). Most of those found during the four seasons' work are included.

1. From pit B42, with Iron Age Bi-ii pottery, c. 25 B.C. or a little later.
2. From site H, with Bi-ii pottery, c. 25 B.C. or a little later.

¹ C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres, and C. G. Stevens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester* (1930), p. 117, fig. 14, R10, and p. 119 (other analogies there cited).

² See E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), pl. xxvii, 6-8.

3. From site H, with Bi-ii pottery, *c.* 25 B.C. or a little later.
4. From site D, with Bi-ii pottery, *c.* 25 B.C. or a little later.
5. From site D, with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
6. From pit D₄, with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
7. Two fragments of a pot from pit A₉, with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
8. From pit B₃₈, with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
9. Two fragments of a pot with grooved 'petal' pattern, from a pit in the outworks of the eastern entrance containing Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
10. (=) fig. 71, 166, q.v.
11. (=) fig. 71, 164, q.v.
12. (=) fig. 71, 168, q.v.
13. From pit A₁₁, with Bii-iii pottery. Early first century A.D.
14. From site H, with Bii-iii pottery. Early first century A.D.
15. From site D, with Bii-iii pottery. Early first century A.D.
16. From a Belgic layer on site D, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
17. From site D, with Biii pottery and sherds with some traces of Belgic influence, *c.* A.D. 25.
18. Two fragments of a pot of which one fragment is illustrated in fig. 71, 163, 1, q.v.
19. From a Belgic layer on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-50.

Fig. 71

163. (= pl. xxix, A, 18). Part of a pot with mature 'Glastonbury' decoration. The plain disk within the scroll is concave or 'dished'. From site D with Bii-iii pottery. Beginning of the first century A.D., or the end of the previous century.

164. (= pl. xxix, A, 11). From a Biii pit on site B. First quarter of the first century A.D.

165. Elementary chevron design. Found with no. 152, with Biii pottery on site D. First quarter of the first century A.D.

166. (= pl. xxix, A, 10). Fragment of mature 'Glastonbury' pottery with internally grooved rim (for which see above, p. 216). From an early Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25.

167. From an early Belgic level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 25.

168. (= pl. xxix, A, 12). Fragment with elementary panel-decoration and internally grooved rim. This is the only pot of 'Glastonbury' or related type (from Maiden Castle) which seems to have been turned on a slow wheel. Its late date is doubtless the explanation; it is from pit B₁ with Biii pottery which shows a slight trace of Belgic influence, *c.* A.D. 25. The simple linear ornament of this pot has more affinity with that of a Cornish group¹ than with the true 'Glastonbury' series, but the resemblance may have no special significance.

¹ e.g. a pot from Constantine Island. *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1926-7), 233, fig. 12.

169. Fragment of a base, with 'Glastonbury' decoration on the underside, closely comparable with Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LXXXVI, P280. From pit Q34, with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C. Decorated bases are not uncommon in the Somerset lake-village pottery, but this is the only example from Maiden Castle.

170. From an early Belgic level on site Q, c. A.D. 25.

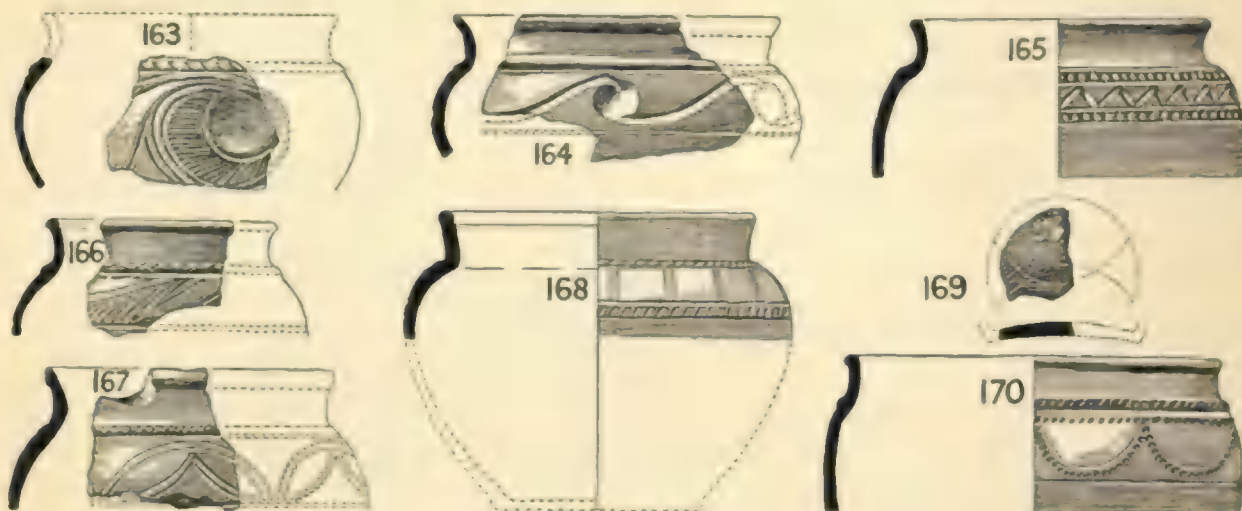


FIG. 71. 'Glastonbury' pottery (1)

See p. 229, and pl. XXIX, A

3. EARLY IRON AGE C POTTERY

It has already been remarked that the arrival of Belgic (Iron Age C) influence at Maiden Castle coincided with a final reparation of the main ramparts, and with the filling up of such pits as were still open. Of the very numerous pits excavated during the four years' work, only two contained fragments of wheel-turned Belgic or sub-Belgic pottery in their main strata. For the rest, this pottery occurs only in the upper filling and in the sealing layers.

Technically, the intrusive Belgic element is marked by the introduction of the wheel; but, in diminishing quantities, hand-made pottery remained in use for some considerable time alongside the wheel-made wares. As will be seen, the ceramic forms of the phase fall into three groups: first, surviving forms of the Iron Age B phase; secondly, new forms introduced from Belgic sources; and thirdly, cross-bred forms between the first and second groups.

Chronologically, a datum-line is provided by the seventeen pots derived from the War Cemetery at the eastern entrance, since all these vessels can be dated closely to the period of the Roman invasion, an event which at Maiden Castle occurred between the landing

of A.D. 43 and the establishment of a frontier on or near the line of the Fosseway in A.D. 46-7. Indeed, the date A.D. 44 may safely be taken as within a year of the burial of this group of pots. On this basis, the pottery of the whole phase may be dated with unusual accuracy. Working both backwards and forwards from the datum, the various forms and deposits interlock to such an extent as to limit the range to within twenty years (on a conservative estimate) on each side of A.D. 44. It is scarcely possible to place the arrival of Belgic influence at Maiden Castle earlier than *c.* A.D. 25; it may, in fact, be a few years later. The historical significance of that event is discussed above, pp. 57 ff.

Save for the structural evidence resulting from the actual episode of conquest at the eastern entrance, the arrival of the Roman régime did not interrupt the normal evidence of occupation. Dwelling-sites within the camp show only a continuous accumulation of material, varied in the upper strata by the erratic intrusion of Roman wares, notably sherds of Samian (*terra sigillata*) and scraps of Roman jugs, etc. If the results of the Colchester excavation, as communicated to me by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, are valid elsewhere (as they may be expected to be), the only Roman fabrics in pre-Conquest layers should be those of amphorae, which are, in fact, present at Maiden Castle throughout the Belgic phase and occur in two instances in pre-Belgic Iron Age B layers. It is assumed, therefore, that all Belgic layers containing other Roman fabrics are subsequent to the Roman invasion.

The examples here illustrated are selected partly by groups and partly as typical or outstanding forms. Unless otherwise specified, all the examples are more or less roughly wheel-turned.

Fig. 72

This figure illustrates the pots recovered from the War Cemetery of *c.* A.D. 44. All are wheel-turned, unless otherwise stated, though in some cases only roughly so. The colour is dark grey to black, and the surface is smooth, sometimes almost lustrous.

171-81. These represent the commonest form, a plain, more or less straight-sided bowl. The type has a bead-rim conforming approximately with the Iron Age B tradition, but the somewhat angular shape of the side is an innovation of the Belgic phase, as is also the foot-ring or foot-stand, which occasionally approximates to a small pedestal and, in rare instances (nos. 178 and 180), has the omphalos which sometimes occurs on more specifically Belgic pedestals (below, fig. 73, 206). The metallic appearance of these bowls suggests that sooner or later a metal prototype may be brought to light. It may, indeed, be that the bead-rim, which on them assumes an emphasis that had been largely lost at the end of the pre-Belgic period (see above, p. 208), owes something to a fresh copy of this feature from metal-work.

Bowls of this type are familiar in Dorset, the type-site being Jordan Hill, near Weymouth.¹ Others in the Dorchester Museum include four probably from Dorset, six from the environs of Dorchester itself, four from Weymouth and its environs (possibly also

¹ British, Dorchester and Taunton Museums.



FIG. 72. Pottery from the Belgic War Cemetery of c. A.D. 44 (1)

See p. 231

from Jordan Hill), and two from the Purbeck district. The Farnham Museum, Dorset, contains similar bowls from the Woodcuts village.¹ Taunton Museum also has examples from Ham Hill, Somerset. East and west, the limits of the type appear to be Hengistbury Head, Hampshire,² and Hembury Fort, in east Devon.³

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. xxv, 8.

² *Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. xxiii, 13.

³ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1931), pl. xxv and pl. xxviii, P11 and P25.

For other objects associated with these pots see below, p. 278. Here it will serve to note that no. 171 was found with skeleton P6, no. 172 with skeleton P7, no. 173 with skeleton P7a, no. 174 with skeleton P19, nos. 175 and 176 with skeleton P22, nos. 177 and 178 with skeleton P23, no. 179 with skeleton P24, no. 180 with skeleton P25, and no. 181 with skeleton P34.

182. This bowl, found with skeleton P36, in association with no. 184 (below), conforms with the preceding, save for the addition of three vertical ribs continued below and flanked by lines of shallow dots. It belongs to a series similarly decorated, but the decoration commonly includes a pair of bosses or imitation rivets at the upper end of the rib (see fig. 73, 191). Since the type is clearly derived from metal-work, examples bearing the rivet-knobs are presumably earlier in origin than those which lack them. Similar examples, with or without knobs, occur at Jordan Hill, Weymouth (British and Dorchester Museums), Dorchester (Dorchester Museum), Wyke Regis (Dorchester Museum), Ham Hill, Somerset,¹ Rotherley, Cranborne Chase (variant form),² Hembury Fort in east Devon,³ and Exeter. The type has been described as 'Dumnonian', but a majority of examples have been found in Dorset, and 'Durotrigian' would therefore be a more appropriate epithet.

183, 184. Two lids, no. 183 with skeleton P22 in association with pots nos. 175 and 176 (above); and no. 184 in association with pot no. 182 above.

185. A handled mug, found beside the right hand of skeleton P2. A similar though smaller mug is illustrated below, fig. 74, 227 and other examples occur at Jordan Hill, Weymouth. A somewhat similar example has been found at Camerton in Somerset (unpublished), and a very roughly made mug, which perhaps owes something to the series, was found at Solisbury Hill Camp in the same county.⁴ These mugs are presumably adaptations from the metal-and-wood mugs which are represented mainly by handles (frequently ornate) dating from the latter part of the Early Iron Age. In the dating of these metal examples it may be of some significance to recall that the type is entirely absent from the ceramic of Maiden Castle—and apparently elsewhere—until the last decades before the Roman Conquest. For example, the type does not occur in the pre-Belgic deposits at Maiden Castle.

186. A vessel with low pedestal foot found with skeleton O4.

187. A somewhat similar pot found with skeleton P18. A roughened band round the main girth of the pot bears a smoothed trellised pattern. Pots of this type (compare fig. 73, 188 below), with the high shoulder and with or without simple decoration, are characteristic of the Belgo-Roman period at Maiden Castle. A similar pot was found recently at Camerton, Somerset (unpublished).

Fig. 73

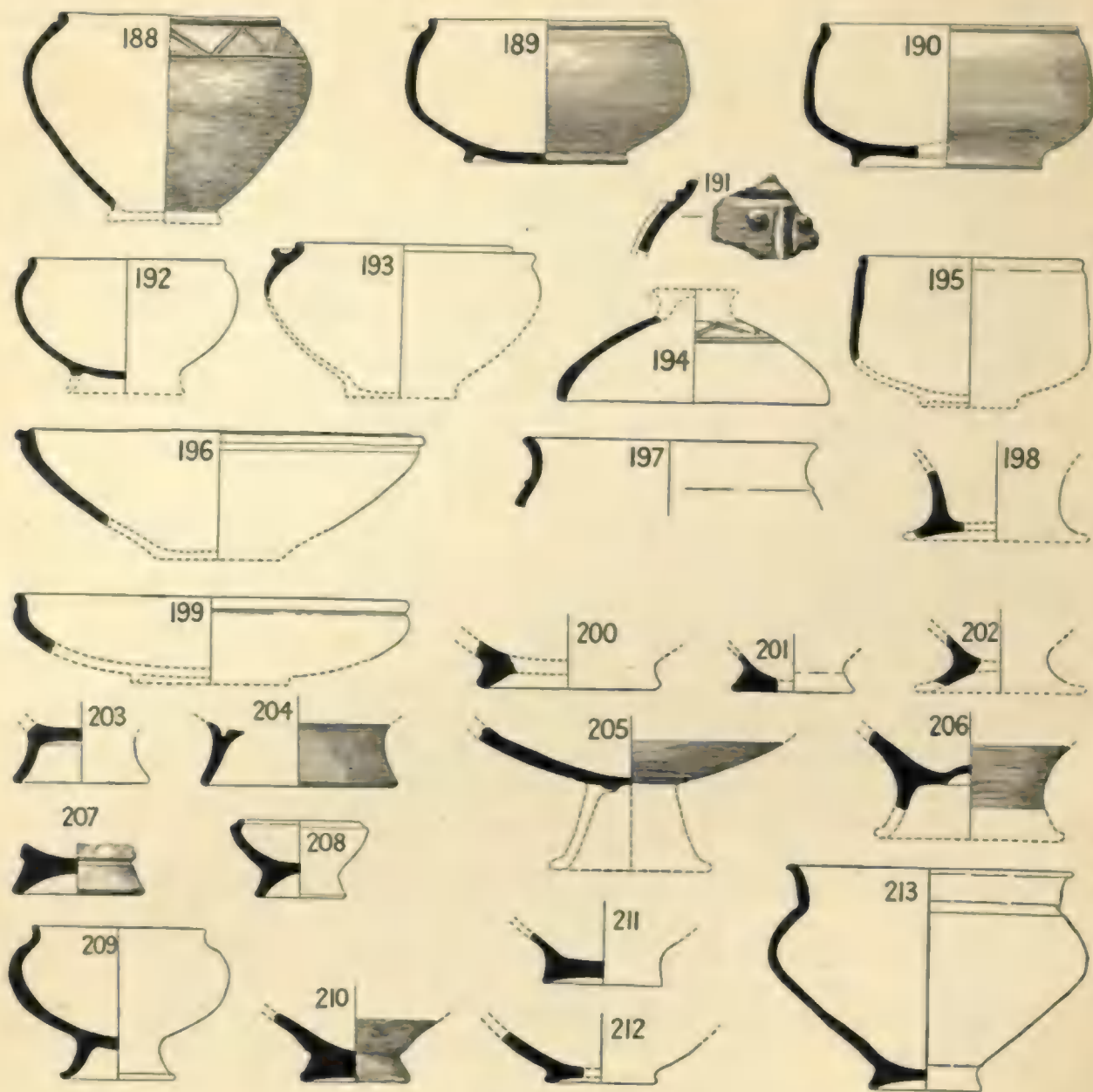
188. A pot of dark grey ware with shallow smooth chevron pattern on the shoulder,

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. lxx, viii, ix; and *Trans. Somerset Arch. Soc.* xxviii, 48, 82.

³ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1930), pl. xxv.

⁴ *Proc. Spelaeological Soc.* iv, no. 3 (Bristol, 1935), pl. v.

² Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, p. 161.

FIG. 73. Iron Age C pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 233

found with skeleton T6 in the burial-ground (not the War Cemetery) outside the eastern entrance, generally similar to no. 187.

189, 190. Pots similar to nos. 171-81 found with skeletons T20 and T25 in the same cemetery as 188. No. 189 has a cross lightly smoothed on the underside of the base.

191. Fragment of pot with seam and 'rivet-heads' imitating metal-work (see above, p. 233 and fig. 72, 182). From a Belgic road in the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

192. A pot of black ware formerly with pronounced foot-ring or pedestal found on the stone slab covering infant burial no. 1 on site B. The type is a variant of nos. 171-81 and is comparable with no. 209 below.

193-202. A group of associated sherds from a Belgic level on site B. To the same group belongs the Belgic platter, no. 246, below. The layer contained oyster-shells which do not certainly occur before the Roman invasion, but the group is otherwise free from Roman admixture. It will be observed that one bowl, no. 195, of type nos. 171-81 above, is included in this group; and on all grounds a date of *c.* A.D. 40-50 may be ascribed to it. No. 193, a bowl with a rim grooved to receive a lid, is akin to a type which occurs with a pedestal at Rotherley¹ and is not uncommon elsewhere in Belgic groups.² No. 194 is doubtless a lid, as is indicated by the position of the band of decoration, which consists of a roughly smoothed chevron pattern above two horizontal grooves. No. 195 requires no further comment. No. 196 is a large dish of a type derived directly from Iron Age B (see p. 225). No. 197 is a bowl of a type which will be discussed below under nos. 234-7. No. 198 is a pedestal of a shallower type than is normal in Wessex (see below under no. 214). No. 199 is a bowl which, with its emphatic abruptly curved shoulder, is typical of the Belgic phase. Nos. 200 and 201 are typical of the foot-ring and solid degenerate pedestal which occur abundantly at Maiden Castle in the Belgo-Roman period. No. 202 is a fragment of a pedestal which occupies a position between no. 198 and the normal high Wessex type.

203. This is derived from a Belgic layer on site B immediately below a layer containing an early Samian form 18. The latter must be regarded as immediately post-Conquest, and the pedestal therefore dates from the period of the Conquest, or immediately before it.

204. A pedestal from the earliest Belgic layer on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

205 and 206 are pedestals, the former with a vestigial, and the latter with an actual omphalos. On the Continent the omphalos, although familiar on allied types of pottery, is rare or even absent on pedestal urns, but it occurs fairly freely in southern Britain, from Aylesford in Kent to Glastonbury and Meare in Somerset, on tazzas and other forms in the Belgic complex.³ No. 205 is from an early Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45, whilst no. 206 is from a level on the same site containing a sherd of nondescript but early Samian, and should not, therefore, be earlier than A.D. 43.

207 is a devolved semi-solid pedestal from a layer on site H in association with early Samian sherds of forms 18 and 29, and the fragment of a Roman jug. It may therefore be dated approximately to A.D. 45-65.

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, pl. cx, 3.

² e.g. *Swarling Report*, pl. ix, type 33. *Verulamium Report*, fig. 18, no. 54, from a group which may be dated A.D. 10-45.

³ e.g. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 515; Hawkes and Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930),

248, fig. 21, 5. Hawkes and Dunning illustrate an example of the omphalos base from Fort Harrouard (Eure et Loire), but this may not be a true pedestal urn; *ibid.*, p. 206, fig. 14, 34.

208 is a similar pedestal vessel from the early Roman level on site L datable to *c.* A.D. 45–65.

209 is a pedestal vessel from a Belgic level, not otherwise closely datable, at the eastern entrance. A similar pot was included in the remarkable burial-group from Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hants, to which a date *c.* A.D. 30–40 has been ascribed;¹ and an isolated example has been found as far east as Lancing Down, Sussex,² though the type is essentially western.

210 is a devolved solid pedestal from an early Belgic layer (A.D. 25–45) on site L.

211 is a semi-solid pedestal base from a layer on site B which straddles the Roman Conquest.

212 is a base from the layer immediately below that containing no. 211, and datable to the last pre-Conquest phase, A.D. 25–45.

213 is a bowl of weak and devolved outline, with a semi-pedestal base, from a secondary Belgic level on site L dating from about the time of the Roman Conquest. This example serves to illustrate the probable type to which several of the preceding belong.

Fig. 74

214–16. These three pots were found intermixed in such a manner as to imply exact contemporaneity in the lower Belgic layer on site L, *c.* A.D. 25–45. Nos. 214 and 215 are examples of the high pedestal which has already been noted above (nos. 203, 204, 206, 209). In all cases it certainly or probably belonged to bowls or tazzas rather than to the large pear-shaped pedestal-urns which are familiar on Belgic sites such as Aylesford, Swarling, and Welwyn in south-eastern Britain. This last form does not seem to occur in Wessex at all; but the tazza with the high pedestal is characteristic of a number of western sites. Thus the remarkable group of pottery already cited, found in a barrow of *c.* A.D. 30–40 at Hurstbourne Tarrant near Andover, Hants, included a pot similar to no. 209 (above) and a globular tazza on a high pedestal which is, however, sealed at the lower, not the upper, end.³ A pedestal pot of comparable form was found at Jordan Hill, Weymouth (Dorchester Museum), and may be attributed to the same period, and another, with hollow base, is recorded from Hanging Langford Camp.⁴ Nearer to our no. 214 is the tazza from Woodcuts, in Cranborne Chase.⁵ It would appear that the high pedestal-tazza, in variant but usually devolved form—as indicated in the present example by the weak, sagging outline—is characteristic of the western Belgic province. But whether its presence, and the absence of the large pear-shaped pedestal-urn, combine to indicate a later, peripheral, provincial development in the west of the south-eastern Belgic culture, or whether they are to be explained by a fresh infiltration from overseas is at present difficult to decide with complete assurance in the absence of a sufficient number of explored Belgic sites intermediate between the two areas. Here the former

¹ Hawkes and Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930), fig. 32, 11, and p. 308.

² E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), p. 282.

³ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930), 307.

⁴ *Ibid.* 306.

⁵ Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. xxxv, 5.

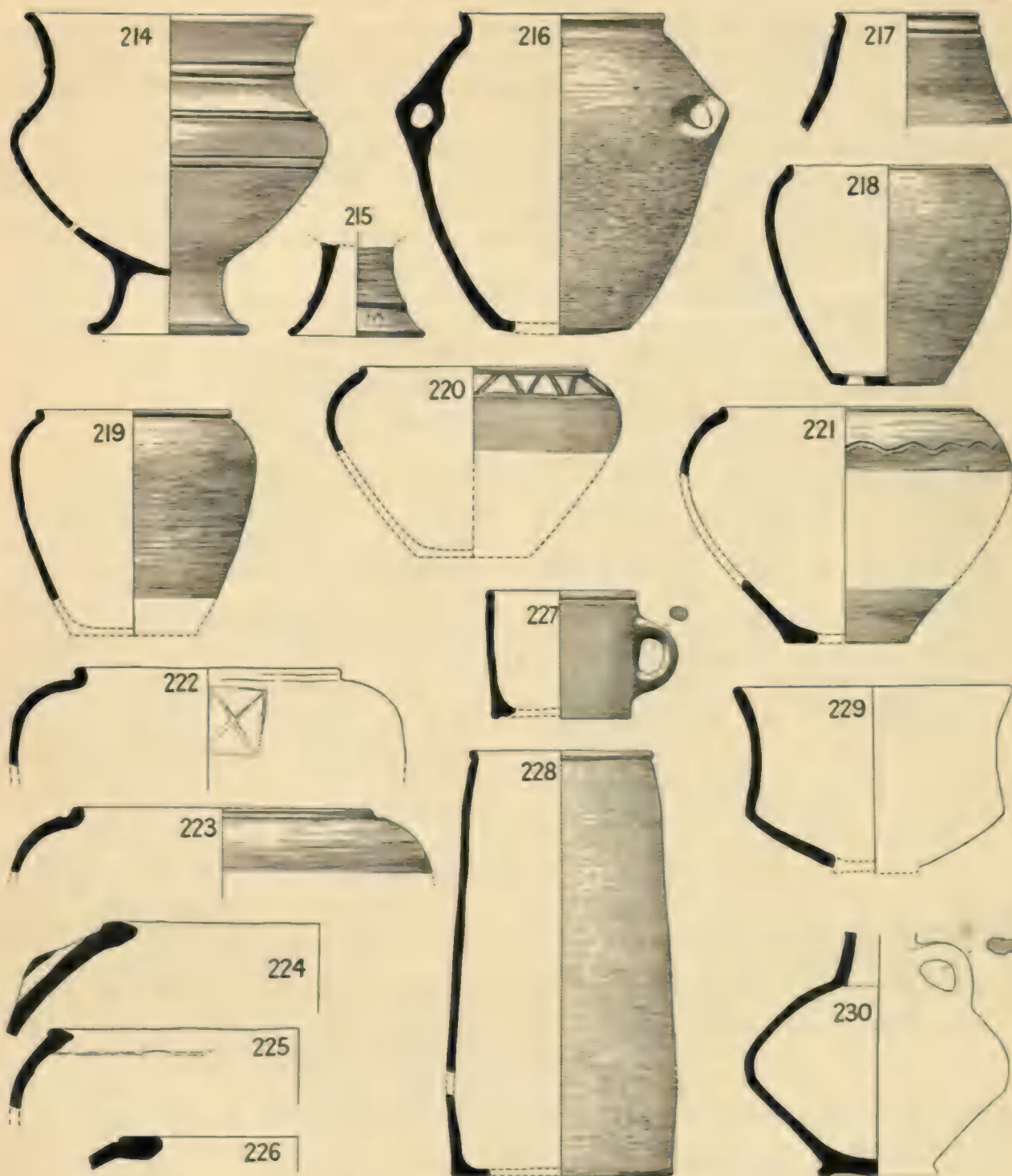


FIG. 74. Iron Age C pottery (†)
See p. 236

alternative is preferred, pending fresh evidence (see pp. 57 ff.). No. 216 is a Belgicized variant of the Iron Age B form with countersunk-handles. The new element consists in the everted rim, replacing the bead of the prototype. This variant is characteristic of the Belgic and Belgo-Roman phase at Maiden Castle, but its appearance did not involve the instant disappearance of the beaded type (see p. 210).

217. Upper part of vessel of smooth dark ware from the lowest Belgic level on site L, datable to *c.* A.D. 25-45. This type is exceptional and the complete form conjectural.

218 is a typical high-shouldered bead-rim pot from a level on site Q datable to *c.* A.D. 25-50.

219. Typical high-shouldered bead-rim pot of black ware from the lowest Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

220. High-shouldered, bead-rim pot of grey ware with a smooth chevron pattern on the shoulder; from the same layer as no. 217.

221. High-shouldered, bead-rim pot of brownish-grey ware with wavy groove; from the same layer as the preceding.

222. High-shouldered pot of brownish-grey ware with heavy bead-rim and scratched saltire within rectangular framework on the shoulder; from a low Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

223. Somewhat similar type of brown ware; from the lowest Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

224. Flat-rimmed pot of brownish-grey ware with lug handle pierced vertically; from a Romano-Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 45-65.

225. Flat-rimmed pot of brownish-grey ware; from a Romano-Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 45-65.

226. Flat-rimmed vessel of reddish-brown ware; from a Romano-Belgic level on site R, *c.* A.D. 45-65. This example represents the most developed form of this broad-rimmed type. For the origins of the type see above, p. 213.

227. Bead-rimmed mug with handle, of brownish-grey ware; from a Romano-Belgic level on site L with sherds of Samian forms 24 and 18. For the type see above, no. 185.

228. Tall funnel-shaped bead-rimmed pot of dark grey ware; from the lowest Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45. This pot is probably made without the wheel. Its form is apparently unique.

229. Carinated pot of grey ware; from a low Belgic level on site B. *c.* A.D. 25-45.

230. Jug, rim missing, of dark reddish-brown ware; from the lowest Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45. Although derived from familiar Roman forms, this jug is of native fabric and occurs in an extensive layer which is consistently free from imported Roman pottery, save for scraps of amphora. It may reasonably be regarded as just pre-Conquest.

Fig. 75

231. Upper part of a butt-beaker of orange-brown ware with a band of grooved trellis pattern bordered by cordons. This is the only example of a butt-beaker found at

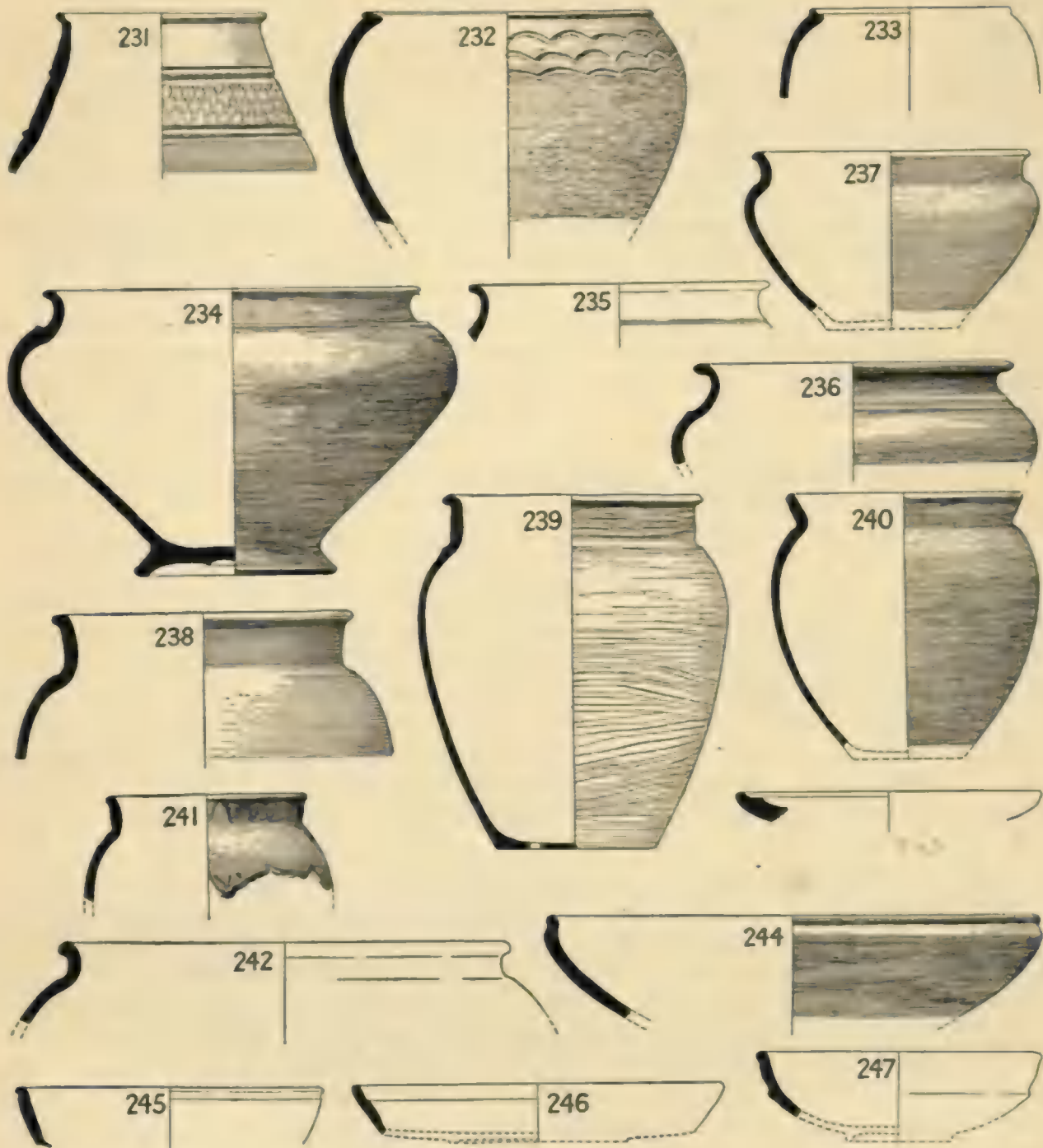


FIG. 75. Iron Age C pottery coated with haematite ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 238

Maiden Castle. It is derived from the same low Belgic level on site L which produced nos. 214-16, above, *c. A.D. 25-45*.

232. High-shouldered vessel of brownish-grey ware with grooved rim and three wavy bands incised round the shoulder. This pot is apparently hand-made. From the Romano-Belgic level on the rampart of the hornwork at the eastern entrance.

233. High-shouldered pot of brownish-grey ware, with grooved rim; from a low Belgic level on site B, *c. A.D. 45-65*.

234. High-shouldered pot of grey ware with cordon on the shoulder and low pedestal base with vestigial omphalos; from a layer on site Q dating immediately before or immediately after the Roman Conquest. At long remove this type may be derived from the cordoned omphalos bowls of Hengistbury, class B. These are closely similar to one of the dominant pottery types in the hill-fort at Le Petit Celland, Manche (*Antiquity*, xiii, 1939, 78), where, in the excavations of 1938, they were associated with Gaulish coins of the Caesarian period. A stage nearer the Petit Celland-Hengistbury prototype is represented at Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, pl. lxxx, P275, P190). The Glastonbury types, unlike the present example, retain some of the cordons round the body of the vessel.

235. Rim of grey ware of similar type to the preceding; from the lowest Belgic level on site B, *c. A.D. 25-35*.

236. Rim and shoulder of grey ware, from a similar vessel; from a Romano-Belgic layer on site L with a scrap of early Samian, *c. A.D. 45-65*. This example, in which the shoulder-cordon has become little more than a wave, illustrates the final devolution of the type.

237. Bowl of dark grey ware; from the twelfth stratum of a pit (B6) which contained fifteen strata, the three lowest being of late B type. This bowl belongs to the Belgic, not to the Iron Age B, series, and is one of the very few instances of the occurrence of a Belgic form in the main body of a pit. In shape this bowl is perhaps a generalized version of the preceding.

238. Upper part of a vessel (cf. no. 239) of a heavy-rimmed type characteristic of the Belgic strata of Maiden Castle. The present example is of reddish-brown clay, with a bright red haematite coating externally, and is derived from the same early Belgic layer on site L which produced nos. 214-16 and 231, *c. A.D. 25-45*. This sherd provides one of the most striking instances of the survival of the Iron Age A use of haematite into the Belgic period and is a notable illustration of the interlocking of different cultures. The quality of the lustrous red coating is as good as that of its Iron Age A predecessors.

239. Pot of brown fabric and of similar type to the preceding. The base has been pierced with holes after baking, and the surface of the vessel shows rough horizontal striations. It is derived from the early Belgic level on site A, *c. A.D. 25-45*.

240. Pot of grey ware with heavy everted rim; from a Romano-Belgic level on site R, dating probably after rather than before the Roman Conquest.

241. Vessel with heavy everted rim bearing a grooved wave-pattern and with traces

of grooved trellis-work on the body of the vessel. Found with a sherd of a Roman buff jug, a fragment of amphora, and scraps of Samian forms 18 and 24, on site L. This layer, being near the surface, was not entirely free from admixture, but the sherd should belong to the period *c.* A.D. 45-65.

242. Recurved rim of large vessel of grey ware; from a Romano-Belgic layer of the time of the Roman Conquest on site B.

243. Fragment of shallow dish or lid of grey ware with grooved rim; from a Romano-Belgic layer on site B, *c.* A.D. 45-65.

244. Bowl of grey ware; from an early Belgic layer on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

245. Dish of grey ware; from a Romano-Belgic layer on site B dating probably from just after the Roman Conquest.

246. Fragment of true Belgic fabric, i.e. with light grey paste and dark lustrous blue-grey surface—the only example of this foreign fabric found at Maiden Castle. From the lowest-but-one of several Belgic levels on site B and datable approximately to the eve of the Roman Conquest.

247. Bowl or dish of grey ware; from the lowest Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

4. ROMAN POTTERY

1. EARLY ROMAN POTTERY

Fragments of Roman amphorae occur constantly in the Iron Age C or Belgic levels at Maiden Castle, from the first appearance of the culture. Two fragments of amphorae were likewise found in early Biii layers dating from the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.; but these two occurrences, though definite, are isolated exceptions. For the rest, Iron Age B is devoid of Roman admixture.

Immediately after the Roman Conquest Roman wares begin to appear intermittently in the otherwise continuous Belgic culture. A few fragments of buff jug and small, trodden scraps of Samian are the principal innovations. An analysis by the late Dr. T. Davies Pryce of the Samian sherds found at the eastern entrance has been summarized in the introductory section of this Report (p. 65), where it is observed that this pottery falls into two main groups: an early group extending from Claudius to Vespasian (*c.* A.D. 45-70), and a second (smaller) group dating from the second century. This duality extends to all the Samian pottery found in Maiden Castle and is emphasized by the fact that, whereas the second-century sherds are found in the surface-soil without context, the earlier sherds occur commonly in the stratified layers of the Belgo-Roman occupation. In other words, it is to be inferred that the earlier series formed an integral part of the continued occupation of the site, whereas the later group imply little, if anything, more than visitation.

In figs. 76-9 Mr. J. A. Stanfield has very kindly illustrated representative fragments of the Samian pottery, and has added his own notes which form the substance of the following text. Working independently of Dr. Davies Pryce, Mr. Stanfield likewise

emphasizes the dual grouping already referred to. He writes that the pottery 'is divided chronologically and geographically into two groups, the first and larger group coming from the South Gaulish potteries (with the exception of a survival in the shape of a scrap of red Belgic ware) and falling mainly within the period Claudius–Nero; the second group being of Central Gaulish make and of Hadrian–Antonine date. These two groups are quite distinct with nothing that could be held to bridge the time-gap between them.

'The South Gaulish forms comprise the plain shapes Dragendorff 15 (two sizes), 24 (two sizes) and 27; Ritterling types 8, 9, 12 and 14; the ornamented form Dragendorff 29, and a scrap of rim of form 37. All these are closely associated in date.

'In contrast to these the smaller Central Gaulish group shows a different and more limited set of shapes, viz., Dragendorff forms 18, 31 and 33, Walters 80 and, of course, the decorated form 37.'

Fig. 76

Belgic

1. Scrap of the base and stand of a small dish of Belgic red ware. The colour is light red and the polish matt. The interior of the dish was marked by two concentric circular grooves. The dish was probably of Loeschcke's Belgic type 72 Ba, which possessed the internal twin grooves, and the drawing has been restored accordingly. From disturbed top soil at the eastern entrance, but doubtless late pre-Roman.

South Gaulish Group

2. Form 24, upper part. Good glaze. From mud on the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

3. Form 24, lower part. Good but not high glaze. It will be noticed that the inner edge of the foot-stand is bevelled and this is an important indication of early (Claudian) date, later foot-stands not being chamfered in this way. The Arretine prototype of the Dragendorff form possessed this feature (Loeschcke's type 12), as also a later Arretine cup in which the rouletted frieze above the projecting moulding is more than half the height of the vessel (Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 1069–1905, stamped *S M F in planta pedis*). It is also present in some of the examples of the Dragendorff form found at Aislingen (Knorr, *Aislingen*, xvi, 8, 9, etc.). From a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius.

4. Form 24 of the smaller size; lip and flange. From mud on the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius–Nero.

5. Form 24, lacking lip and base. From the Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Claudius–Nero.

Note: Three other scraps of the same form were found in Belgo-Roman levels at the eastern entrance.

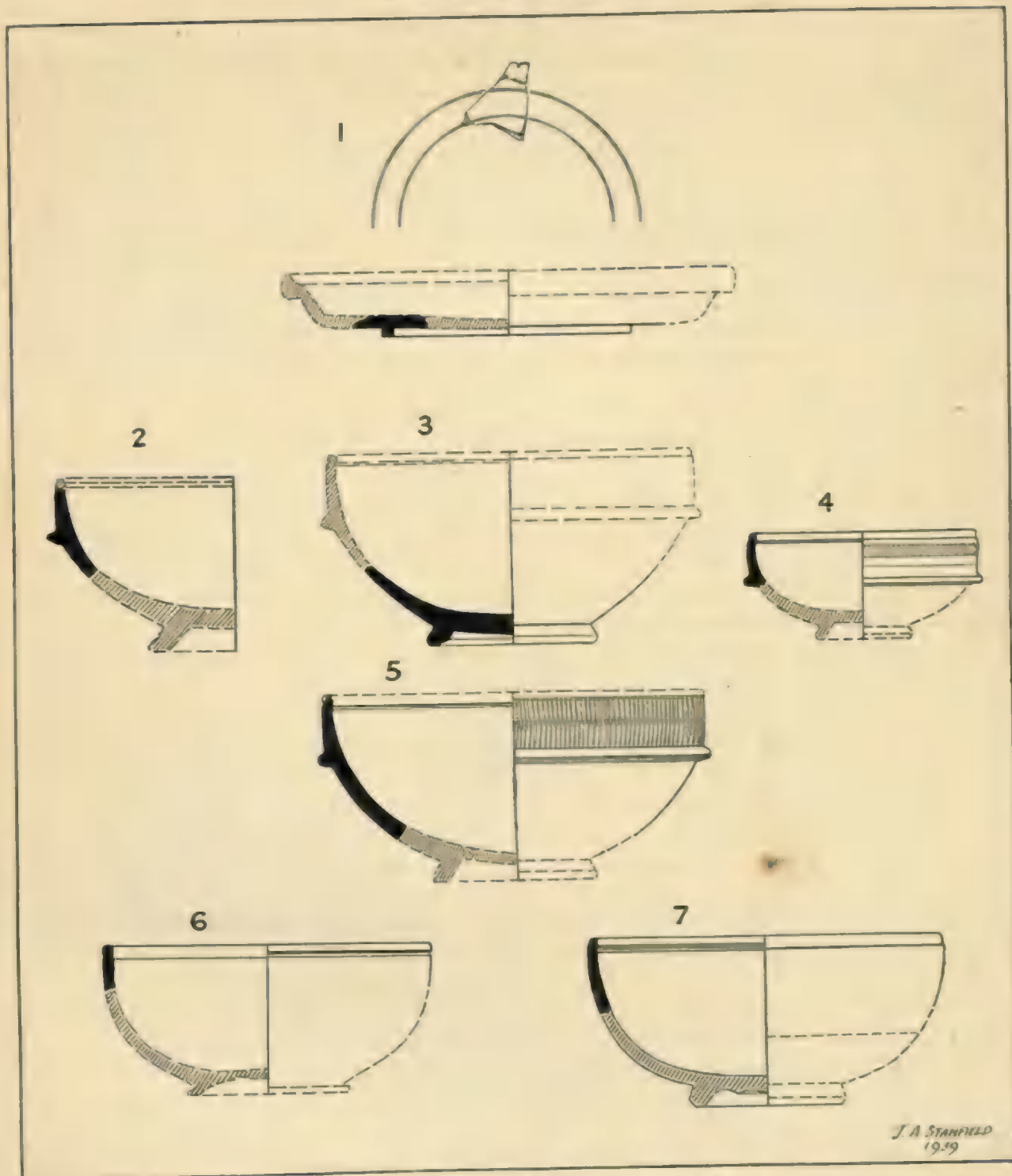


FIG. 76. Belgic and Samian pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 242

6. Ritterling 8, fragment of rim. Good glaze, neat work. From the make-up of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius-Nero.

7. Ritterling 8, fragment of rim, worn, the glaze dull. From a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

Fig. 77

8. Ritterling 12, part of flange slightly curved in section as Knorr, *Aislingen*, xvi, 25. Good but not high glaze. Date: Claudius-Nero.

9. Ritterling 12, scrap of flange, straight in section. Good but not high glaze. From a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius-Nero.

10. Ritterling 9, lip and upper part of wall. Good but not high glaze. From the mud on the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius.

11. Form 29, lip and part of upper rouletted rim. Fairly high glaze. From the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

12. Form 29, lip, upper rouletted rim, and part of lower rim. Good glaze, neat work. In a repair to the metalling of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

13. Form 29, lip and part of upper rouletted moulding. Good glaze. From the Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Nero.

14. Form 29, lip and upper and lower rouletted moulding. Good glaze. From the Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Nero.

15. Form 29. Three scraps forming upper frieze and central moulding. Good, fairly high glaze. The design is a divergent scroll, ornamented by sprays of buds and spurred, heart-shaped leaves. Sprays of six buds, like this, were used by SENICIO (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 76, C), CRESTIO (Colchester Museum Annual Report, 1931, pl. III, 7), MASCLVS (Form 29, Guildhall Museum), and NIGER (Form 29, Guildhall Museum). From the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

16. Form 29, rouletted rim and upper frieze. Good moulding but glaze appears to have suffered and is dull. Scroll-decoration of the commonest type, with spirally wound buds, used by very many potters. From a Belgo-Roman level on site H. Date: Nero.

17. Form 29, upper frieze, two fragments. Decoration similar to the last, but the bud is broader and the rosette larger, the scroll being perhaps slightly earlier than no. 16. From a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

18. Form 29, lower frieze. Portion of wreath with small paired leaves, probably part of a scroll design. Date: Nero.

19. Form 29, lower frieze of gadroons, sharply cut. From a Belgo-Roman level on site B. Date: Nero.

20. Form 29, lower frieze. Portion of wreath with small paired leaves (different

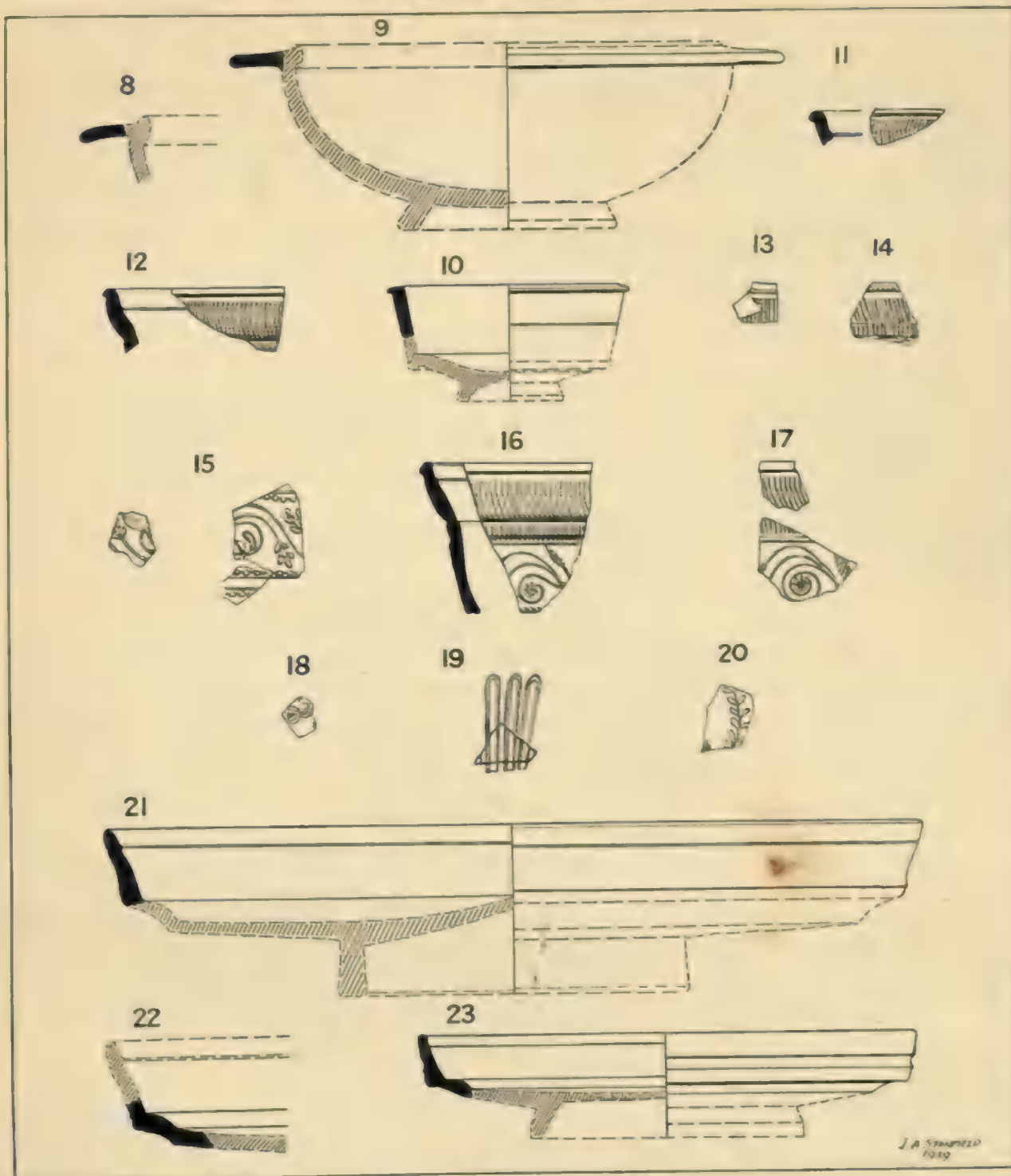


FIG. 77. Samian pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 244

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from those of no. 18). From mud on the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

21. Form 15 of the larger size, upper wall only. Good glaze. Found immediately over the War Cemetery at the eastern entrance. Date: Nero.

22. Form 15 of the larger size, part of upper wall, intermediate quarter-round moulding and part of the floor of the dish. High glaze. From a Belgo-Roman level on site B. Date: Nero.

23. Form 15 of the smaller size, upper wall and intermediate quarter-round moulding, burnt brown. Good work. From the Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Nero.

Note: five scraps of dishes similar to no. 23 were found in equivalent levels on site Q and at the eastern entrance.

Fig. 78

24. Ritterling 14, two fragments of very good shape and moulding. Base missing. Good but not high glaze. From the Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Claudius-Nero.

25. Form 27, portion of upper curved wall and rim. The flat down-turned lip is an indication of early date, as is also the deep internal groove. From a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance. Date: Claudius-Nero.

Note: other fragments showing this distinctively early lip-form were found on the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance.

26. Similar fragment. The internal groove is not so deep. Date: Nero.

27. Similar fragment. From a Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Nero.

28. Form 27, later than the preceding examples, for the lip is rounded and the profile flatter in section. From a Belgo-Roman level on site B. Date: Vespasian.

29. Form 27 of the smaller size. Rounded lip, but the marked convexity of the wall is maintained. From a Belgo-Roman level on site Q. Date: Nero-Vespasian.

30. Form 37, South Gaulish, lip and part of plain rim. Date: Nero-Vespasian.

Central Gaulish Group

31. Form 37, Lezoux manufacture. Large rolled lip, and fairly deep plain band. Indistinct ovolo. From the surface-soil of site B. Date: Hadrian.

32. Form 37, Lezoux work. Eagle, Déch. 981, as used by many potters including CINNAMVS, but the large zigzag border underneath is foreign to his style. To the right is a bead-border the use of which in conjunction with zigzag borders is characteristic of the later Trajanic and the earlier Hadrianic periods. From a mixed layer containing fourth-century coins at the eastern entrance. Date: early Hadrian.

33. Form 37, Lezoux manufacture. Part of a large leaf used by very many potters. From the sub-humus level on site Q. Date: Hadrian-Antonine.

34. Form 37, Lezoux work. The ovolo and the pygmy warrior, Déch. 834 (under the boar), were used by CINNAMVS, and the crane is a familiar accompaniment. This fragment may with confidence be attributed to CINNAMVS. From the sub-humus level on site B. Date: Antonine.

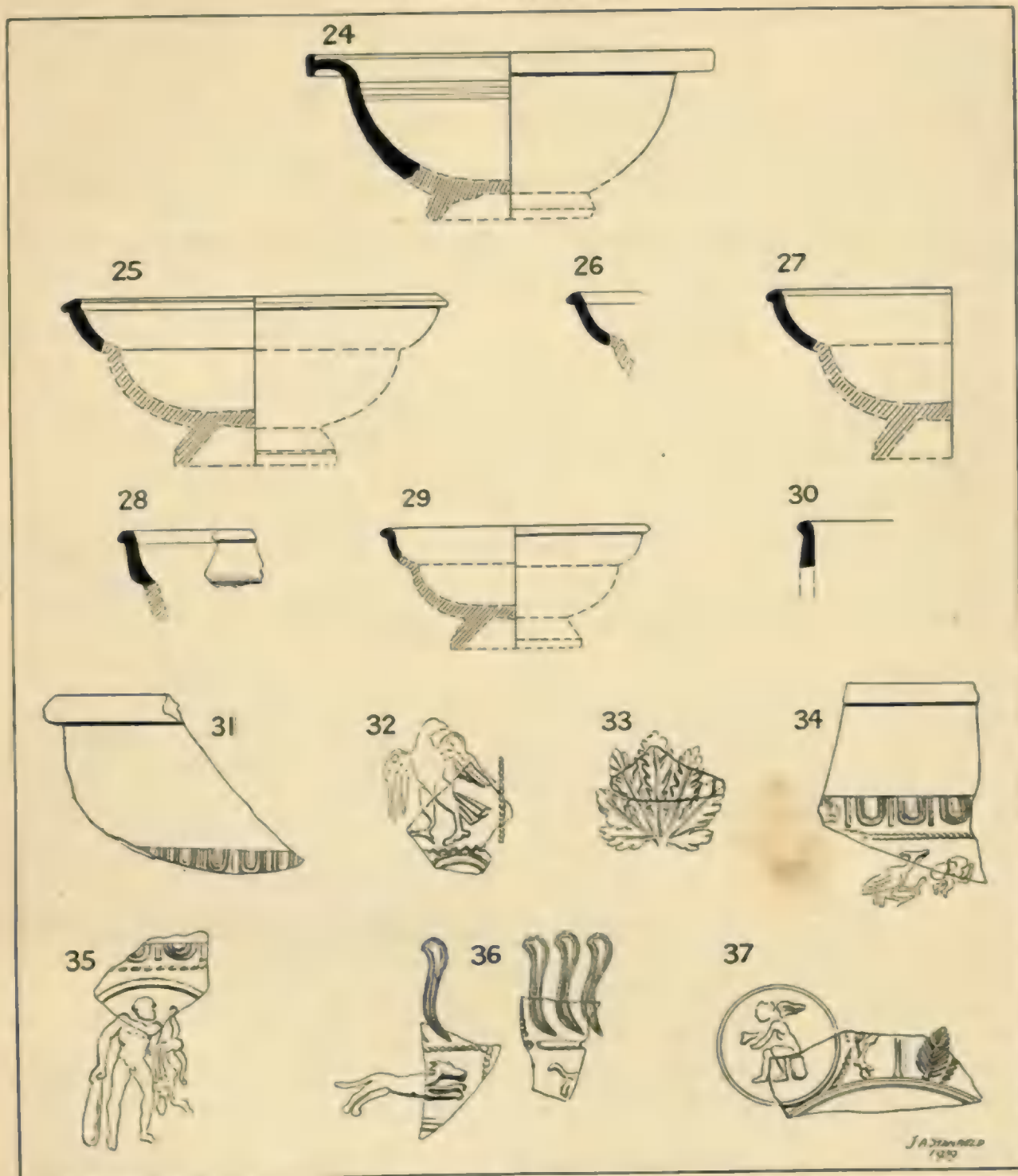


FIG. 78. Samian pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 246

35. Form 37, Lezoux work. The figure is the Hercules, Déch. 443, which occurs on fragments in the style of BANVVS. From the sub-humus level on site Q. Date: Antonine.

36. Form 37, Lezoux. Two fragments of the same bowl. The large gadroons were used by DOECCVS, as on form 37 in the Yorkshire Museum stamped DOHCCI and also with the double-D monogram class III; also on the same form at Colchester stamped with the same monogram. From the sub-humus level on site B. Date: Antonine.

37. Form 37, Lezoux. The seated Cupid, Déch. 261, was used by PATERNVS among others, and the presence of the leaf to the right, which is common in his work, makes the attribution to this potter practically certain. From the sub-humus level on site B. Date: Antonine.

Fig. 79

38. Form 18-31 of Lezoux manufacture, judging by the sharp, bold profile and thickness, also by the size, a little larger than the south Gaulish dishes of the same form. From the sub-humus level on site Q. Date: Hadrian.

39. Form 33, part of wall and base stamped CRACVN . . . (CRACVNA or CRACVNA F), a potter of Lezoux, etc., in the Hadrian-Antonine period. This is the only fragment found at Maiden Castle that bears a name-stamp. From site B. Date: Hadrian-Antonine.

40. Form 33, concave wall. From site B. Date: Hadrian-Antonine.

41. Form 31, wall and part of base. From the sub-humus level on site B. Date: Antonine.

42. Walters 80, base missing. From the eastern entrance. Date: Antonine.

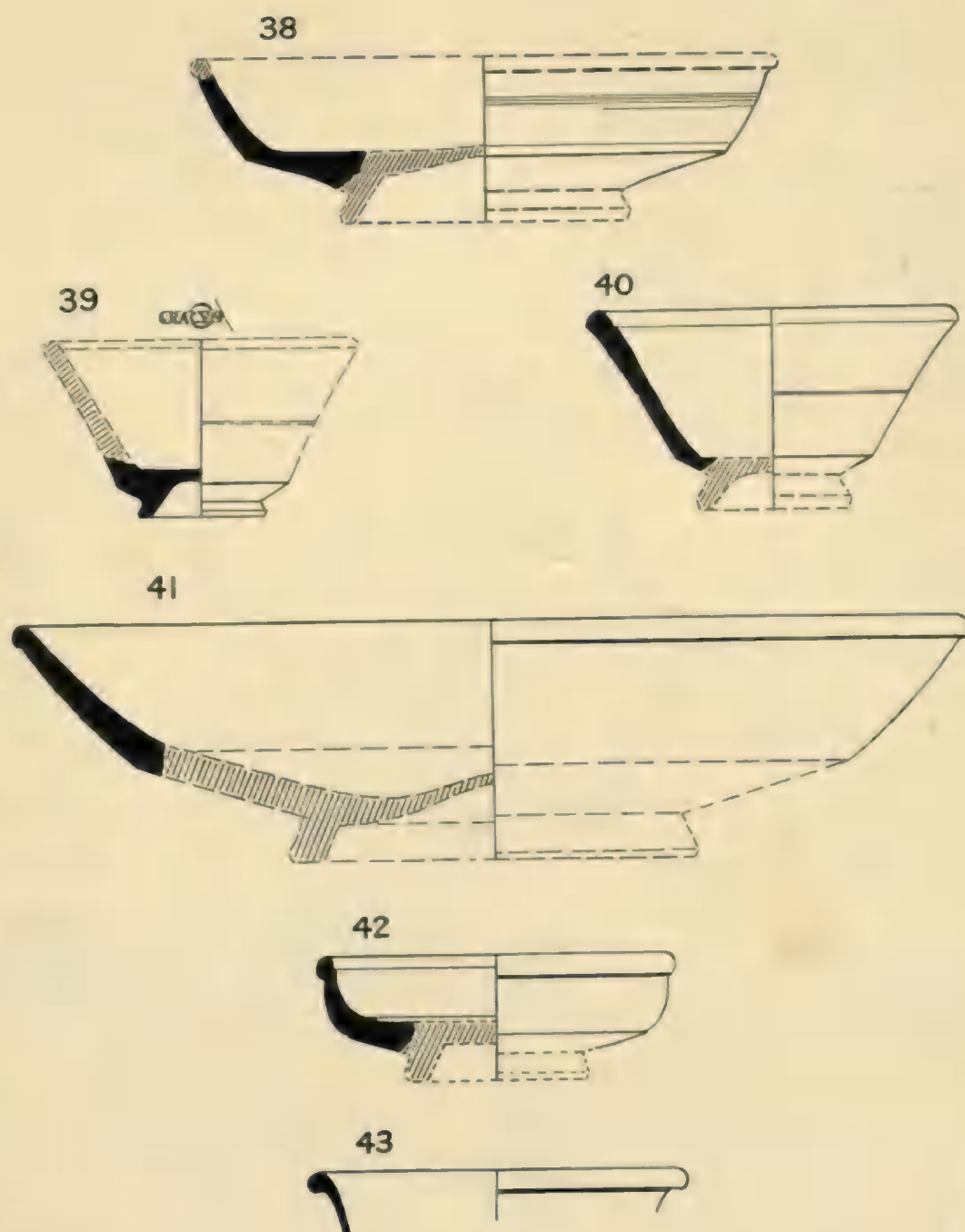
43. Rim of a vessel with rolled lip and thin wall; dull, thin, slightly flaking glaze. The shape is doubtful and the angle of the wall, as shown in the drawing, may not be correct. Ludowici's sigillata types Vd and Ve have such lips, and possibly no. 43 may be one of these types. See Ludowici, *Rheinzabern, Katalog V*, 1901-14, p. 283. From the penultimate level on site Q. Date: late Antonine.

2. LATE ROMAN POTTERY AND STONE MORTARS

Fig. 80

44. Pot of grey ware with four handles found on site Q in a layer of road-mud on a Roman road which was not earlier than *c.* A.D. 340 (see above, p. 73). The pot contained a hoard of seventy coins ranging from Licinius I to Constans. It may be ascribed approximately to the middle of the fourth century A.D. For the coins see below, p. 334.

45. Vessel of black ware with smooth trellis-pattern, found below the Roman Temple and therefore prior to *c.* A.D. 370. The pot belongs probably to a date near that of the construction of the temple.



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FIG. 79. Samian pottery ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 248

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46. Fragment of a large vessel of grey ware from the late Roman level (latter half of the fourth century A.D.) on site L.

47. Rim of similar vessel from the same site and level.

48-50. Three fragments, from the same site and level as the preceding, of the characteristic purple New Forest ware of which many fragments were found in the late fourth-

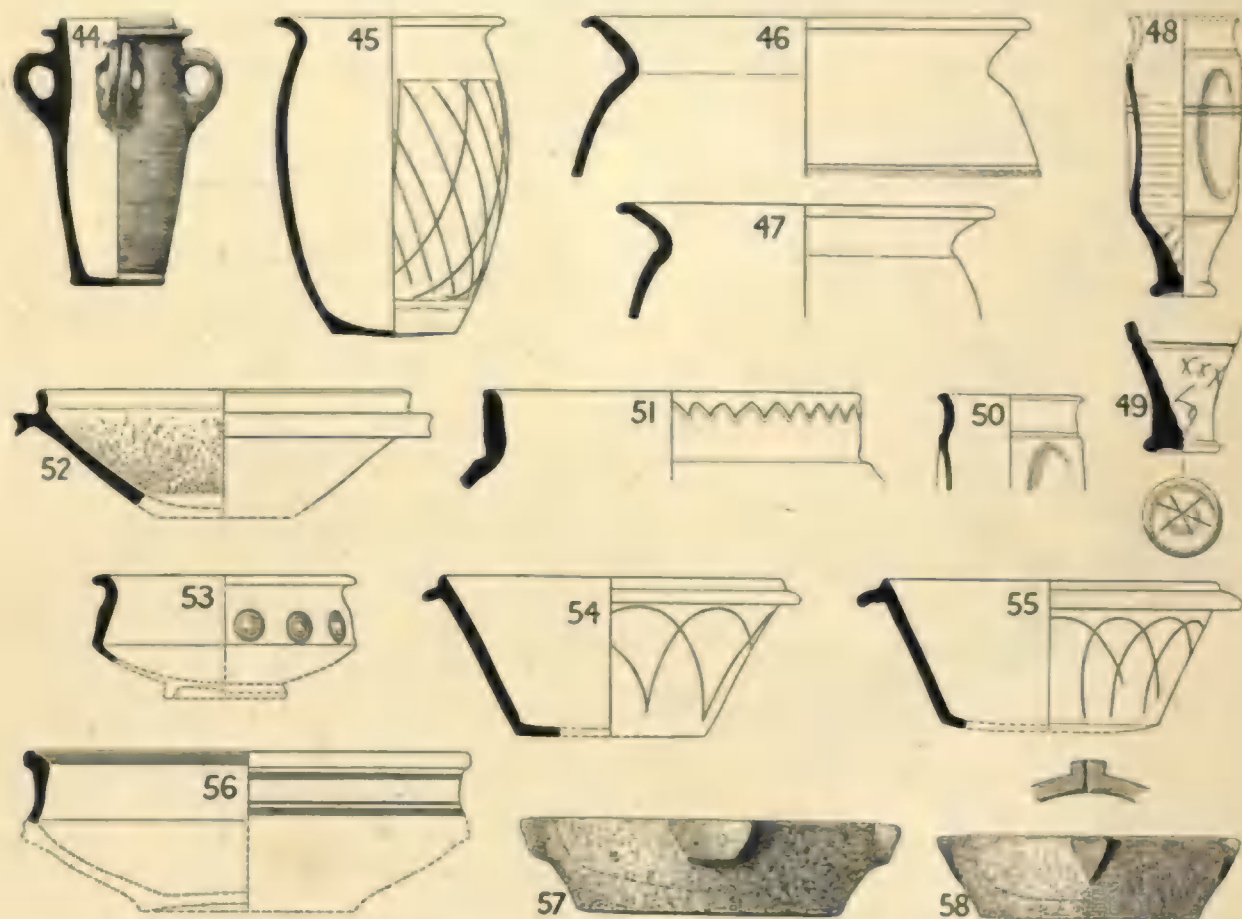


FIG. 80. 44-56, late Roman pottery; 57-8, Roman stone mortars ($\frac{1}{2}$) See p. 248

century level. 48 and 50 represent the typical thumb-pot and 48 and 49 the high heavy elongated base typical of the series. 49 has a graffito numeral (xxx together with another symbol) scratched on the outer surface before baking. For the ware in general see C. F. C. Hawkes, *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), 113 ff.

51. Heavy rim of reddish-grey ware with a grooved wave pattern. Several examples of this coarse ware occurred in the late fourth-century level, to which it presumably belongs. It is, however, in a purely native tradition and may be held to represent the late Roman revival of a first-century type represented by fig. 75, 241, above. This example is from site L.

52. Mortarium of the red-coated ware characteristic of many late Romano-British sites, e.g. many examples from the fourth century at Richborough and at Lydney (*Lydney Report*, p. 97, nos. 12-18). From site L in the same level as the preceding.

53. Fragment of a bowl of reddish-buff coated ware with stamped rosettes, from the late fourth-century level on site L. This again is a typical late Roman fabric. See *First Richborough Report* (1926), p. 89.

54 and 55. High-sided dishes of grey ware with smooth trellis-pattern, from the same late Roman levels as the preceding. Compare *Lydney Report*, fig. 27, 40-2.

56. Fragment of hard white ware with horizontal bands of orange colouring inside the rim and outside the shoulder. This type occurs in and after the end of the third century A.D. and is widely distributed; e.g. from Essex¹ and from Carnarvon.² From the same site and level as the preceding.

57 and 58. Two stone mortars from the same site and level as the preceding. Each mortar had four lugs, the surviving lug of 58 having a runnel on the top. No. 57 is of tufaceous limestone, probably from the Purbeck beds, and no. 58 is of Purbeck marble (*Paludina* limestone).

BROOCHES

In an estimate of the chronology of Maiden Castle, it might reasonably be expected that the brooches would play a dominant part. For over half a century of archaeology the evolving forms of the La Tène brooch have, more than any other single factor, controlled the later prehistoric chronology of western Europe; and they have tended to usurp an authority which may sometimes exceed their warrant. Certainly in respect of Britain that authority is not infrequently open to question. The simplicity of the conventional time-scale—La Tène I, 500-300 (or 450-250) B.C.; La Tène II, 300 (250)-100 B.C.; La Tène III, 100 B.C.—the Roman Conquest—in reality contains its own warning. The march of civilization was ever a ragged and undisciplined thing; and the remoter regions, such as north-western France and south-western Britain, were never closely in step with central Europe. In particular, the phase of comparative lethargy and isolation which, as has been noted in connexion with the pottery (p. 186), characterizes the middle La Tène period in those parts induced a time-lag which extended many of the traits of La Tène I there far beyond their conventional term. Indeed, La Tène II as an individual phase is difficult to identify in these peripheral regions: a map of La Tène II brooches, for instance, such as that prepared by Mr. G. C. Dunning in 1930,³ shows only six examples in south-western England and one in Brittany. Search in the cellars of the Museum of S. Germain has discovered three more La Tène II brooches from a site in Finistère,⁴ and Verulamium and Maiden Castle have each produced a single addition to the British series. But the relative scarcity of this La Tène II type in the west remains emphatic, and points to the need for a local revision of the conventional time-scale for La Tène I.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 310, fig. 6, 18.

² *Y Cymmroder*, xxxiii (1924), fig. 77, 34.

³ *Lydney Report* (Society of Antiquaries), p. 69, fig. 9.

⁴ Tronoën (S. Jean-Trolimon).

In point of fact, it is becoming increasingly clear that, in south-western Britain, La Tène I brooches remained in use until La Tène III, and that the few La Tène II brooches are in some degree an addition to, rather than a replacement of, those of La Tène I. Thus at Maiden Castle, occupied intensively and continuously from the time when La Tène I brooches were in use until after the Roman Conquest, there are seven La Tène I brooches and only one solitary brooch of La Tène II. Moreover, one of the late La Tène I types occurred actually in a well-stratified B (La Tène III) layer which is unlikely to be much earlier than 50 B.C. And the single La Tène II brooch is of a remarkable form which almost certainly indicates continental manufacture; it is emphatically a 'sport', a stray intruder into the Wessex scene.

With this important consideration in mind, it becomes necessary to review the accepted chronology of our La Tène I brooches and to face the probability of a considerable modification of it in our region. Sir Cyril Fox, in his study of the British brooches of that phase,¹ follows the main lines of Viollier's classification,² and recognizes three main stages of development:

Phase A, 450-400 B.C.

The spring has four to six coils, the chord is external to the bow, the latter is high and plain or with simple geometrical decoration, the recurved foot has a knob or flat disk at its end and meets the bow squarely and low down, the knobs and disks are usually plain, but may be ornamented with ring-and-dot pattern.

Phase B, 400-325 B.C.

The spring is unchanged, the bow is often high but shows a tendency to flatten and sometimes expands into a broad oval shape, ornament is sometimes more elaborate, the knob at the end of the recurved foot has a projection to the knob or disk, and provision is frequently made for coral or other settings. There is a tendency also for the foot to touch the bow higher up than in phase A.

Phase C, 325-250 B.C.

The spring is similar, but the coils are of small or medium diameter and in one case (that of the enamelled brooch from Maiden Castle, fig. 82) the pin is hinged. The bow may be fairly high, but in some cases is low and flat, whilst the foot is aligned on to the crest of the bow.

Fox observed that the continental dates, above given, are probably too high for Britain, but did not himself attempt any modification at that time. Now, however inadequately based, some degree of modification can no longer be avoided.

The seven La Tène I brooches here illustrated may now be classified as follows: 1 of phase A, 1 transitional from phase A to B, 4 of phase C, and 1 fragmentary and doubtful. A majority are therefore of the latest phase, as indeed the evolved character of the Iron Age A pottery from the site would lead us to expect. It has already been remarked that one of the late brooches occurred definitely in an early Iron Age B layer; and the validity of this evidence for the longevity of the La Tène I brooch-type is strongly reinforced by

¹ *Arch. Camb.* lxxxii (1927), pp. 68 ff.

² *Les Sépultures du second âge du fer sur le plateau suisse* (Geneva, 1916).

the fact that Iron Age A pottery of the kind found with other brooches in the series normally survived in considerable quantity at Maiden Castle throughout the earlier part of the Iron Age B culture. In other words, just as the pottery of Early Iron Age B (La Tène III) followed without intermission the devolved pottery of Iron Age A (Hallstatt–La Tène I), so also the brooches of La Tène III followed without appreciable intermission those of La Tène I. The single intrusive La Tène II brooch neither divides nor links the two series.

Now in discussing the chronology of the Iron Age B pottery (p. 209), I have given reason to suppose that the introduction of the B culture should be ascribed to the first half of the first century B.C., and have indicated my own preference for the end rather than the beginning of that half-century. The inference is that La Tène I brooches of the latest type were occasionally in use in Wessex until some years after 100 B.C. I see no possibility of evading this conclusion.¹ It is another matter, however, to determine how far back the initial date of our Wessex series should be carried. The All Cannings Cross, Wilts., site, which has produced elements of the Iron Age A culture as early as any known in Britain, clearly represents a fairly long and somewhat mixed occupation, and the fact that the only two complete La Tène I brooches from the site are of phase B is not in itself a basis for argument. Other Iron Age A sites—Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts; Meon Hill, Hants—have, however, yielded La Tène I brooches of phase C only. The more remote site of Hunsbury, Northants., has produced a variant Iron Age A culture and two La Tène I brooches of phase B, and so approaches more nearly the initial date suggested by the Maiden Castle series. These and other sites combine to minimize the value of the phase A brooch from Maiden Castle; and, although a time-lag at the end of a series does not imply a corresponding time-lag at the beginning, this single early brooch may, in the absence of support, be devalued for the moment, and phase B be regarded as characteristic of our first Iron Age A culture.

If we turn to the question of the absolute date of the beginning of our series, we may reasonably apply the continental chronology fairly closely to the *earliest* equipment of an immigrant culture. On this basis, and using Viollier's time-scale, we should ascribe the arrival of our first Iron Age immigrants to the first half of the fourth century B.C., a date which allows a margin for such modifications as the continental dating is itself constantly undergoing at the present time (see p. 388 ff.).

If, then, we provisionally allocate the three centuries, 375–75 B.C., to the Iron Age A culture of central and south-western Britain, where within that period should the initial date of Maiden Castle be placed? Any answer to this question must be largely guess-work. But the predominance of La Tène I brooches of phase C both at Maiden Castle and at related sites in western England, combined with the essential uniformity and devolved appearance of the greater bulk of the Maiden Castle A ceramic, and the fact that this extended into the first century B.C., would be consistent with an occupation

¹ This view is independent of, but completely in accordance with, the conclusion expressed by Mr. Hawkes in the *Proc. Hants Field Club and Arch. Soc.* xiii (1935), 37.

centring upon the third and second centuries B.C. In that case the two La Tène I brooches of phase A or A-B might be regarded as local 'hang-overs', survivors or derivatives from those brooches which were brought over by the earliest Iron Age A immigrants, and may well have been specially cherished by their descendants in a region where metal-craftsmanship was at a low ebb.

With all proper reserve, then, the Maiden Castle brooches, considered in their context, are here regarded as consistent with an initial date not earlier than the end of the fourth century B.C.

A list of La Tène I brooches from Dorset may be added for reference.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bryanston, Blandford. | Type A.
British Museum (Durden Coll.).
Fox, <i>Arch. Camb.</i> lxxxii (1927), p. 74, fig. 3. |
| 2. Handley (Woodcuts). | (Damaged and unclassified.)
Farnham Museum.
Pitt-Rivers, i, 49, pl. xiv, fig. 2. |
| 3. Iwerne Minster. | Type A.
Farnham Museum.
Fox, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 79, fig. 5a. |
| 4. Winterbourne St. Martin
(Maiden Castle). | Two of type A and A-B; four of type C; one damaged and unclassified.
Dorchester Museum.
Present Report and Fox, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 93, fig. 25. |
| 5. Stourpaine, Hod Hill. | British Museum. |
| 6. Handley (Oakley Down). | Type A.
Possession of H. Foyle, Esq., Oakley Farm, 1933. |
| 7. Handley (Oakley Down). | Type B.
Possession of the Rev. A. R. T. Bruce, 1933. |

Maiden Castle Brooches

Fig. 81

1. Bronze brooch of La Tène I, phase A type.¹ The spring has four coils with the chord external to the bow; the bow is highly arched and is cast in cable-pattern. The reverted foot terminates in a flat disk bearing a dot-and-circle pattern. Found in pit Q4 with Iron Age A pottery in derived material used to fill the pit.

2. Bronze brooch of La Tène I, phase A-B type, with flattened oval bow decorated by marginal lines.

Found on site L, in the latest A occupation-level over the neolithic ditch, in association with A pottery and a haematite-coated pedestal-base. This sub-type is rare in Britain and is probably a foreign importation from northern France. The closest British parallels with similar bows are two dredged from the Thames at London.² The type occurs in the Marne sites and an early one in the series comes from Heiltz-l'Évêque.³

¹ Fox, *Arch. Camb.* lxxxii, (1927), pp. 75-6.

² Op. cit., fig. 17, and one in the British Museum.

³ Album of the Morel Collection, p. 197. Both are in the British Museum.

The broad expanded bow belongs normally to phase B of the La Tène I brooches, and to the end of that phase; but the absence of a nose between the disk and the bow is not consistent typologically with phase B. On the other hand, the flattened profile of

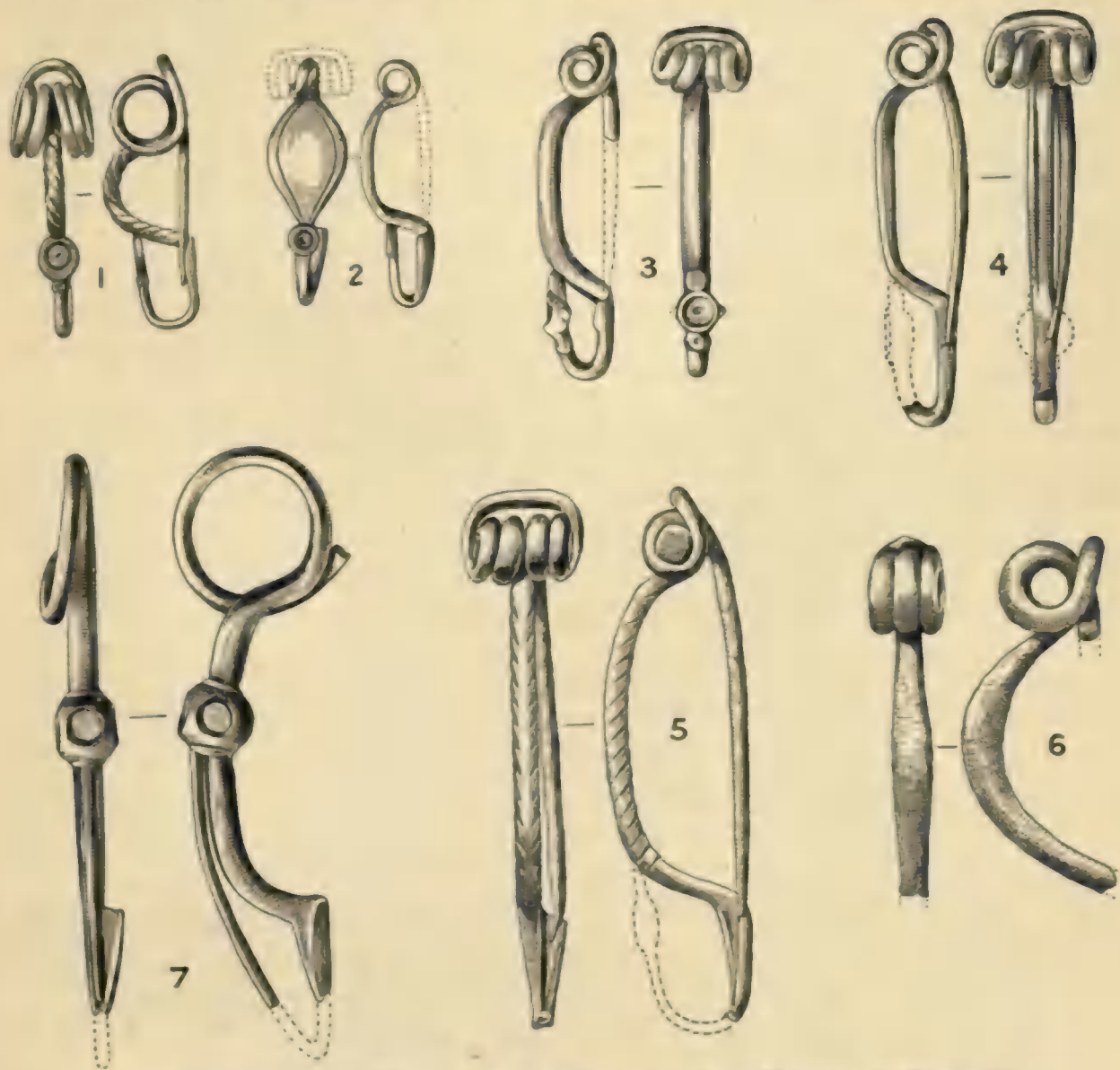


FIG. 81. Brooches of La Tène I and II; 1-5 and 7 of bronze, 6 of iron ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 254

the bow is a further point in favour of inclusion in this phase, and the brooch in fact falls typologically midway between nos. 1 and 3.

3 and 4. Two similar bronze brooches of La Tène I, phase C type, showing a marked

flattening in the arch of a narrow bow, and a short reverted foot with a setting for a coral or enamel stud in the one case; in the other the foot is damaged.

The brooches were found in the rampart dividing the portals of the eastern entrance (site G), in occupation-levels on rampart 2. The former was in a level probably a little later than that of the latter but in the same general horizon. Associated pottery was of Iron Age A, with a haematite carinated bowl and a sherd with finger-tip decoration. The haematite bowls do not show the carination of the earliest Maiden Castle A pottery, but are of types which do not occur in the latest A levels. A date centring on the earlier half of the second century B.C. would fit into the schematic chronology of the site.

These elongated and flattened La Tène I brooches are characteristic of the local Wessex or Swallowcliffe Down culture during phase C of the La Tène I period in association with A pottery.¹ The sub-type may be a local development, but similar forms occur occasionally on the Marne; e.g. an iron *fibula* from the cemetery at Pleurs is of this type, although of exceptionally large size.²

5. La Tène I bronze brooch of phase C type. The spring has four coils round a rod, with an external chord. The bow, which bears a cast cable-pattern, is somewhat flattened but less so than nos. 3 and 4. The foot is missing. From site Q, in an early B occupation-level, and lost, therefore, about the middle of the first century B.C.

6. An iron *fibula* of La Tène I type with a highly arched bow and a coiled spring. The foot is missing; the brooch is possibly of phase A, although iron brooches are more frequently found in phase C. From site Q, in the same layer as no. 5.

¹ The distribution of 'Swallowcliffe Down' type brooches in Britain is as follows:

No.	Where found	Museum	References	Materials
1	Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts.	Devizes	<i>W.A.M.</i> xliii (1925), p. 82, and pl. xi, C36	Iron. 4 coils and rivet
2	Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts.	Devizes	<i>W.A.M.</i> xlii, p. 67, and fig. 2; Fox, <i>Arch. Camb.</i> lxxxii (1927), p. 92, fig. 23A	Iron, broken
3	Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts.	Devizes	Unpublished. Fox, no. 65	Iron
4	Russley, N. Wilts.	Devizes	<i>W.A.M.</i> xliii, p. 343 and pl. i	Bronze (approximate type)
5	Ham Hill, Somerset	Taunton	<i>Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.</i> lviii, 1, 121; Fox, no. 52, p. 91, fig. 22	Bronze. Ring-and-dot pattern
6	Meon Hill, Hants.		<i>Proc. Hants Field Club</i> , xiii (1937), 35, pl. 29, M21	Iron
7	Deal, Kent	Deal	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> xx (1940), 276	Bronze and coral. A borderline example, possibly continental
8	Abingdon, Berks.	British Museum	Fox, no. 23	Bronze

Two brooches in the Salisbury Museum are similar in type but with flattened bows. One comes from Micheldever, Hants, the other from St. Mark's Church, Salisbury.

² Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, pl. 25, fig. 5.

7. An unusual bronze brooch of La Tène II type with a flattened bow and an angular reverted foot.

Found on natural chalk under the Roman building of site L in a layer containing mixed pottery which had been disturbed during the occupation of the building.

The spirals of the spring and the bead which replaces the collar on the bow are exceptionally large. The bead has three settings for coral studs. Parallels for a spring of this size in La Tène II brooches are rare. A bronze brooch from Sudbury, Suffolk,¹ shows one with four turns, but it has no coral studs and carries a small bead on the foot. At the type site of La Tène² two *fibulae* have similar large coiled springs. The coral studs on the bead or collar of a La Tène II brooch are unique in this country and show the persistence of a strong La Tène I influence. On the other hand, the British La Tène III brooch of early type from Newnham, Cambs.,³ is heavily studded with coral bosses. Continental examples of the use of coral in brooches of La Tène II are seen in two specimens from Friedstadt⁴ and Brandenburg⁵ which have bars of coral riveted on the expanded foot, and two from Pleurs cemetery on the Marne,⁶ one with riveted bars and the other with a carved coral stud. Studs in the same position on the collar are found on two *fibulae* from La Tène.⁷ In the absence of a local La Tène II tradition, the striking and masterly quality of the present brooch suggests the probability of continental manufacture.

Fig. 82

A La Tène I brooch was found at Maiden Castle in 1907 and is now in the Dorset County Museum. It came from a rabbit-scape in the north rampart of the eastern part of the camp. Its importance as showing the end of phase C is discussed by Sir Cyril Fox.⁸



FIG. 82. Bronze La Tène I brooch with coral stud ($\frac{1}{4}$)

(From *Archaeologia Cambrensis*)

¹ St. Albans Museum, 12.20 in the J. H. Ball Collection. (From information kindly supplied by Mr. G. C. Dunning.)

² Vouga, *La Tène*, pl. xvi, no. 8, and pl. xx, no. 10.

³ Fox, *Arch. Camb. Region*, pl. xviii, 2x.

⁴ Friedstadt, 14120 (from Silesia), in the Central Museum, Mainz. (From information kindly supplied by

Mr. G. C. Dunning.)

⁵ Gransee, 15512, Kr. Ruppin, Brandenburg. (From information kindly supplied by Mr. G. C. Dunning.)

⁶ Morel Collection in the British Museum.

⁷ Vouga, *La Tène*, pl. xx, nos. 13 and 27.

⁸ *Arch. Camb.* lxxxii (1927), 81-93, and fig. 25.

Like the Hammersmith brooch,¹ which Fox places slightly earlier in type, it retains its coral intact.

Fig. 83

8. Bronze brooch of La Tène III type, with coiled spring, perforated catchplate, and bow showing a vestigial representation of the La Tène II collar in its decoration. From a shallow pit on site B, with many oyster-shells and pottery of the Romano-Belgic period, *c.* A.D. 25–50. It was immediately superimposed by a layer containing a Roman penannular brooch (fig. 86, no. 8).

A comparable brooch from Rotherley is published by Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, pl. xcix, no. 4, with a note on the development of the type.

9. Bronze La Tène III brooch with coiled spring, perforated catchplate, and decorated bow with a knob representing the La Tène II junction. From site R in association with Romano-Belgic pottery of *c.* A.D. 25–70.

10. Bronze brooch with coiled spring, perforated catchplate, and a bow decorated with simple linear patterns which include a vestigial representation of the La Tène II collar. The spring carries a bronze loop for attachment to a cord or chain.

From an unstratified layer under the turf over the Belgo-Roman War Cemetery; it doubtless belongs to the period *c.* A.D. 45–70.

11. Bronze brooch of a simple La Tène III type, with open catchplate, plain bow, and an iron rod through the spring. From the top level on site D, *c.* A.D. 40–70.

12. Bronze brooch of somewhat similar type, but the flattened bow bears two incised lines, and the pivot through the spring is of bronze. From site G, unstratified.

13. Bronze brooch with coiled spring and pierced catchplate, and an incised line on the flattened bow. Found in the Romano-Belgic level of *c.* A.D. 25–70 on site R.

14. Bronze brooch of 'Swarling' type, with pierced catchplate and spiral spring caught in a terminal hook at the end of the bow, which expands laterally to form protective grooved wings. From the Romano-Belgic level (*c.* A.D. 25–70) on site D, but unlikely, on analogy, to be later than *c.* A.D. 50. For the type see *Swarling Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond.), p. 43. In Wessex the type is not abundant, but an example with plain wings is recorded from Hod Hill.²

15. Bronze brooch of 'Swarling' type with plain wings, triple-pierced catchplate, and a band of waved pattern on the back of the bow. From site O (eastern entrance), in the Romano-Belgic level, *c.* A.D. 25–70. It is closely comparable with one from Verulamium³ which was sealed by an occupation-layer dated *c.* A.D. 50–75.

Fig. 84

16. Bronze brooch with spiral spring and bronze pivot, solid catchplate, and decorative vestigial remains of the La Tène II collar. From the eastern entrance on the surface

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 82, fig. 13.

² Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air* (1928),

fig. 3, p. 39.

³ *Verulamium Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond.), fig. 44, no. 20.

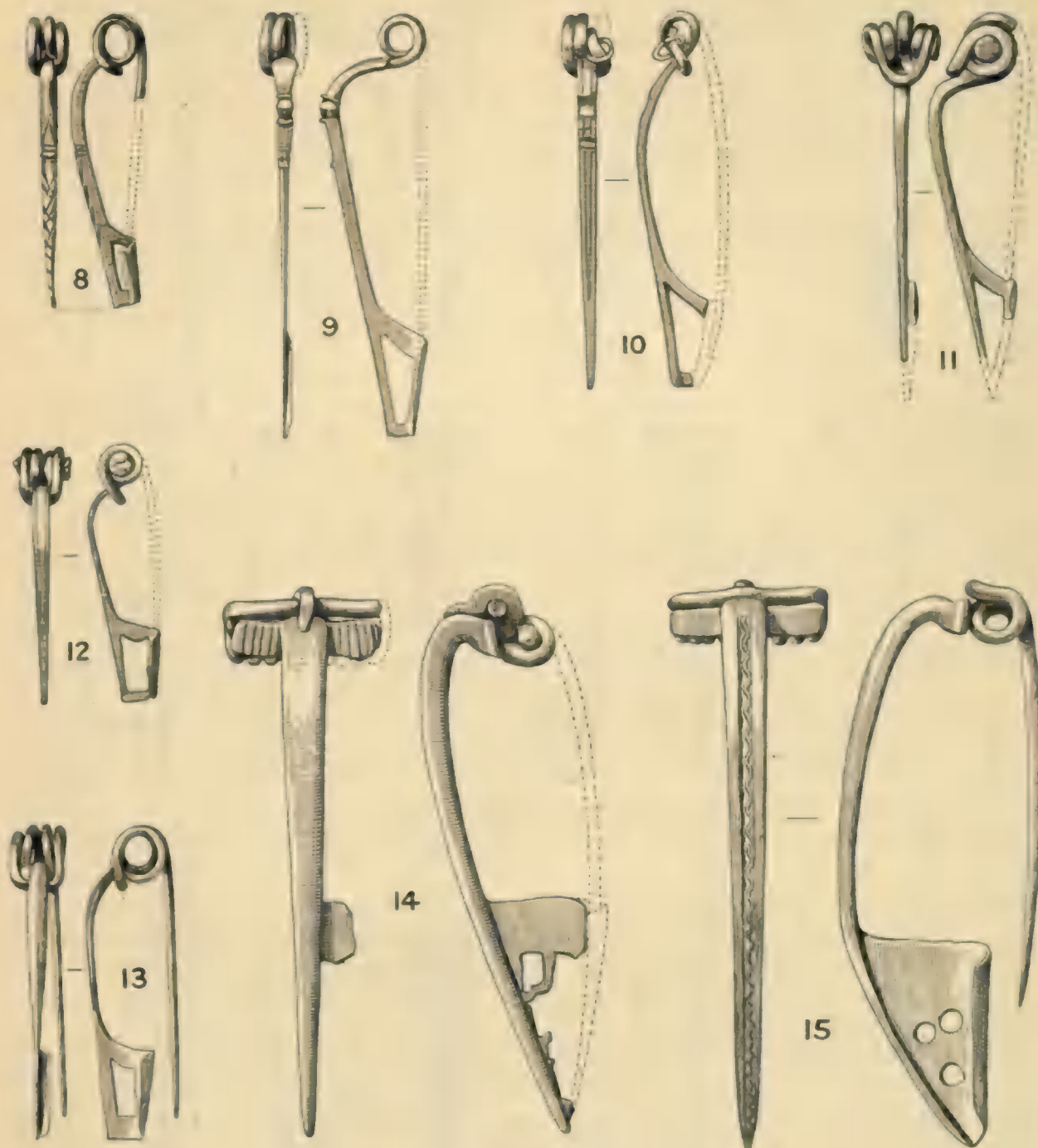


FIG. 83. Bronze brooches, La Tène III and early Roman (1)

See p. 258

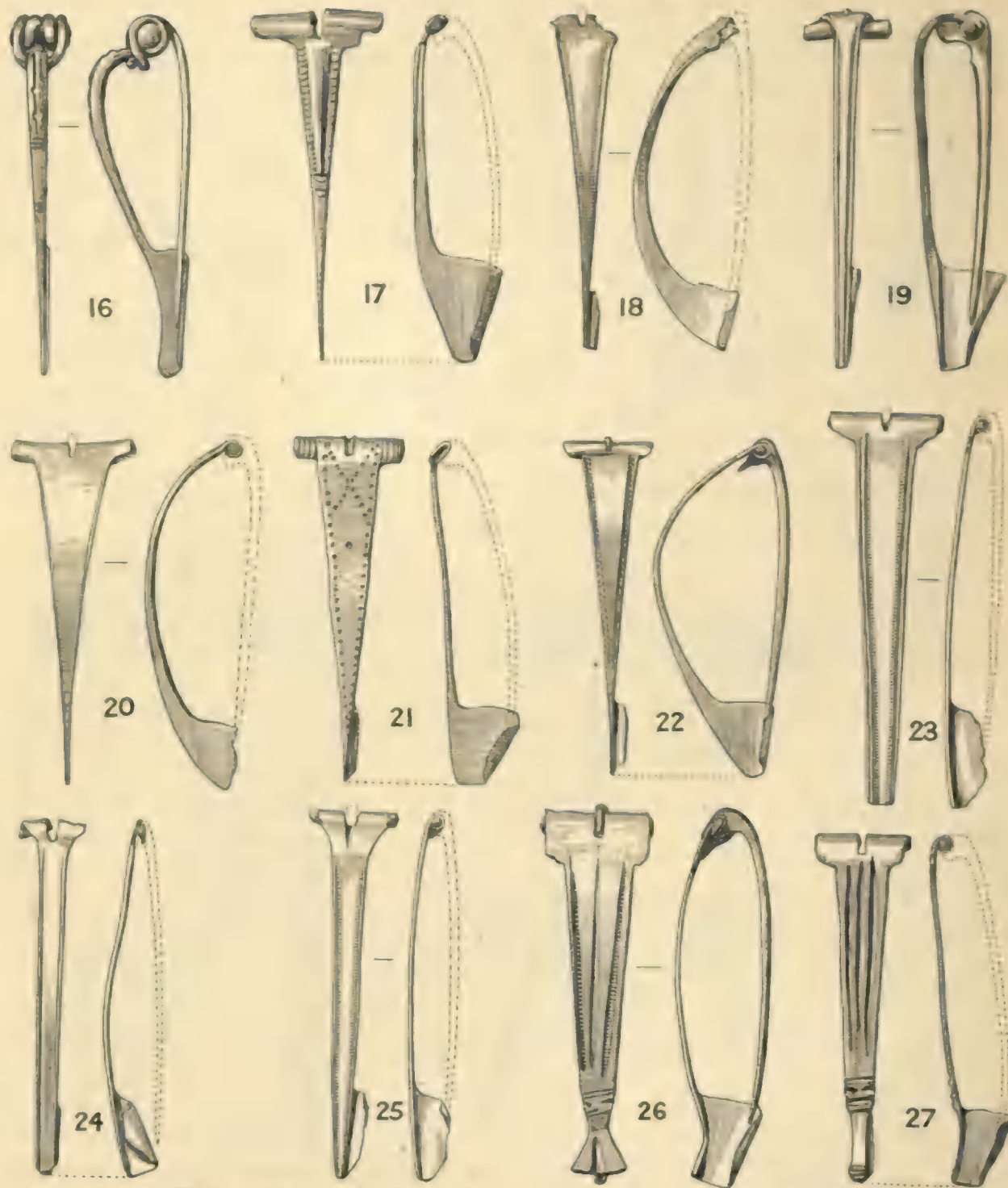


FIG. 84. Bronze brooches, late La Tène III and early Roman ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 258

of the uppermost pre-Roman road in the south portal. The stratigraphical position indicates that the brooch is not later than *c.* A.D. 45 and unlikely to be many years earlier.

17. Hinged bronze brooch with solid catchplate and tapering bow decorated with central triangular boss; the transverse nicks at the base of this decoration are probably a reminiscence of the La Tène II collar. From a Romano-Belgic layer on site B, datable to the quarter century following the Roman invasion of A.D. 43.

18. Bronze hinged brooch with flattened triangular bow, akin to the preceding. Found on site L in the filling of an exploratory trench dug in 1882; it was doubtless derived from the Romano-Belgic level.

19. Bronze hinged brooch with a spur at the base of the pin. From site L, in the débris on the site of the late Roman hut. Most of the contents of this débris dated from the latter half of the fourth century A.D., but they included a few derivative objects of earlier date. The present brooch should probably be ascribed to the early period of the Roman occupation.

20. Bronze hinged brooch with iron pivot, comparable with no. 18. From site L, found with mixed Roman material under the turf.

21. Hinged bronze brooch of type similar to the preceding but decorated with grooves on the wings and punctuated lines on the back of the bow. From site B in the destruction-level west of the Roman temple. The material was mostly of late-fourth-century date, but was not free from admixture.

22. Hinged bronze brooch generally similar to the preceding but with marginal zigzag decoration on the back of the bow. From site B, with mixed Roman material in the make-up under the floor of the Priest's House, which was built in the latter half of the fourth century. Stratigraphically, therefore, the brooch may be of any preceding date in the Roman period.

23. Tinned bronze brooch with pin hinged on an iron pivot; the flattened bow has longitudinal incised margins with zigzag decoration. From the Romano-Belgic layer on site R, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

24. Bronze brooch with traces of an iron pivot for a hinged pin. The bow has incised marginal lines. From the Romano-Belgic level on site D, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

25. Bronze brooch with pin hinged on an iron pivot. The bow is bordered with incised lines and zigzag decoration. From the Romano-Belgic level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

26. Bronze brooch with pin hinged on an iron pivot. The bow is decorated with three sunken grooves, with punched dots on the outer ones, and a transverse band of zigzag pattern, and the fish-tailed foot has a central groove. Possibly a provincial derivative from the Aucissa type, cf. no. 31.¹ From the Belgic layer on site E (after *c.* A.D. 25).

27. Hinged bronze brooch, poorly made, more nearly akin to the Aucissa (type no.

¹ Derivative Aucissa brooches in Wessex: Cold Kitchen Rotherley, Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, pl. C, 2, 8, and Hill, *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii, pl. 2, H, and xlix, pl. 2, B; 9; Woodcuts, op. cit. i, pl. xi, 1 and 3.

31) than the preceding. From the same level as no. 17, and, like it, ascribable to the quarter century following the Roman invasion of A.D. 43.

Fig. 85

28. Tinned bronze brooch with pin (missing) hinged on an iron pivot, and catchplate pierced with a circular hole. This brooch is of the so-called 'Hod Hill' type which is characteristic of the middle of the first century A.D. in Great Britain, and is derived from northern Gaul and the Rhine Valley.¹ From the eastern entrance; unstratified.

29. Tinned bronze brooch with pin (missing) hinged on an iron pivot. This 'Hod Hill' type was found in a level which is contemporary with the occupation of the Belgic Hut DB of site D, and is thereby datable to A.D. 25-50.²

30. Bronze brooch with knobbed foot and pin (missing) hinged on an iron pivot. The bow is bifurcated and contained originally four riveted pellets, of which one survives. From the Romano-Belgic level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

An example with parallel grooves containing bars instead of pellets from Wiesbaden³ is ascribed to the third quarter of the first century A.D.

31. Hinged bronze brooch bearing the name *AVCISSAE*. From site B; unstratified (from the filling of an exploratory trench of 1882).

For this familiar type, ascribable in this country to the middle of the first century A.D., see references collected in the *Wroxeter Report*, i, 24.

32. Iron S-shaped brooch with extremities ending in spiral volutes. The general form is akin to that of the 'dragonesque' brooches, which are rare outside north Britain.⁴ These northern types are normally of late first- and second-century date, but the present example was found in the late fourth-century occupation-material on the floor of the Roman circular hut on site L, and ought therefore to be of the same late date as the abundant and consistent pottery of that layer. It might be regarded as a late 'home-made' derivative from the 'dragonesque' series, but it may, of course, be a stray survival of earlier date than its context.

33. Bow and spring of an iron brooch of first century A.D. type. Found with Belgic pottery (a pedestal base, etc.) in a level contemporary with the Belgic hut DB on site D; *c.* A.D. 25-50.

34. Bow and spring of an iron brooch generally similar to no. 33. From site L with Belgic pottery of *c.* A.D. 25-50.

35. Part of an iron brooch with a flattened bow and hinged pin. From the Belgic level into which the graves of the War Cemetery were inserted at the eastern entrance at the time of the Roman Conquest, and therefore just pre-Roman. *c.* A.D. 25-45.

36. Bow and solid catchplate of a much corroded iron brooch, akin to the triangular

¹ One from Claudian Hofheim also has a circular hole in the catchplate. E. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, pl. x (244), p. 27.

² Cf. a brooch from Rotherley, Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, pl. c, no. 5.

³ O. R. L., Lief. xxxi, *Wiesbaden*, p. 91, fig. v, no. 6.

⁴ For these see W. Bulmer in *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), 146 ff.

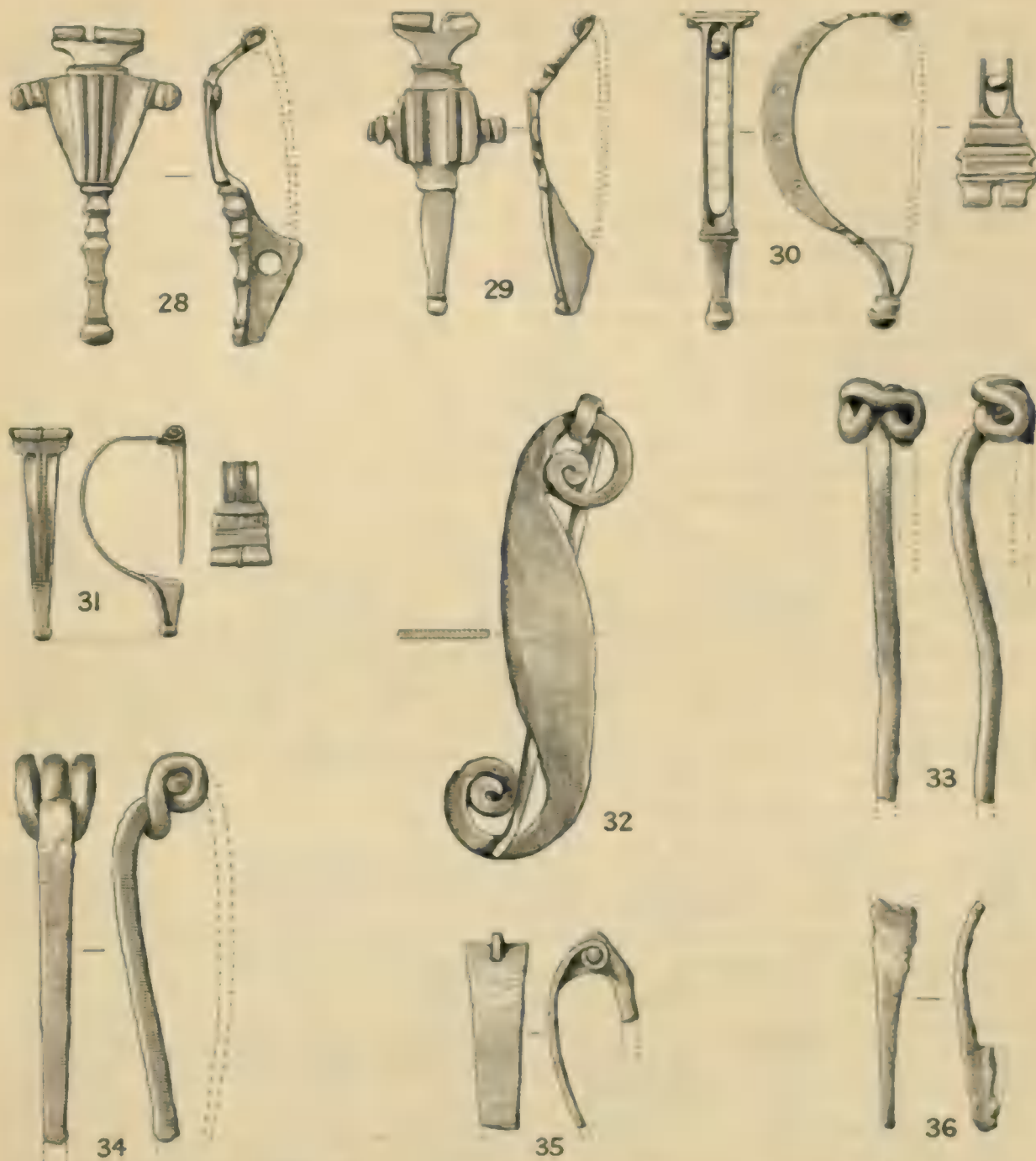


FIG. 85. Roman brooches: 28-31 of bronze, remainder of iron (†)

See p. 262

bronze brooches already described (nos. 17, 18, etc., above). Found in a Belgic road (road IV) of the northern portal of the eastern entrance, with late 'B' sherds, Belgic pottery, and Roman amphora. It precedes the Roman Conquest, when the roadway was completely covered by débris, &c., and may be ascribed to c. A.D. 25-45.

Fig. 86

1. Bronze penannular brooch with the emphatically curved pin characteristic of early brooches of the kind, and with flat expanded terminals divided from the ring by double incised lines. Found with pottery of early or middle Iron Age A (c. 200 B.C.) in a pit (F22) on the flank of the northern portal of the eastern entrance. This Iron Age A type also occurs at All Cannings Cross,¹ and the pin from another example was found at Swallowcliffe Down.²

2. Bronze penannular brooch with knobbed and ridged terminals, but lacking its pin. From site H, in a layer of rampart 5 associated with mixed Iron Age (including haematite) A sherds and some B pottery. Middle or second half of first century B.C.

3. Bronze penannular brooch (pin missing) with expanded terminals. From the Romano-Belgic level on site B; c. A.D. 25-70.

4. Broken bronze penannular brooch with knobbed terminals and two ridges. From the surface of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance, c. A.D. 45-70.

5. Bronze penannular brooch with spiral terminals in same plane. From the Romano-Belgic level on site L, c. A.D. 25-70. This is the type characteristic of the Somerset lake-village culture;³ it occurs occasionally on the Continent, as in the Hradischt of Stradonitz in Bohemia.⁴

6. Bronze penannular brooch with upturned spiral terminals. From the same level as the preceding, c. A.D. 25-70.

7. Bronze penannular brooch with curved pin and recurved terminals in the same plane. From the same level as the two preceding, c. A.D. 25-70.

8. Bronze penannular brooch with reverted and 'pinched' terminals. From the Belgic filling of a pit (B40) on site B; c. A.D. 25-50.

9. Bronze penannular brooch ornamented with bead pattern, and with cast terminals of 'pinched' type. Found with mixed Roman material spread on the northern part of site B at the time of the levelling for the Priest's House, and contemporary with its construction in the latter part of the fourth century. Stratigraphically, therefore, the brooch may belong to this or to some earlier date, but its relatively elaborate character is consistent with a fourth-century origin.⁵

¹ Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. xix, 1, and *Devizes Museum Catalogue*, pl. 24, 6.

² *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925-7), 74 and pl. vii, A3.

³ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 205.

⁴ J. Pič, *Starozitnosti*, pl. xxviii, fig. 3.

⁵ For penannular brooches with 'pinched' terminals, see *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond.), p. 78.

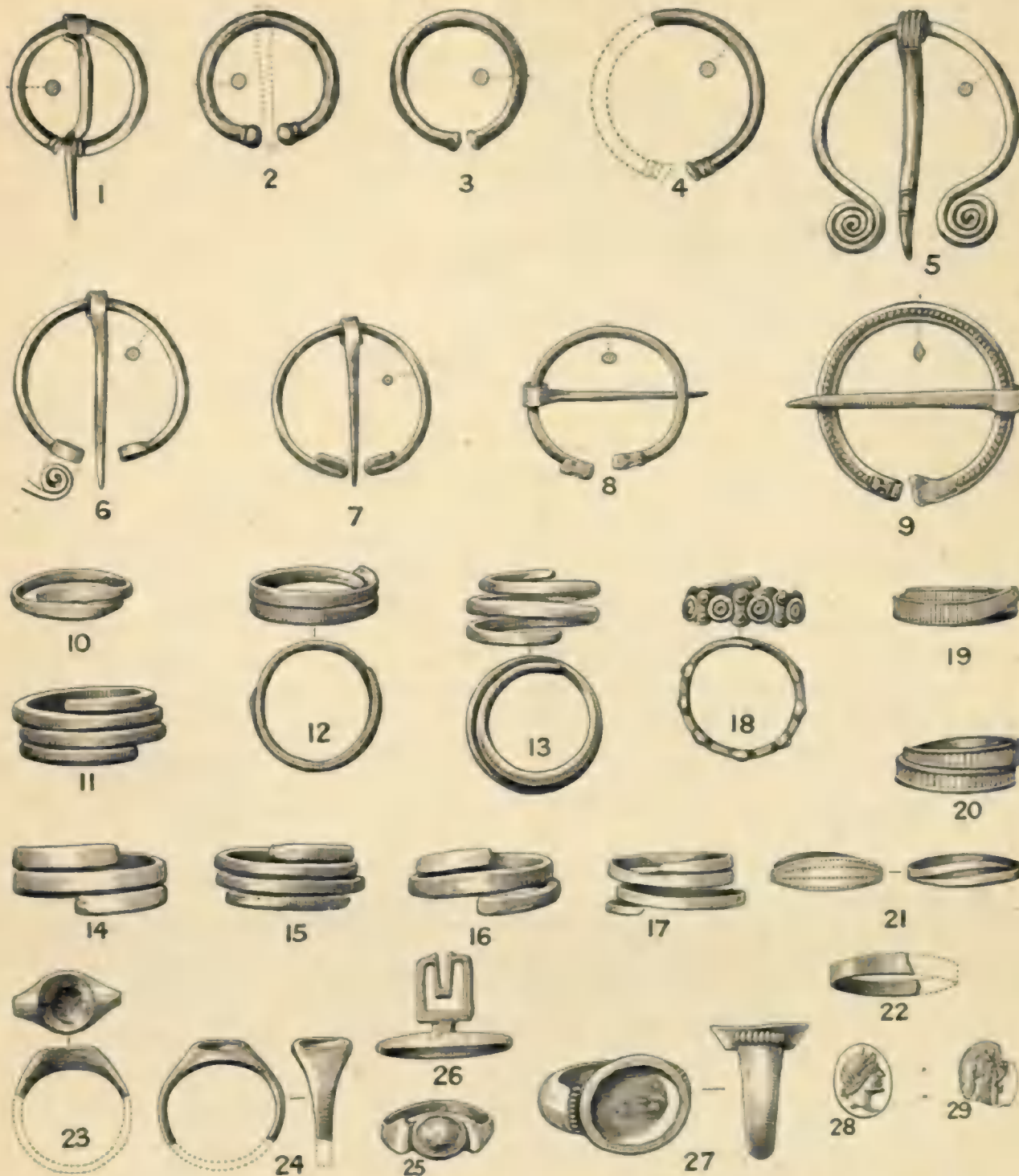


FIG. 86. 1-9, penannular brooches; 10-27, finger- and toe-rings; 28-9, bezels ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See pp. 264 and 266

mm

RINGS

Iron Age Rings (fig. 86, contd.)

The normal Iron Age finger-ring at Maiden Castle is a spiral twist of bronze ribbon, which is in rare instances ornamented. Twelve examples are here illustrated (10-21); three are derived from deposits of the latter half of Iron Age B, whilst the remaining seven are of the Belgic period. In other words, the whole series falls between the last quarter of the first century B.C. and the middle of the first century A.D. This tallies precisely with the period covered by the decorated Glastonbury pottery at Maiden Castle, a fact which reminds us that thirty-five similar finger-rings were found at Glastonbury itself. The type has a long ancestry dating back perhaps to the latter part of the Bronze Age and extending geographically as far as northern Italy,¹ where it is found in the Ornavasso cemeteries of the second and first centuries B.C.² The type does not occur in Iron Age A associations nor in the primary phase of the Maiden Castle B, and presumably, therefore, owes its introduction into Iron Age Britain to neither of the two cultures. It is found at the following sites: in Dorset, at Maiden Castle, Spettisbury, Jordan Hill (Weymouth), Hod Hill, Woodcuts; in Somerset, at the Glastonbury and Meare lake-villages and Ham Hill; in Gloucestershire, at Bredon Hill³ and Salmonsbury (Bourton-on-the-Water); in Northamptonshire, at Hunsbury; in Oxfordshire, at Wood Eaton; and in Sussex, at the Caburn.⁴ A number of examples also come from Scotland.⁵ It may be observed that, with the exception of the solitary Sussex outlier, this distribution in England coincides well with that of Iron currency bars (see p. 383).

Some of these rings were certainly used as toe-rings. See below, p. 278, and fig. 92, 1-3.

10. From a late Bii pit on site B (B6), *c.* end of the first century B.C.
11. From a Belgic layer on site D, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
12. From a Biii layer on site D. First quarter of the first century A.D.
13. From a Belgic layer on site B, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
14. From a Belgic layer on site B, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
15. From a Belgic layer on site D, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
16. From a late Belgic road in the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 40.
17. From the pre-Roman Belgic layer on site P, *c.* A.D. 25-45.
18. From a Bii pit on site B. End of the first century B.C. This example is elaborately decorated with concentric circles and is comparable with examples from the Glastonbury lake-village (Bulleid and Gray, i, pl. xli, E111) and Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire (*Arch. Journ.* xcv, 67, fig. iv, 8).

¹ Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* iv, 1268.

² Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 209.

³ *Arch. Journ.* xcv (1938), 68.

⁴ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxviii (1927), 15, and pl. v, 31.

⁵ Bulleid and Gray, as cited.

19. Ring, decorated with vertical striations between border-lines, from a Bii pit (B24) on site B. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
20. Similar ring from a Biii level at the eastern entrance. First quarter of the first century A.D.
21. Ring decorated with four rows of punctuations along the expanded front surface, from a Belgic level on site R, c. A.D. 25-45. Compare the Glastonbury example (Bulleid and Gray, i, pl. xli, E88), and others from Bredon Hill (*Arch. Journ.* xcv, 1938, 67, fig. iv, 6) and Hunsbury (*Arch. Journ.* xciii, 1936, 63, fig. iii, 6).
22. Fragment of a ring from a late Biii pit on site D. First quarter of the first century A.D.

Roman Finger-Rings

23. Bronze finger-ring from the mixed Roman level on site L, stone missing. This simple type had a long life, but is especially typical of the middle and latter part of the Roman period. The present example is closely similar to no. 24, and, like it, probably dates from the middle or latter part of the fourth century A.D.
24. Bronze finger-ring, stone missing. It was sealed under the primary cement floor in the east ambulatory of the temple with a coin of Gratian.
25. Bronze finger-ring with bezel of plain green glass. Found in a robber-trench in the centre of the Roman temple and therefore unstratified. The ring is of a late Roman type, dating probably from the temple-occupation in the latter part of the fourth century A.D.
26. Bronze key-ring, of a normal Roman type, from an unstratified deposit on the site of the Roman temple.
27. Gold finger-ring, stone missing, found with four gold coins of Honorius and Arcadius (pl. xxxix, A), close outside the footings of the east wall of the temple at a point near the side of the entrance. This type, with a large bezel flanked by ornamented pellets, is a recognized late Roman type, e.g. *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Finger-Rings* (1907), pl. xiv, 508-13.
28. Carnelian intaglio bearing a laureate female head, from unstratified material in the cella of the temple.
29. Part of a carnelian intaglio bearing apparently a crude representation of Minerva with shield. From a mixed Roman level on site L.

RING-HEADED PINS

Fig. 87

Seven ring-headed pins were found, six of iron and one of bronze. The type has been studied by the late Mr. Reginald Smith and, more recently, by Mr. G. C. Dunning,¹ but a word on the local Wessex group may be added in the present context. The ring-headed pin, though based upon the late Hallstatt swan-necked pin, is itself a British

¹ *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), 269 ff.

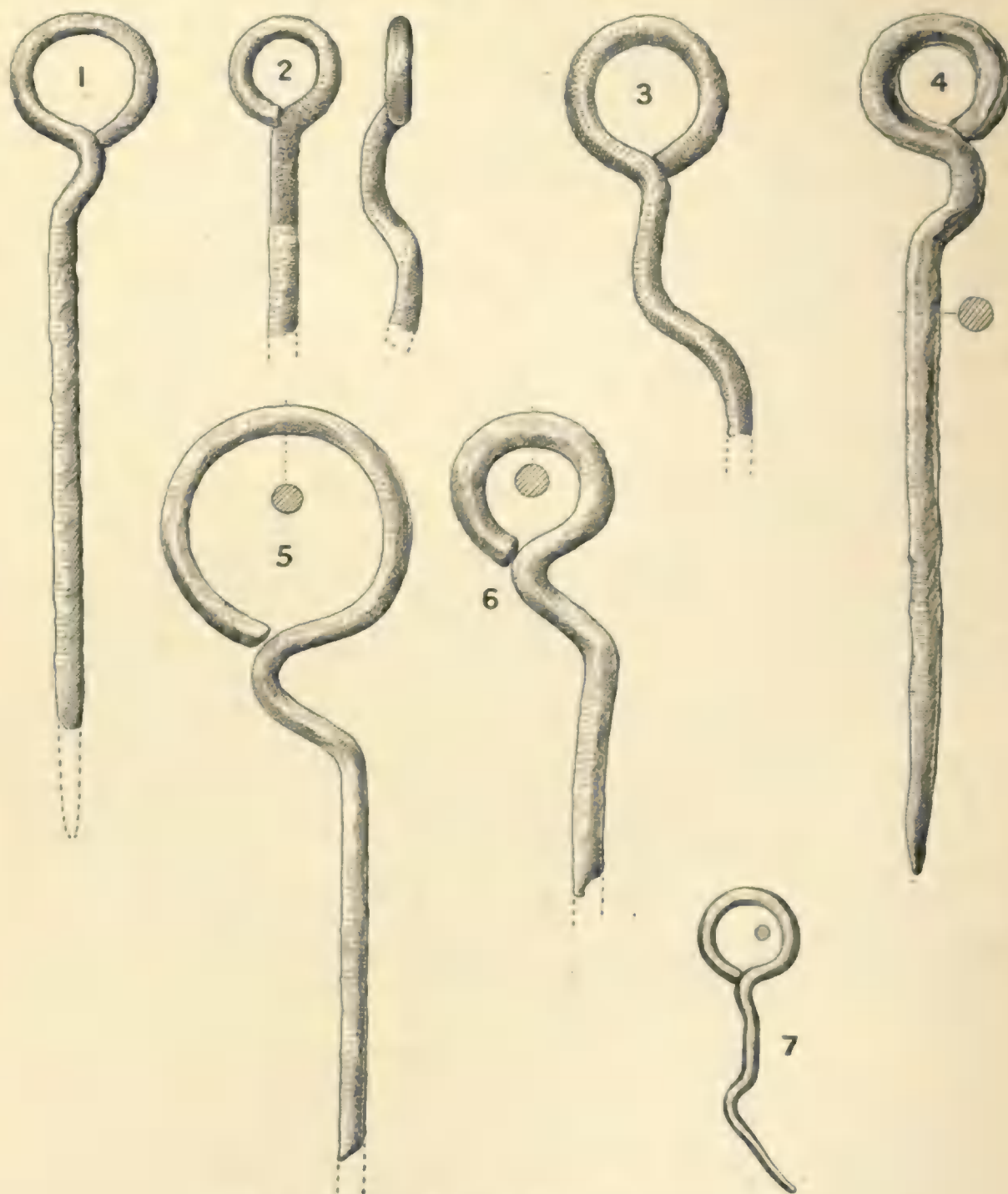


FIG. 87. Ring-headed pins: 1-6, iron; 7, bronze ($\frac{1}{4}$)

See p. 267

invention. Precisely where the type was first evolved is less certain. In *iron*, its distribution centres upon Wessex, where it is a regular concomitant of the Iron Age A culture: apart from Maiden Castle, iron ring-headed pins have been found in that region at All Cannings Cross, Cold Kitchen Hill, Fifield Bavant, Russley, and Swallowcliffe Down—all in Wiltshire—and at Ham Hill in Somerset. Of the other examples of this material, one on the coast of Glamorgan (Merthyr Mawr) is a natural outlier of the main Wessex group. The remaining three are from Scotland; two of them are variants, the third comes from the vitrified hill-fort of Dunagoil on Bute,¹ a site which—whatever be the explanation—has another link with Wessex in the form of a flat-bowed iron La Tène I (c) brooch of, or closely akin to, the provincial type noted above (p. 252).² The concentration of the *iron* examples in Wessex is consistent with the general trend of the Iron Age A culture there. Thus the only two British swan-necked pins of iron come from All Cannings Cross and Swallowcliffe Down; whilst of the six iron brooches of La Tène I in England, five are from Wessex (three from Cold Kitchen Hill, one from Swallowcliffe Down, and one from Maiden Castle), and only one from elsewhere (Park Brow, Sussex). The explanation of all this is easy enough: Wessex, an essentially agricultural, self-centred, non-commercial region, gradually developed its own mineral resources (sporadic iron) but was unable or unwilling to develop an export trade sufficient to attract tin and copper in any considerable quantity from other regions. The poverty of the native bronze-work of the Iron Age A culture is entirely 'in character' with that absence alike of commercial and of artistic initiative which is one of its outstanding traits.

The same lack of initiative renders it highly unlikely that the general type of the ring-headed pin was first evolved by Wessex Iron Age A. It is more likely to have been invented by the more lively school or schools of metal-craftsmanship which can be recognized as extending from the vicinity of our eastern or north-eastern coast, via the well-worn Jurassic Zone, across the midlands to Somerset.³ Unfortunately the scarcity of approximately dated ring-headed pins, outside Wessex, is for the moment a bar to the final solution of the problem.

Whether the ring-headed pins from All Cannings Cross are as early as the earliest elements in the culture of that site is unknown, and is perhaps unlikely, but it is safe to suppose that the type was current in Wessex about the middle of the Iron Age A culture there; i.e. before 200 B.C. on our schematic dating. It may be recalled that at least four of the iron La Tène I brooches are of phase C in Fox's brooch-classification, and the iron pins may most easily be regarded as a feature of the developed use of iron in this long phase, with which the greater part of Iron Age A appears to have coincided.

For the western British 'iron' culture, see further below, p. 383.

1. Iron ring-headed pin from a pit (F17) with pottery of the middle of Iron Age A; c. 200 B.C.
- 2 and 3. Two iron ring-headed pins found corroded together, in the same layer as the

¹ *Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc.* 1925, pl. 45.

² For the Dunagoil brooch, see *ibid.*, pls. 43-4.

³ See J. B. Ward Perkins, in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v (1939), pp. 185 ff.

5. Fragment of iron saw. From the floor of a Belgic hut on site D, A.D. 25 or soon after.

Similar small saws were found at Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 371 and pl. LXI) and others are recorded from Wookey Hole and Ham Hill, Somerset, Hambledon Hill and Hod Hill, Dorset, Casterley Camp, Wilts., Hunsbury Camp, Northants.,¹ and other sites. At Hunsbury the saws vary from 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length.

6. Part of an iron saw. From a Belgic-Roman layer on site Q, c. A.D. 25-50.

7. Iron knife. From a Belgic layer on site Q, c. A.D. 25-50.

8. Iron knife. From a Biii layer on site H, first quarter of the first century A.D.

9. Iron knife. From a Belgic layer on site D, c. A.D. 25-50.

10. Iron knife. From a Belgic layer on site P, c. A.D. 25-45.

11. Iron knife. From a late B or early Belgic level on site H, c. A.D. 25.

12. Iron knife. From a Belgic level on site Q, c. A.D. 25-50.

Plate XXIX, B

The six iron rings and the bronze object illustrated in this plate are from the early Belgic level on site L and may be ascribed therefore to c. A.D. 25-45. With the uncertain exception of the ring no. 4, which was recovered separately though in close vicinity, the whole group was found together in association with a large quantity of fragments of iron and bronze and incomplete leg-bones of a pony. It apparently represents horse-gear and some of the fittings of a wagon or chariot.

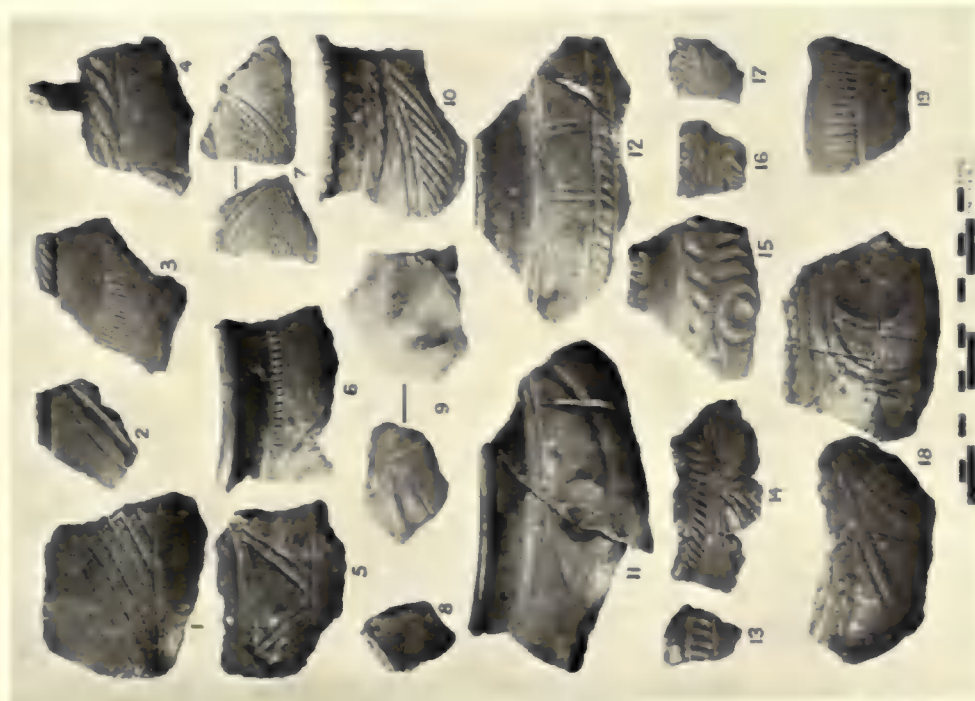
1. (See also fig. 90, 6.) Bronze object, possibly an axle-end. It is a fine casting, of massive metal, and its socket retains traces of wood. The larger and unpierced end is decorated with a small design of two concentric rings, the inner of which is radiate. A more elaborate decoration in the same position is found on the fine example in the Brentford Museum.² Two, unornamented, were found by Colt Hoare at Ham Hill.³ He described them simply as being made of bell metal, and made no conjecture as to their use, though they are illustrated with a bridle-bit. Two further examples are cited in the article on the Brentford piece, one from High Cross, Leicestershire, in the Leicester Museum, and another from Bigbury, in the Manchester Museum. There is a further hub, apparently not published, in the Dorchester Museum. Three in the British Museum come respectively from the Thames at Putney, from Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire (*Arch. Camb. Region*, 108), and from the Thames at Goring (*Archaeologia*, lxix, 1917, 22).

2 and 6. Heavy iron trace-rings or pole-rings (?). Such rings were found in position

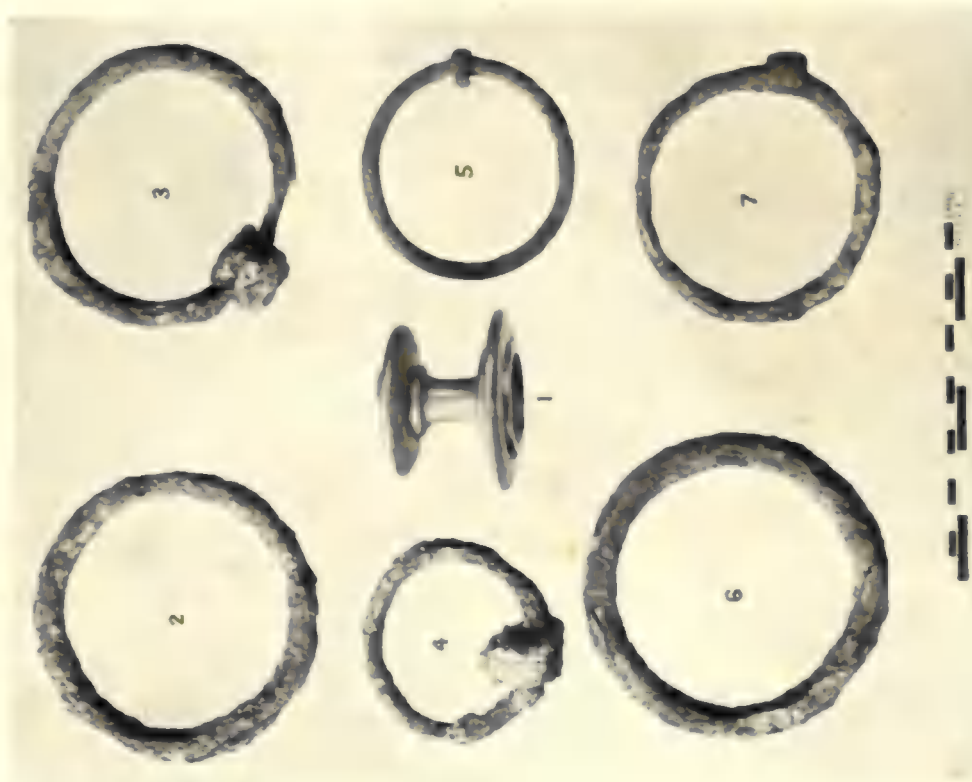
¹ *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1936), 66.

² *Archaeologia*, lxix (1917), 22.

³ *Archaeologia*, xxi (1825), pl. vi. (In the Taunton Museum.)



A. 'Glastonbury' pottery. See p. 228



B. 1, Bronze axle-hub; 2-7, iron rings, probably from horses' bits, Iron Age C. See p. 274

preceding. In no. 2 the pin is bent at right angles to the plane of the head, and is therefore an example of the variant type to which Mr. Dunning has given the name 'involuted'.¹ He compares this feature with the involuted bow of certain British La Tène II brooches,² and there is little doubt that the two series are approximately contemporary. It may be doubted, however, whether any special significance should be attached to this slight variation in the position of the bend, beyond the fact that it provides another instance of the individuality or the provincialism of the Wessex culture. Of the five known examples of the 'involuted' type, four come from our Wessex region (Cold Kitchen Hill, Swallowcliffe Down, Meare, and now Maiden Castle), whilst the remaining example comes from Sussex (Park Brow), where other extensions of the Wessex culture occur.

4. Iron ring-headed pin from a pit (B25) with pottery of the latter half of Iron Age A.

5. Iron ring-headed pin with unusually large head, from a pit (G15) with pottery of the earlier half of Iron Age A.

6. Iron ring-headed pin from rampart 4 at the eastern entrance, with derived material of the latter half of Iron Age A.

7. Bronze ring-headed pin from a pit (R23) with bead-rim pottery of group III, and datable therefore to the first quarter of the first century A.D. This pin, both by its material and by its type, with the more leisurely bending of the pin, may be an intrusion from the Oxfordshire-Somerset region, where small pins of this kind are more at home. With or without this variant feature, the occurrence of small bronze ring-headed pins in La Tène III is well established by examples at the Glastonbury and Meare lake-villages and in the hill-fort on Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire.³

OTHER METAL OBJECTS

Fig. 88

This figure includes the only three or four significant objects of metal (other than brooches and ring-headed pins) attributable to Iron Age A. When contrasted with the abundant, if degraded, contemporary pottery, the scarcity of metal-work emphasizes the cultural poverty of this phase—a poverty not incompatible with a considerable degree of prosperity on a low economic plane (see pp. 186, 381).

1 and 2. Two H-shaped bronze objects prepared for attachment presumably to an object of similar shape of wood or bone. No. 1 has a hook on one of the lateral bars. The purpose of these objects is difficult to understand, but they may have served as dress-fasteners. No close analogy seems to be forthcoming. No. 1 was found on site H on the surface of the earliest extension-rampart, built in the first half or middle of Iron Age A. No. 2 is from another Iron Age A deposit on the same site.

3. Iron handle, broken off at one end. From a late Iron Age A pit (A19).

¹ *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), 279.

² Fox in *Arch. Camb.* lxxii (1927), pp. 91-6.

³ Dunning, as cited, 276; and Thalassa Hencken in *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1938), 67.



FIG. 88. Objects of bronze and iron ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See p. 270

4. Bronze strap-union from a layer containing mixed Iron Age A and Iron Age B sherds, and ascribable therefore to the middle or third quarter of the first century B.C. The object may have been used for a belt or for harness, and is comparable with a more ornate 'harness ornament' from the Glastonbury lake-village (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 229 and pl. XLIV, E262) and with others from Hunsbury, Northants., Letchworth, Herts., Caythorpe, Lincs., Charleston Brow, Sussex, Bury Hill Camp, Hants.,¹ and from La Tène itself.² A fragmentary iron example of c. A.D. 44 is illustrated below in fig. 92, 10a.

5. Iron sickle with riveted socket containing fragments of a wooden handle. From a pit (D19) on site D with Bi pottery (third quarter of the first century B.C.).

6. Iron knife or sickle from the same pit as the preceding.

7. Iron knife from a level containing Bii pottery on site D; latter part of the first century B.C.

8. Small iron knife from a pit (D12) with early Bii pottery; c. 25 B.C. or a little later.

9. Iron tanged arrow-head from a Bii layer on site H; latter part of the first century B.C.

10. Bronze needle from a Bii level on site D; latter part of the first century B.C.

11. Bronze needles closely copying a normal bone type (compare pl. xxxv, B, fig. 105). From the early Belgic filling of a pit (B11) on site B; c. A.D. 25.

12. Iron object in the shape of a figure of eight with nails for attachment to wood or leather; purpose unknown. From a pit (D4) with Bii pottery; latter part of the first century B.C.

Fig. 89

1. Flat iron object. From a pit (B7) on site B with late Bii pottery (end of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D.). The resemblance to a bull's head is doubtless intentional, although in the absence of a means of attachment the purpose of the object cannot be guessed. The bull's head is familiar in British ironwork of the first half of the first century A.D., particularly, though not exclusively, in the Belgic area of south-eastern Britain.³

2. Fragment of iron mirror bound with bronze. From a Biii layer on site E; early first century A.D. Iron mirrors are rare in this country,⁴ the most notable and perhaps the only definite examples known being two found in burials at Arras, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. One of these was in a chariot-burial. (See G. C. Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxv, 1928, p. 73, fig. 3.)

3. Iron chisel. Found in a pit (D9) with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

4. Iron object, possibly a small chisel. From a layer on site D with early Biii pottery; beginning of the first century A.D.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 121.

² For the literature, see *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1936), 64.

³ For some of the literature of the subject, see *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond. 1932), p. 74; and Cyril Fox, *Antiq. Journ.* vi (1926), 316.

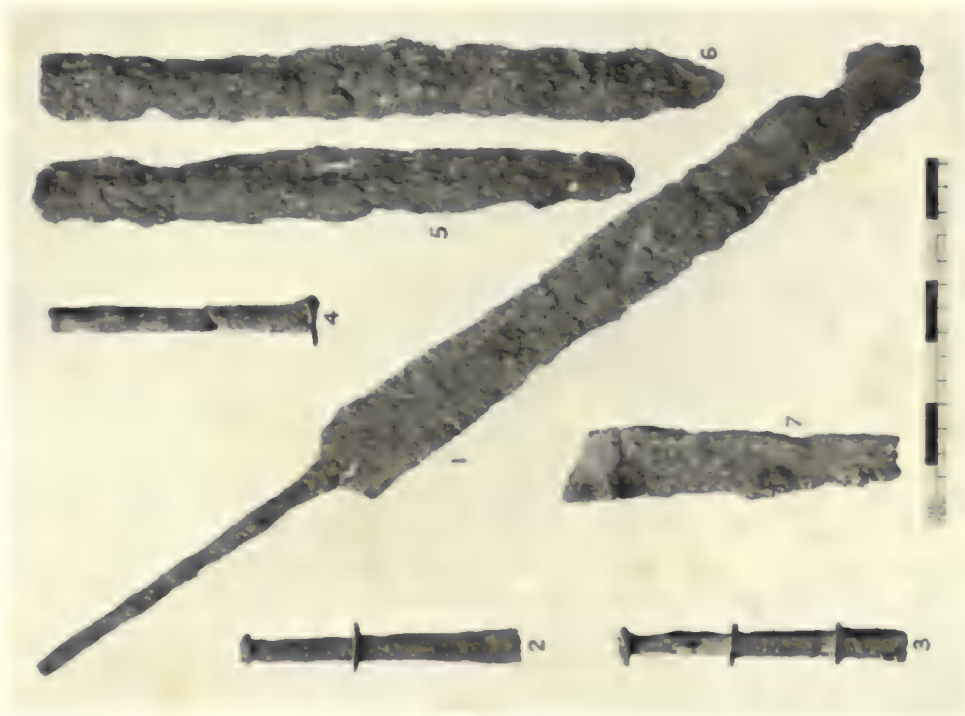
⁴ It is evident that the Early Iron Age craftsman preferred bronze for the manufacture of mirrors, and the use of iron in the Maiden Castle example may be attributed to the general tendency of Wessex craftsmanship to use this local material (see p. 381).

METAL OBJECTS

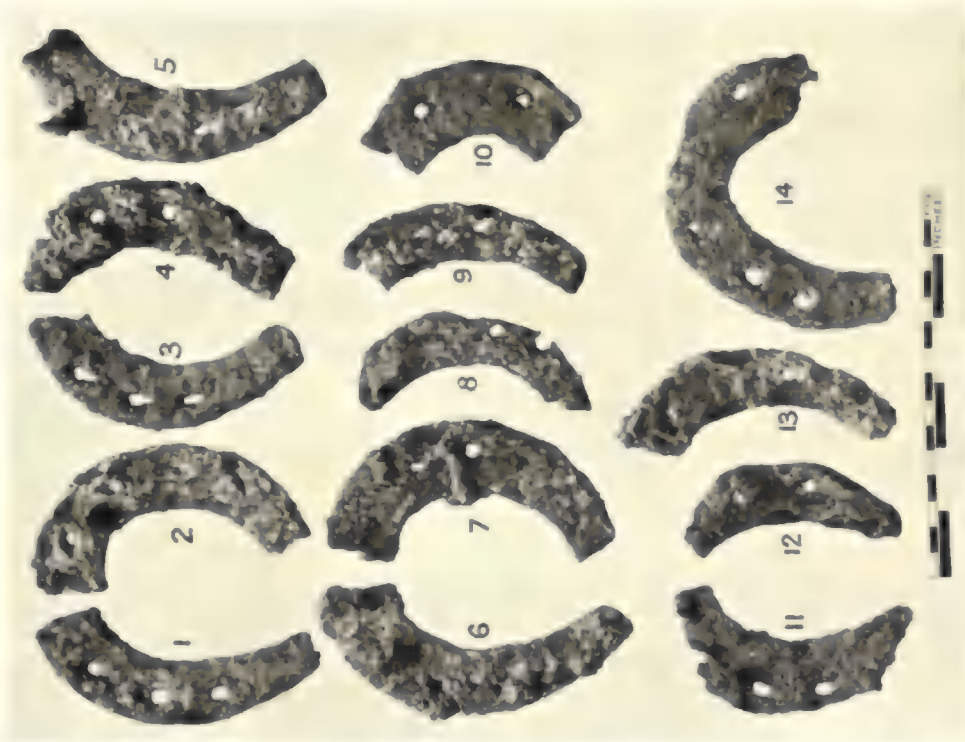
273



FIG. 89. Objects of metal; 8, 9, 11, and 12 ($\frac{1}{2}$); remainder ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See p. 272



A. 1-6, Iron swords; 7, iron currency bar. See p. 277



B. Late Roman horseshoes from the F. entrance. See p. 290

in the La Gorge Meillet (Marne) chariot-burial.¹ On the other hand, no. 2 at any rate, with its characteristic point of maximum wear, may have been a large bit-ring.

3-5 and 7. Iron terminal rings of bridle-bits with adhering fragments of links. No. 3 is unusually heavy for this purpose, but is comparable in this respect with bit-rings from the Beverley chariot-burial, Yorks.²

Fig. 90

1. Terminal bronze binding of the lower end of a sword-sheath; from a Biii layer on site L; first quarter of first century A.D. The terminal thickening is a reminiscence of the junction between the end of the scabbard and the winged chape which forms the prototype of these bindings. This feature in late La Tène III is not infrequently replaced by a knob such as appears on scabbard-chapes from Bredon Hill, Glos.,³ Spettisbury, Dorset,⁴ and the Glastonbury lake-village.⁵ The present example is the only relic of a sword-scabbard found at Maiden Castle.

2. Iron sword-tang fitted with bronze washers for affixing the grip of wood or bone, now missing. From a Belgic level at the eastern entrance, c. A.D. 25-45. (See below, p. 277 and pl. xxx, A.)

3. Bronze washer from a sword-hilt similar to the preceding. From a disturbed level of late (probably Belgic) date on site L.

4. Fragment of bronze object with central and lateral prongs. From a Belgic road in the northern portal of the eastern entrance, c. A.D. 25-45. The purpose of this fragmentary object is unknown.

5. Bronze stud, one of several found on the Belgic road-surface of the eastern gateway. It is not unlikely that they are shoe-studs. Somewhat similar small bronze nails were found at Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 235 and pl. XLIII, E166).

6. Bronze axle-end retaining remains of woodwork in the socket. From a Belgic level on site L, c. A.D. 25-45 (see above, p. 274 and pl. xxix, B).

7. Small bronze terret-like loop from a Belgo-Roman level on site B, c. A.D. 25-50.

8. Small bronze pendant bearing a generalized and probably accidental resemblance to a La Tène I brooch. From the Romano-Belgic level on site G, c. A.D. 25-50.

9. Bronze ring with central beading; from a Belgic level on site Q, c. A.D. 25-50.

10. Iron linchpin; from a Belgic road-surface in the eastern entrance, c. A.D. 25-45. Linchpins of this general type, usually with a bronze head, are characteristic of the Belgic areas in Britain and may all be ascribed to the Belgic or Roman periods. For the type and distribution-map, see J. B. Ward Perkins, *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 358 ff. The use of iron in the present example is perhaps yet another instance of the general scarcity of bronze in the Wessex region (see pp. 269 and 381).

¹ *Album Moulages Saint-Germain*, pl. xxviii; and Déchelette, *Manuel d'Arch.* ii, 1025, fig. 425.

² *Archaeologia*, lx (1907), 278.

³ *Arch. Journ.* xcv (1938), 66.

⁴ *Ibid.* xcvi (1939), 120.

⁵ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 232 and pls. XLIV and LXII.

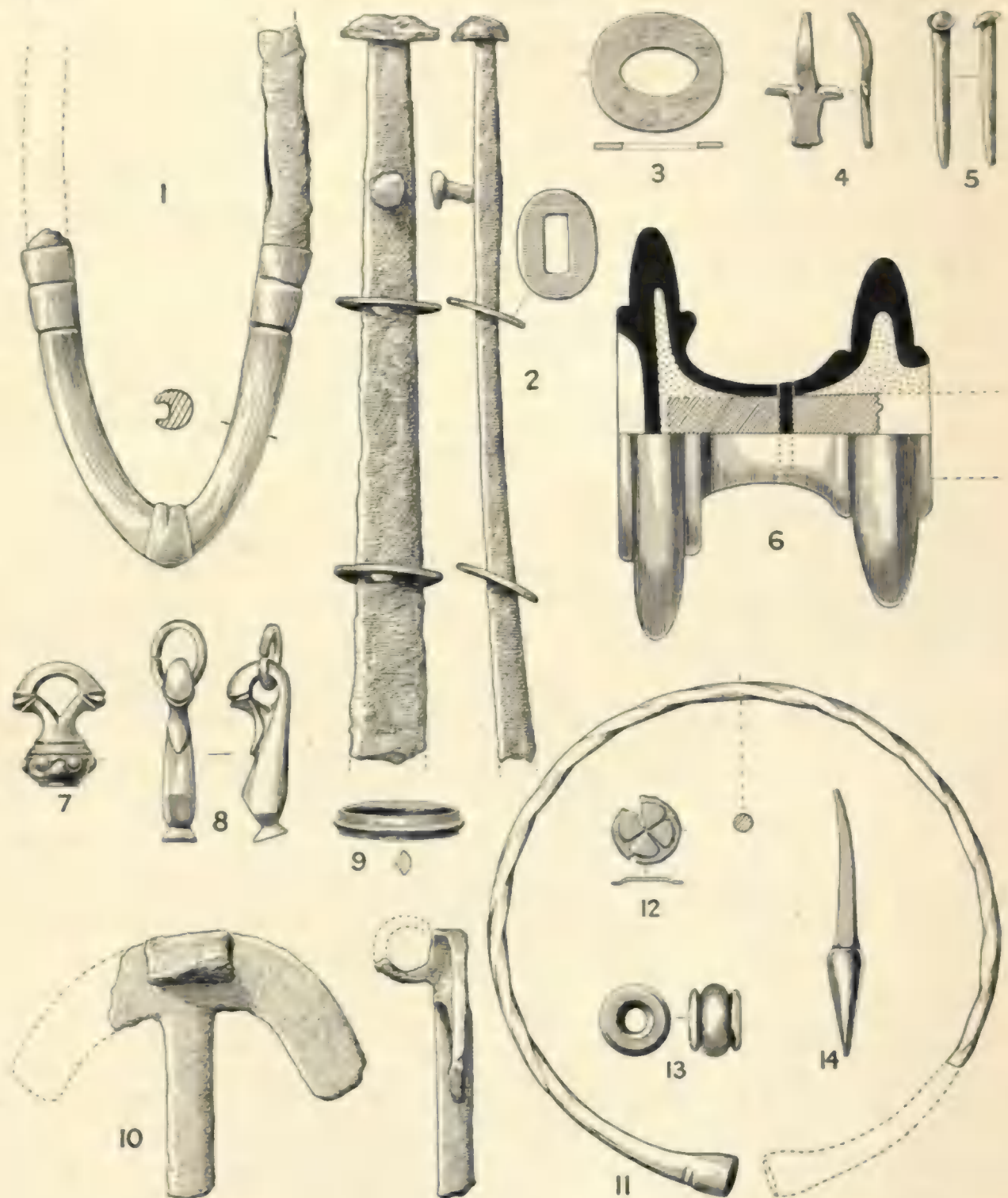


FIG. 90. Objects of bronze and iron ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 275

11. Bronze armlet, with a cast twist and enlarged terminals; found with Belgic pottery and Roman brick on site F, and therefore dated after rather than before the Roman Conquest. The object, however, shows signs of considerable wear and is doubtless a relic of the last pre-Roman phase.

12. Small bronze stud with cast quatrefoil pattern; from a Belgic road in the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-45. Small iron studs, decorated often with enamel-work, are characteristic of La Tène III on continental sites, such as Stradonic and Mont Beuvray,¹ and occur also in this country at the same period, e.g. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, pl. XLII, E35; *Lydney Report*, fig. 11, 11; and Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, p. 39, fig. 3, *m* and *n* (Hod Hill).

13. Small bronze ring; from a Romano-Belgic level on site R, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

14. Small bronze object, somewhat resembling a plumb-bob; from a Romano-Belgic level on site T, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

Plate xxx, A

Seven swords or daggers are represented among the relics from Maiden Castle. Of one only a bronze washer, illustrated in fig. 90, 3, has survived; the remains of the others are illustrated on this plate and consist of one almost complete weapon, two fragmentary blades, and three tangs. These were all found in Belgic levels and are datable to *c.* A.D. 25-45. The fragments are not very distinctive, but conform with the generality of La Tène III swords in Britain. The surviving blades appear to represent the moderately sized sword common here and on the Continent throughout the La Tène period, and usable either for cutting or for thrusting. Although much corroded, they all show two cutting-edges and a slight central ridge.

Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6 come from site L; nos. 3 and 5 from the eastern entrance. Nos. 2 and 3 have ovoid, iron button-terminals, and nos. 2, 3, and 4 all have tangs of rectangular section with rounded corners, of a type which is of frequent occurrence on Marnian swords (compare examples from Corroy, Marne, and from Rence, in the British Museum). The type also occurs on swords in the Grimthorpe burial.² The oval bronze washers on the three tangs are an unusual feature or at least have not commonly survived, but the Grimthorpe example has equivalent iron washers or collars, and somewhat similar iron washers occur on a sword from Miribel, Aine (British Museum). Bronze collars occur on the hilt of a dirk from Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim, but these are of different form and are upcurved.

No. 3 bears a bronze rivet between the terminal stud and the first of the two bronze washers.

No. 10 on this plate is a fragment of a currency bar, the only example found at Maiden Castle. It is impossible to tell its denomination from the existing fragment. (For currency bars in general, see below, p. 383.)

¹ Déchelette, *Les Fouilles de Mont Beuvray* (1904), pl. 24.

² British Museum, *Iron Age Guide*, p. 114, fig. 123.

Fig. 91

1. Iron knife; from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-70.
2. Iron knife-blade; from an early Belgo-Roman level on site D, *c.* A.D. 25.
3. Iron socketed sickle or bill-hook; from a level of Biii or early Belgic date on site L, *c.* A.D. 25. For the type, see Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 366.
4. Iron tanged sickle; from a late Biii level, *c.* A.D. 25. See Bulleid and Gray, *op. cit.* ii, 369 and 384.
5. Iron spear-head; from the Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.
6. Fragmentary iron spear-head; from a Belgic level on site L, *c.* A.D. 25-45.
7. Iron spear-head with cleft socket; from a Belgo-Roman level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 25-70.
8. Iron spear-head; from an early Roman level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 45-70.
9. Iron spear-head; from a late Biii or early Belgic level on site D, *c.* A.D. 25.
10. Iron tanged blade of triangular form; from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-70. This blade may have been used either as a knife or as a lance-point.

Fig. 92

All the objects illustrated in this figure were found in association with skeletons in the War Cemetery of *c.* A.D. 44, within the outworks of the eastern entrance. They are therefore closely dated. For the War Cemetery, see pp. 63 and 351; for the associated pottery, see p. 231 and fig. 72; for the iron arrow-head found embedded in one of the skeletons, see p. 281, fig. 93, 13 and pl. LVIII, A; and for a British coin from one of the graves, see p. 331.

1. Spiral bronze ring found (as shown, pl. LVI, B) on the big toe of the right foot of skeleton P2 (no. 49). The use of toe-rings was suspected at Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 210), but does not appear to have been established definitely hitherto in Britain. Toe-rings, not only as an ornament but also as a preventive or cure of disease, are worn to-day throughout the Moslem world, and may well have had a similarly varied significance in Iron Age Britain. For spiral rings generally, see p. 266, fig. 86, and Bulleid and Gray as cited.

2. Spiral bronze ring from the smallest toe of the left foot of skeleton P19A (no. 63).

3. Spiral bronze ring from one of the smaller toes of the right foot of skeleton P30 (no. 75).

4. Bronze ring found in the grave of skeleton P28 (no. 72), and probably associated with the burial.

5. Double iron ring found on the fourth and fifth fingers of the right hand of skeleton P14 (no. 58). The thinness of the metal at the junction makes it reasonably certain that the rings were made as a conjoined pair and have not subsequently amalgamated through corrosion.

6. Iron knife found with nos. 7 and 8 on the chest of skeleton P22 (no. 66). See pl. LX, A.

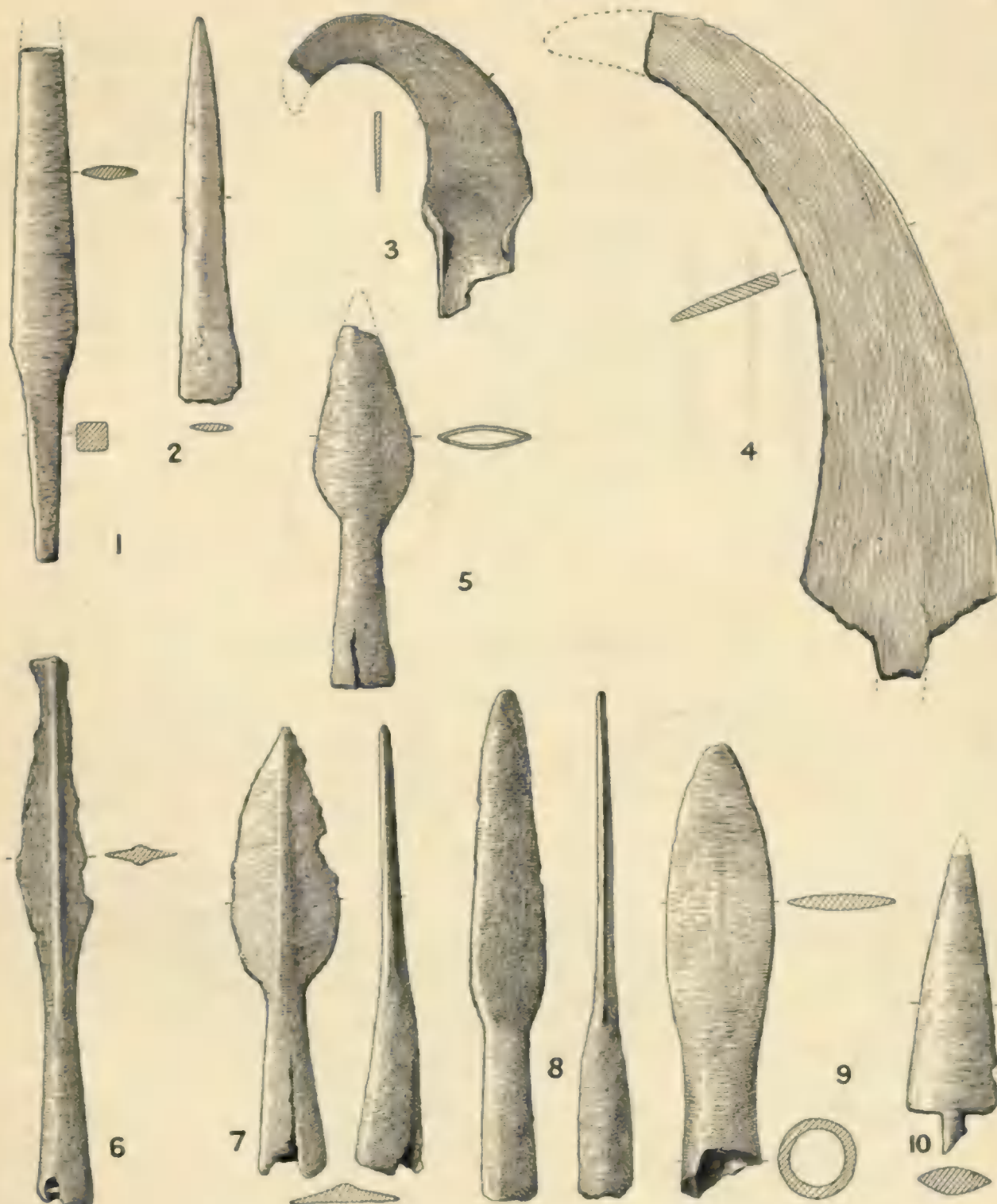


FIG. 91. Objects of iron: 1, 2, 4, 8, and 9 ($\frac{1}{4}$); remainder ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 278

MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET

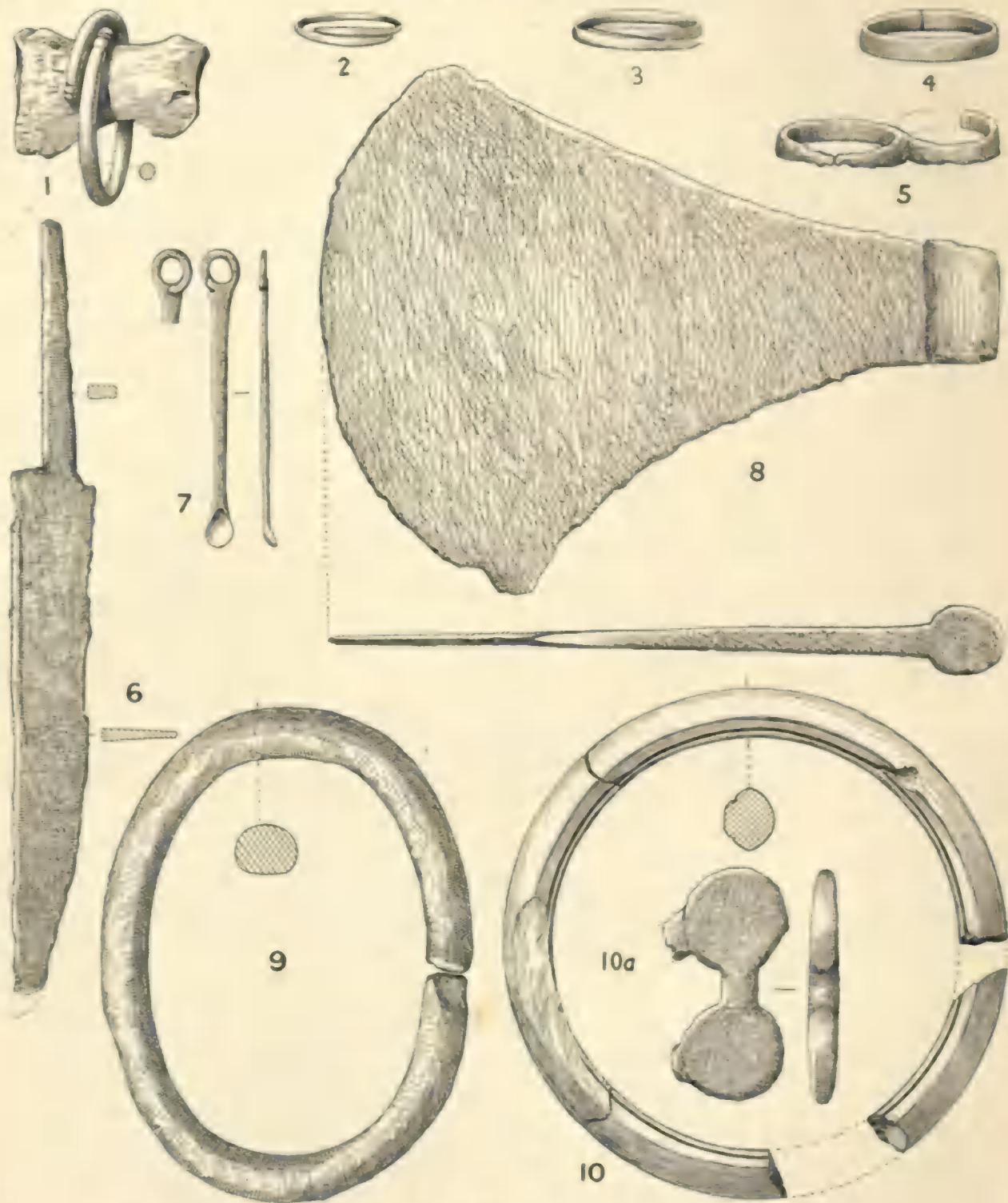


FIG. 92. Objects from the Belgic War Cemetery: 1-4 and 7 of bronze;
5, 6, 8, 9, and 10a of iron; 10 of shale ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 278

7. Bronze 'ear-scoop' found with nos. 6 and 8. This object was apparently worn on a cord round the neck of the dead man. It is of Roman type and is evidence therefore of direct or indirect contact with the Roman world before the date of the Maiden Castle slaughter.

8. Flat iron axe with thickened butt, found with nos. 6 and 7. No close parallel for this rudimentary implement appears to be forthcoming. It was presumably mounted in a cleft haft.

9. Iron bracelet from the left wrist of skeleton P27 (no. 71).

10. Shale armlet from the right arm of skeleton P33 (no. 77). For the shale-industry of Maiden Castle, see p. 311.

10a. Fragment of an iron 'dress-fastener' of a type better illustrated by fig. 88, 4. Found with skeleton P34 (no. 78).

Fig. 93

The iron arrow-heads illustrated in this figure all come from the Belgo-Roman level of Maiden Castle, and in some, if not all, cases may reasonably be ascribed to the actual phase of Roman conquest, *c.* A.D. 44 (see above, p. 62).

1. Head of Roman ballista bolt from the surface of the uppermost Belgic road-level in the northern portal of the eastern entrance.

2. Similar bolt-head from the Belgo-Roman level on site L.

3. Arrow- or bolt-head with simple turn-over socket from the same level as the preceding. Arrow-heads of this type, although lacking specially distinctive features, were mass-produced on Roman sites, probably for use with ballistae.¹

4. Similar iron arrow-head from a Belgo-Roman grave in the outworks of the eastern entrance. See 'skeleton T29', p. 350.

5 and 6. Similar iron arrow-heads from the Belgo-Roman level on site R.

7. Arrow-head apparently of blunter form but of similar type, from a late Belgic level on site B.

8. Similar iron arrow-head from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance.

9. Similar iron arrow-head from the Belgo-Roman level within the outworks of the eastern entrance.

10. Similar iron arrow-head from the surface of the uppermost Belgic road in the northern portal of the eastern entrance.

11 and 12. Similar iron arrow-heads from the make-up of the early Roman road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance.

13. Iron arrow-head found embedded in the twelfth thoracic vertebra of skeleton P7 (no. 53) in the War Cemetery at the eastern entrance. (See pl. LVIII, A.)

Fig. 94

1. Fragmentary iron axe-head; from an early Roman level on site B, *c.* A.D. 45-70.

¹ See *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, Heft II (1901), Taf. xxii, 23.

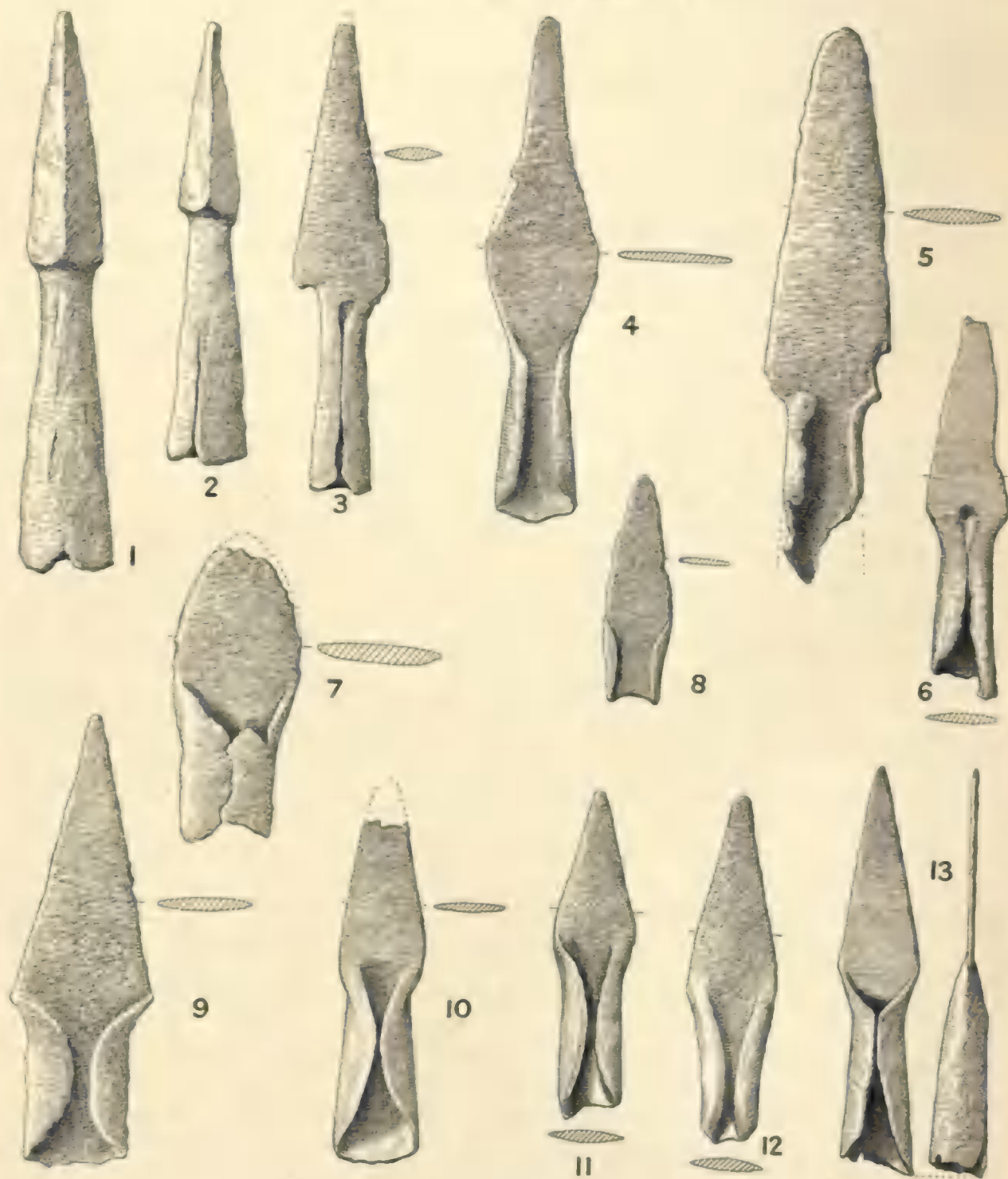


FIG. 93. Iron arrow-heads of Roman types (1)
See p. 281

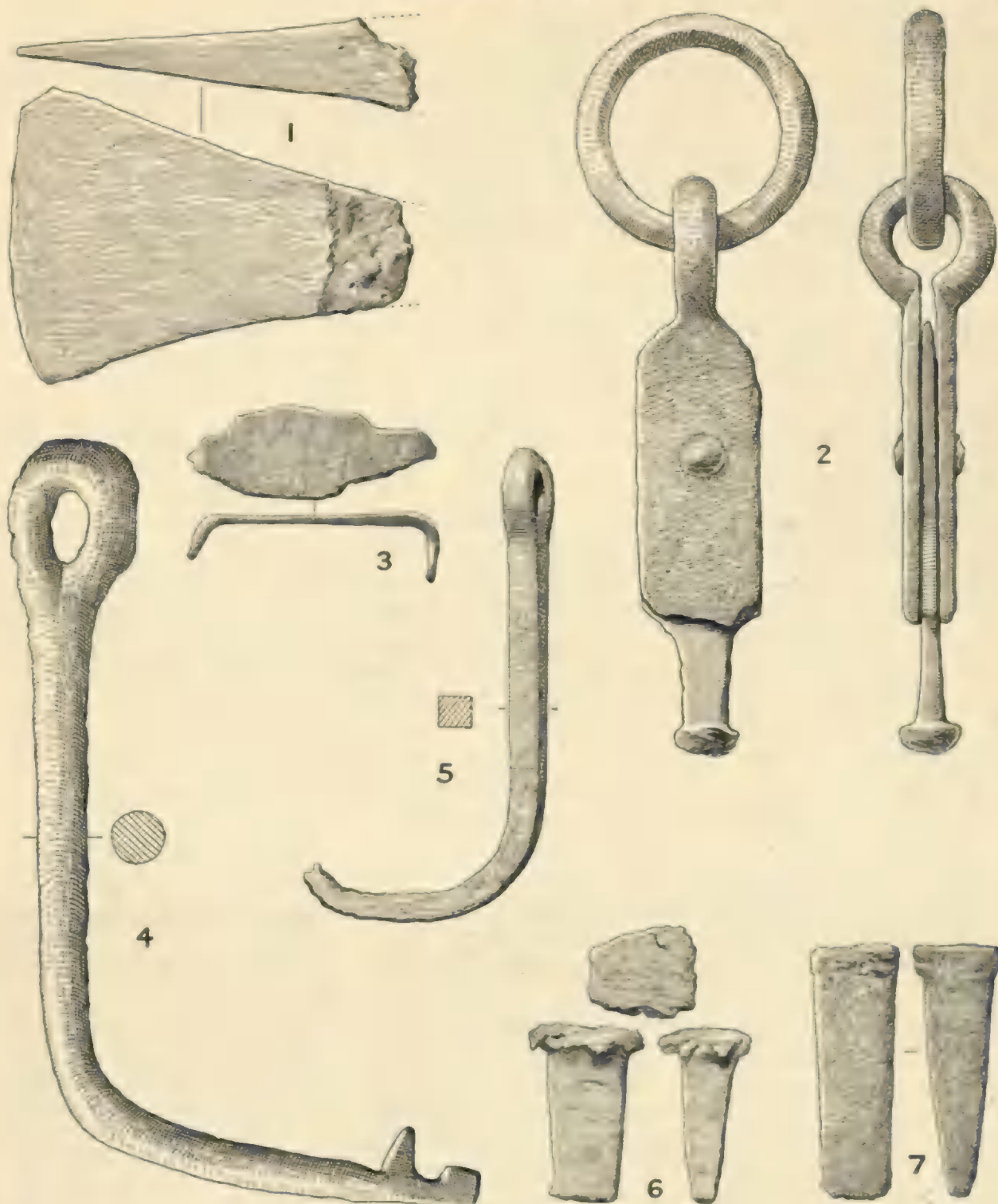


FIG. 94. Objects of iron: 1-4 ($\frac{1}{2}$); 5-7 ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See p. 281

2. Iron ring on pivoted attachment, use uncertain; from a late Bili or early Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 25.
3. Shoe-clamp or 'blakey'; from a Belgo-Roman level on site G, *c.* A.D. 25-70. Similar clamps, with iron hobnails, were found at the feet of skeletons in the Romano-British village of Rotherley, Wilts. (Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, 190.)
4. Iron key of a simple 'slide-key' type; from a superficial (probably early Roman) level on site A. For the type, see Pitt-Rivers, *Primitive Locks and Keys*, pl. iv, 13c; L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, pp. 462 ff.; and *London in Roman Times* (London Museum Catalogue), p. 70.
5. Fragmentary iron hook or (doubtfully) key; from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-50.
6. Iron wedge; from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25-70.
7. Similar iron wedge; from an early Roman level on site Q.

Fig. 95

Nos. 1-3, three iron bolts from padlocks of Belgo-Roman date, and of a kind found occasionally on Iron Age sites¹ and more common on Roman and medieval sites.

1. Iron bolt from a padlock; from an early Roman level on site Q, *c.* A.D. 45-70.
2. Iron bolt from a padlock; from the Belgo-Roman level on site P, *c.* A.D. 25-70.
3. Iron bolt from a padlock; from an early Roman level on site R, *c.* A.D. 45-70.
4. Two tinned bronze scales, probably from a Roman cuirass, found with a fragment of early Samian pottery, form 18, in the latest post-hole on the summit of the rampart between the portals of the eastern entrance. The palisade represented by this and other post-holes was probably demolished at the time of the storming of Maiden Castle by the Romans (p. 65); indeed, it is likely enough that these fragments of armour found their way into the post-hole in or shortly after the actual process of demolition.

The *lorica squamata* was built up of scales, usually of bronze or brass, laced together with leather thongs. The present scales are fragmentary and seem to have been severed at the base with a cut, so that the original arrangement for attachment is uncertain. The piercing near the pointed end is unusual, but the pointed end itself, though less common than a rounded end, is a recognized type.²

5. Bronze ear-ring; from an early Belgic road-surface in the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 25.

6. Triangular fragment of chain-mail; from a Belgo-Roman level at the eastern entrance and dating probably from the Roman Conquest. Although here described as mail, this object may have adorned a ceremonial robe or head-dress, as was probably the case with similar triangular fragments of chain from the temple site at Lydney (*Lydney Report*, pl. xxx, B).

¹ Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* ii, 1392, fig. 620.

² See von Grollier in *Der römische Limes in Österreich* Heft ii, Taf. xv, 6 and 7; and, generally, xxvi, 84.

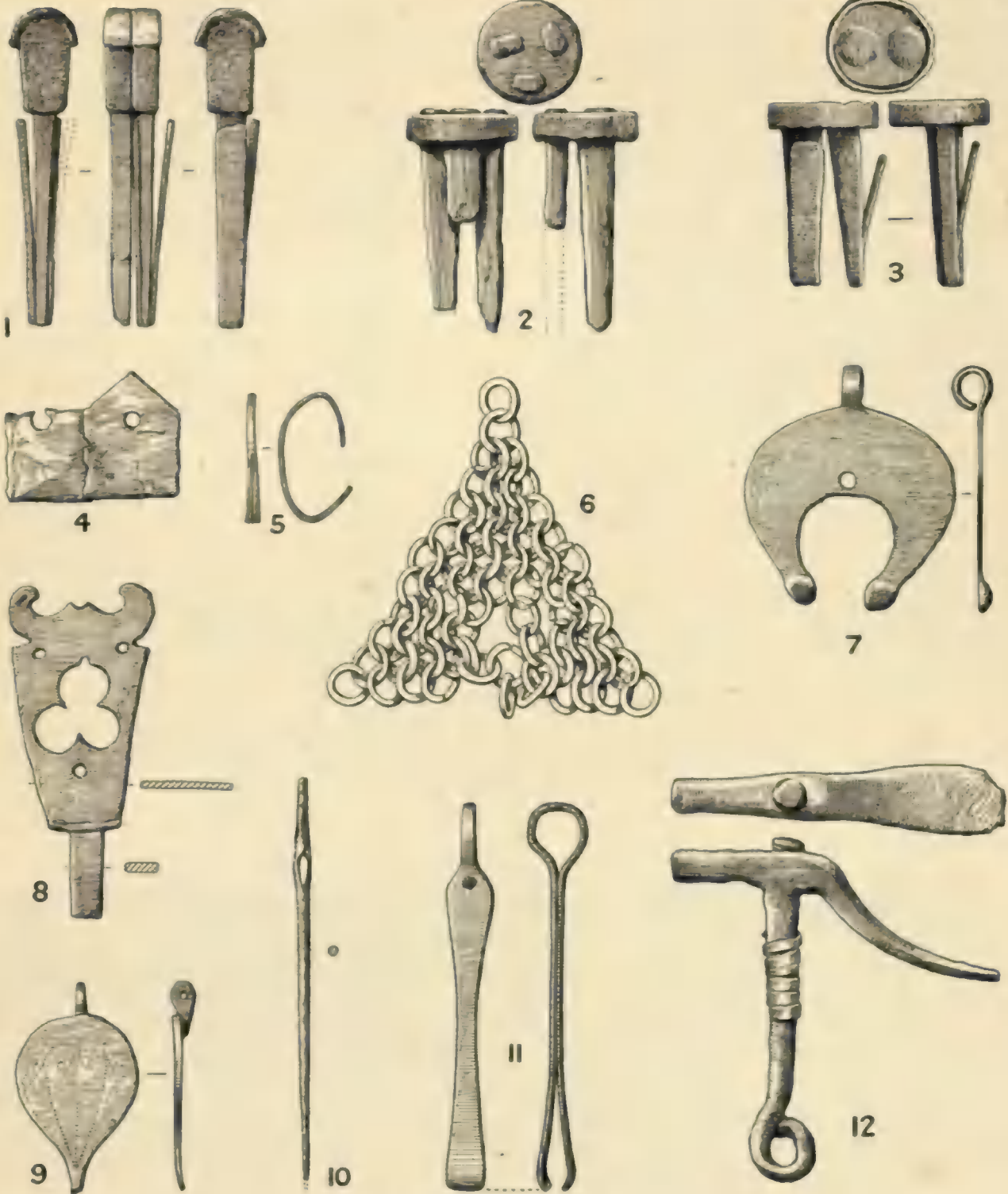


FIG. 95. Roman objects: 1-3, $\frac{1}{2}$; remainder $\frac{1}{4}$
See p. 284

7. Bronze pendant of a normal Roman type; from an early Roman level on site H, *c.* A.D. 45-70.

8. Small bronze plaque, probably for attachment to leather-work; from an early Roman level on site G, *c.* A.D. 45-70.

9. Bronze seal-box lid with punctuated pattern; from the early Roman road-surface in the northern portal of the eastern entrance, *c.* A.D. 45-70.

10. Bronze needle; from the Romano-Belgic level on site G, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

11. Pair of bronze tweezers; from site D, unstratified, but probably of early Roman date.

12. Small iron hammer with remains of bronze binding; from the filling of one of the trenches cut in 1882 in the vicinity of the temple (site L). The object is therefore unstratified, but is doubtless of Roman date, though whether of the early or the late Roman occupations cannot be said. The hammer may have been used by a metal-worker and is comparable in size with other small hammers from Roman sites, e.g. *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, n.s. xvi, p. 35, fig. 8a; O.R.L. xxx, Köngen, pl. v, 7, and an example from Silchester in the National Museum of Wales.

Fig. 96

Roman Objects

1. Iron stylus, grooved possibly for an applied bronze or copper ribbon, from a mixed Roman level on site L. Probably fourth century A.D.

2. Iron stylus with bronze or copper binding above the point. From the same level as no. 1.

3. Iron stylus from the same level as the preceding.

4. Bone pin-head with screw neck from a late fourth-century level on site B.

5. Bone pin from mixed (mostly late) Roman material adjoining the site of the Priest's House.

6. Bone pin from the make-up of the floor of the Priest's House. The floor dates from *c.* A.D. 370.

7. Part of a bronze pin from a mixed (probably late) Roman level on site L.

8. Bronze pin with faceted head from a Roman level subsequent to the completion of the Roman temple; end of the fourth century A.D.

9. Bronze hook, possibly for the suspension of a lamp, from a late fourth-century level adjoining the temple.

10. Fragment of a bracelet from a late fourth-century level adjoining the temple. For the design, compare the *Lydney Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond.), fig. xvii, O (probably late fourth century).

11. Bronze leaf pendant from mixed Roman material in the make-up of the floor in the Priest's House. The latter dates from *c.* A.D. 370. Leaf pendants of this type are common on Roman sites and are intrinsically difficult or impossible to date.¹

¹ e.g. *Novesium*, pl. xxxiv, 22 and 34; and E. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, pl. II, 59 (first century A.D.).

METAL OBJECTS

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FIG. 96. Roman objects of bronze and iron ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 286

12. Bronze nail-cleaner of simple type found with mixed Roman material in a level made up at the time of the building of the Priest's House.
13. Fragment of similar bronze nail-cleaner, from the mixed material in the make-up of the floor of the Priest's House.
14. Decorated bronze nail-cleaner, from mixed Roman material adjoining the Roman temple.
15. Decorated bronze nail-cleaner, of late Roman type, from an unstratified layer adjoining the Roman temple. Similar examples with relics dating mostly from the end of the Roman period were found in the top soil at Richborough (*Richborough Report*, ii, pl. xxix, 34-5).
16. Bronze 'ear-scoop' from the mixed Roman material on site L. Objects of this kind are not closely datable, but a similar example was found in the Belgic War Cemetery of c. A.D. 44. See fig. 92, 7.
17. Bronze key of a normal and undatable Roman type, from the site of the Roman temple, but unstratified.

Fig. 97

1. = pl. xxxi, A. Hexagonal bronze pedestal found in the edge of a Roman post-hole in the Roman 'round building' on site L, in association with a steelyard weight (no. 5 below), a fragmentary pigeon's egg, and a worn coin of Tetricus I (A.D. 270-3). The objects belong doubtless to the latter part of the fourth century, to which the great bulk of the material from this hut must be assigned. The pedestal is decorated with bead-ornament and cable-pattern, and bears faint traces of the feet of the statuette which it once supported. From these it would appear that the statuette was 9 or 10 in. in height.
2. Iron bell with traces of bronze coating from the Roman level on site L. Most of the material from this level was of late fourth-century date.
3. Bronze bell with iron clapper from the same level as the preceding.
4. Iron point of ox-goad from the topmost level on site L, with material mostly of late fourth-century date but containing some admixture from other periods. Ox-goads of this type are familiar on Roman sites, e.g. Woodcuts and Rotherley.¹
5. Lead steelyard weight with iron handle, found with no. 1 above.
6. Pottery lamp from the early Roman level on site L. This is an early Roman type (see London Museum Catalogue, *London in Roman Times*, 1930, p. 62) which does not seem to occur in Britain much after the middle of the first century A.D., although in the Danubian area it lasts until the last two decades of the first century.
7. Nozzle of pottery lamp from a mixed Belgic-Roman level on site H. c. A.D. 45-70. The type may be regarded as a simplified version of the preceding.

Plate xxxi, A

On the left of this plate is the basis and lower part of a statuette of Italian marble.

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. 29, fig. 10; and ii, pl. 105, figs. 10-12.



FIG. 97. Roman objects: 1-4, $\frac{1}{4}$; 5-7, $\frac{1}{2}$
See p. 288

The subject was apparently Diana with a hound. The workmanship is good, though without distinction. The fragment was found with late fourth-century coins and pottery in the débris of the floor of the Roman round hut south-west of the temple, on site L (pl. xxii).

On the right of the plate is the bronze pedestal illustrated in fig. 97, 1 (q.v.).

HORSESHOES

Plate xxx, B

Fragments of several iron horseshoes were found in the northern portal of the eastern entrance, and representative examples are illustrated in pl. xxx, B. They normally have three nail-holes on each half, punched from one side only. The ends are sometimes, but not always, turned back to form a calkin, of low relief. There is sometimes a tendency for the outline to expand opposite the nail-holes, but only one shoe (no. 12) has a sufficiently wavy outline to enable it to be classed with the 'wavy' shoes familiar both from Roman and from Norman sites.¹ For the rest, the shoes have a tolerably regular curved outline. Similar simple shoes have not infrequently been found on Romano-British sites,² but usually in surface-soil and therefore not stratified. They are recorded also from the Saalburg³ and other Roman sites abroad. They have sometimes been wrongly suspected of being universally of post-Roman date; the Maiden Castle series is clearly stratified, and those found on or in the surface of the late Roman road were sealed beneath later accumulations and surfaces and are incontestably of late fourth- or early fifth-century date. At the other end of the scale, it may be reaffirmed that no horseshoe ascribable scientifically to the pre-Roman period has yet been found in Britain.

1. Half a shoe, with no calkin, and three round or oblong nail-holes. From the surface of the late Roman road.

2. Part of a shoe, ends broken off, with three holes on one half and one of the holes on the other half. From the surface of the early Roman road.

3. Part of a shoe with a slightly turned-up end or calkin, and three oblong nail-holes. From the black earth which intervened between the early and the late Roman roads.

4. Part of a shoe with a flat turned-up end or calkin, and three circular holes. From the straining-wall which tied the late Roman gateway beneath the surface of the road, and thrown in, therefore, at the moment of construction, c. A.D. 370.

5. Part of a shoe without calkin, and with three nail-holes, two of them retaining fragmentary nails of quadrangular section, with flat heads. Found on the surface of the late Roman road.

¹ See G. Fleming, *Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing* (1869), pp. 240 ff.; Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 139; Gordon Ward in *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* liii (1939), 148; and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Medieval Catalogue* (London Museum publication, 1940), p. 112.

² e.g. Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.* i, pl. xxvii, 5, 8; and ii, pl. cvi, 12, 14.

³ See L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg* (1897), pp. 522 ff.

6. Part of a shoe with three nail-holes containing two fragmentary nails. There is no calkin. From the surface of the late Roman road.

7. Part of a shoe, end broken, with three circular nail-holes, one retaining part of a nail with rectangular section and oblong head. Found in the surface of the late Roman road.

8. Part of a shoe, end broken, with three nail-holes, punched from one side only. From the surface of the late Roman road.

9. Part of a shoe without calkin, with three oblong or oval nail-holes. From the surface of the late Roman road.

10. Fragment of a shoe with two nail-holes and part of a third. The outline expands slightly at the nail-holes. From the surface of the late Roman road.

11. Part of a shoe with pointed end, without calkin, with three oblong or oval nail-holes. Found in the mud on the surface of the late Roman road.

12. Part of a shoe with wavy outline and two nail-holes, with the trace of a third. In one of the holes is a nail with rectangular section and oblong head. There is no calkin. From the make-up of the late Roman road, and therefore prior to c. A.D. 370.

13. Part of a shoe, apparently with two nail-holes; doubtful remains of a calkin. From the surface of the late Roman road.

14. Part of a shoe with three squarish holes on one side and one surviving hole on the other. The remaining end is very slightly thickened. From the mud on the late Roman road.

BEADS

Fig. 98

1. Annular bead of yellow glass, from an Iron Age A level on site A. Annular glass beads are familiar both from Iron Age A and from Iron Age B sites: e.g. All Cannings Cross, Swallowcliffe Down, Glastonbury lake-village, Hunsbury.

2. Annular bead of blue glass, from an Iron Age A level on site F.

3. Annular bead of blue-green glass, from site A, unstratified.

4. Annular bead of green vitreous paste, much decayed, from a pit (G4) with Bii pottery. End of first century B.C.

5. Biconical bead of dark blue glass, from a Belgo-Roman level on site L, c. A.D. 25-70.

6. Cylindrical bead of blue-green glass, from a Belgic level on site B, c. A.D. 25-50.

7. Pyramidal bead of green glass, from a Belgo-Roman level on site L, c. A.D. 25-70.

8. Bead of white glass with spiral inlay of yellow glass, from a pit (D13) with Bii pottery. End of the first century B.C. This bead, with its delicate spiral ornament, is of a type which appears in the continental La Tène region from La Tène II onwards and, in Britain, in the equivalent Iron Age B complex of La Tène III. See generally Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* ii, 1319.

9. Bead of dark blue glass with spiral inlay of white glass, from a pit (D12) with Bii pottery. End of the first century B.C. Cf. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, pl. LIX, G9.

10. Bead of black glass with blue spots superimposed on larger white spots. From a

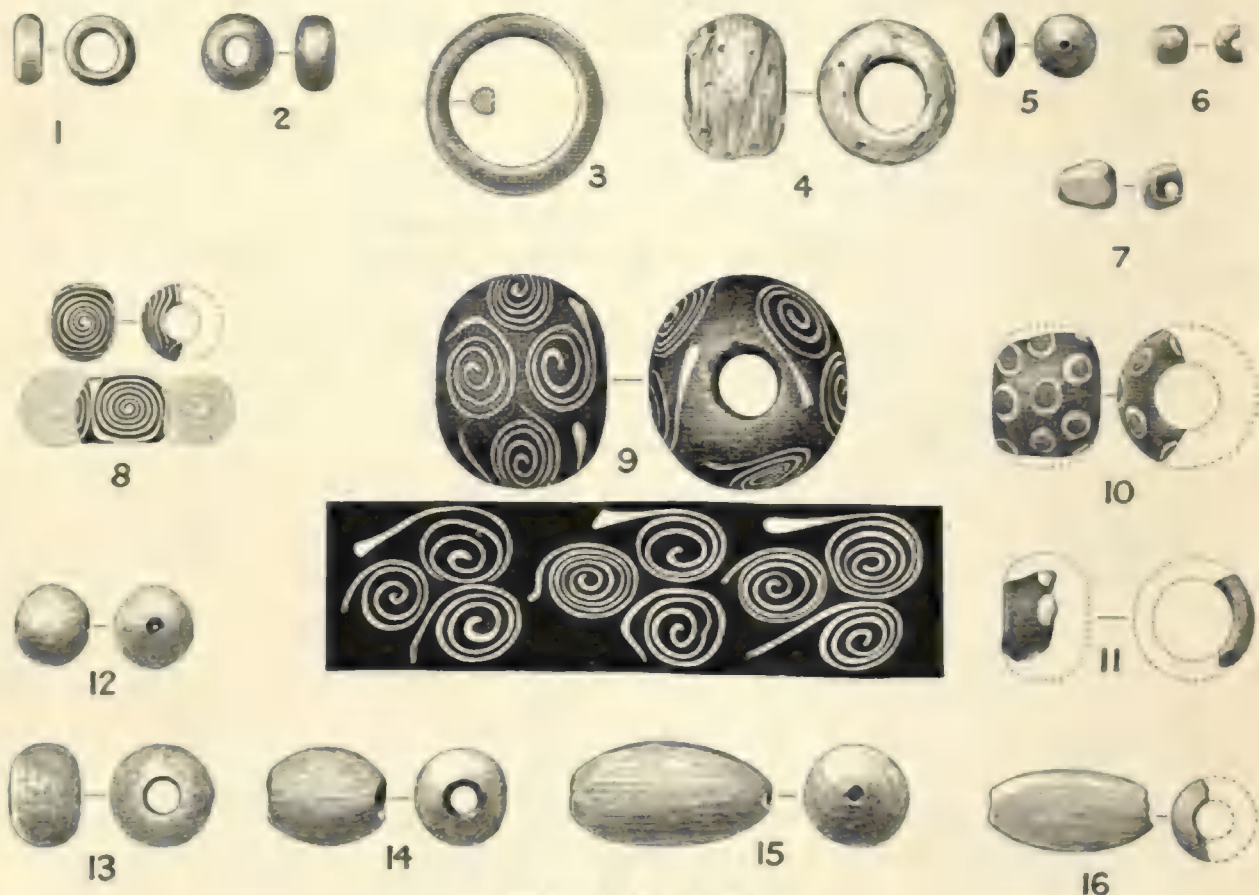


FIG. 98. Beads (†)
See p. 291

mixed deposit, mostly but not exclusively of late material (c. A.D. 25–50), on site G. 'Eye-beads' of this kind are particularly characteristic of La Tène I in France and are found on Iron Age A sites in Britain (e.g. Swallowcliffe Down, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 88 and pl. vii, F1), and the present example *may* be a relic of that phase. On the other hand, the type survives occasionally, at any rate in Scotland, well into the Roman period (J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*, p. 336 and pl. xci, 16).

11. Fragment of bead of black glass with inlaid decoration (of uncertain form) of white glass. From a Belgic road in the eastern entrance, c. A.D. 25–45.

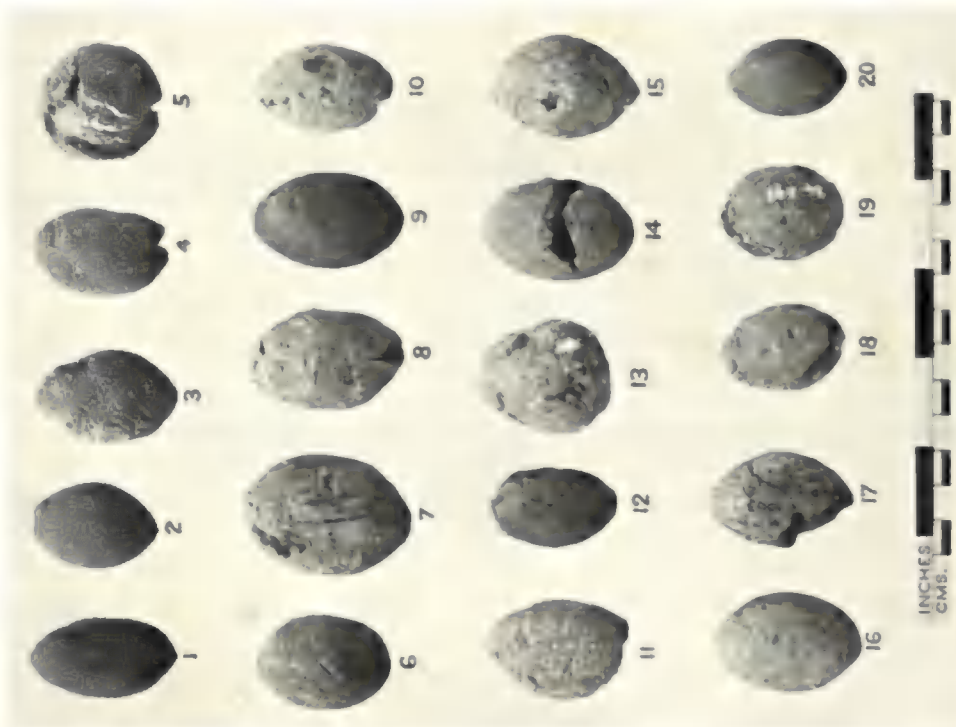
12. Bead made from a small example of the spherical calci-sponge, *Porosphaera globularis* (Phillips), derived from the Chalk. The perforation may be of natural origin but,



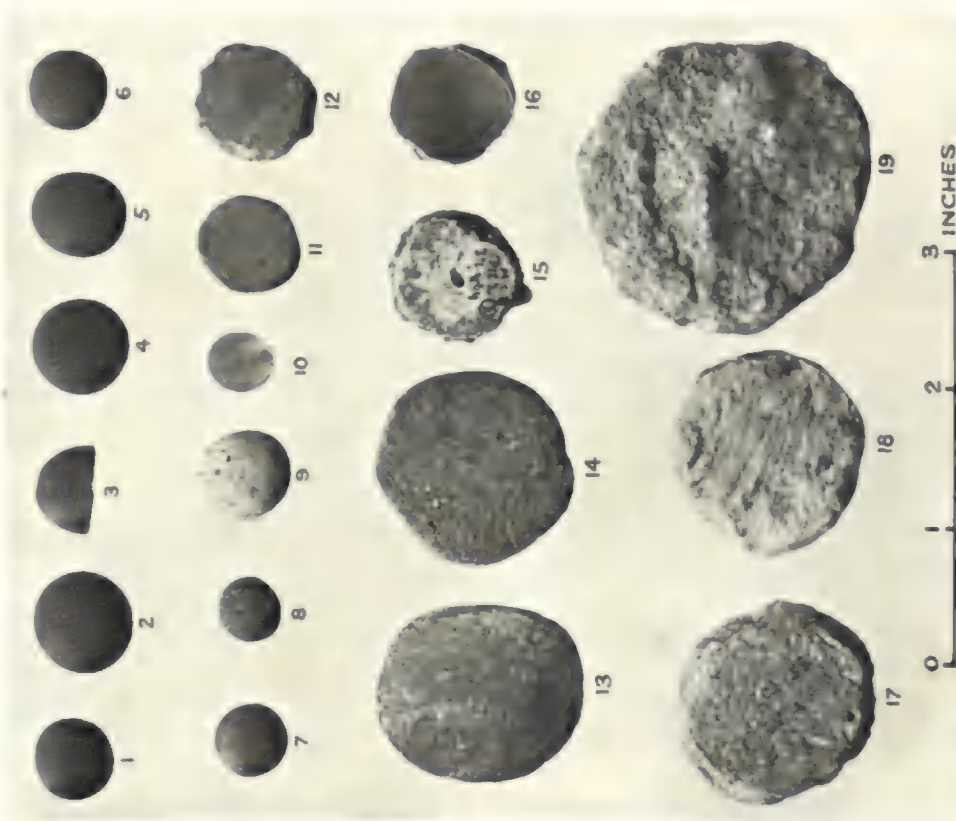
A. Site L: bases of marble and bronze statuettes, from the late Roman hut
See p. 288



Votive bronze bull surmounted by human busts. From the Roman temple (I)
See p. 75



B. Clay slingstones. See p. 49



A. Roman counters. See p. 293

if so, has been improved artificially. From an early Belgic level on site B, *c.* A.D. 25. Dr. Kenneth Oakley, who has kindly identified the specimen, adds: 'Dated examples of *Porosphaera* beads are of great interest. From the abundance of derived, naturally perforated examples of *Porosphaera* in certain Bedfordshire gravels, Worthington Smith concluded that they were collected by palaeolithic men for use as beads, but there has generally been some scepticism about this.'

13. Bead of blue glass, now partly devitrified. From a late pre-Roman level on site G.

14, 15. Beads made from small bean-shaped nodules from the Chalk. The central hole has in each case been improved but is largely original, probably due to the growth of flint round the stem of a sponge. From a Belgo-Roman level on site D, *c.* A.D. 25-70.

16. Bone bead, from a mixed deposit of Bii-early Roman material on site G. Probably first half of the first century A.D.

COUNTERS

Plate xxxii

Twenty-four counters, of which nineteen are here illustrated, range from Iron Age A to the late Roman period.

1-8. Black glass counters of a normal Roman type, with convex upper surface and flat base, from unstratified superficial levels.

9. Similar counter of opaque white glass, found in a late fourth-century level by the Priest's House on site B.

10. Counter of greenish-blue glass from a late fourth-century level on the adjacent site L.

11. Pottery counter, unstratified, but probably Roman.

12. Pottery counter from a late fourth-century level on site B.

13. Counter made from the shoulder of a pot, found with late fourth-century pottery at the eastern entrance.

14. Pottery counter, unstratified, but probably Roman.

15. Counter carved from wall-plaster into approximately the same shape as 1-8, above. On the flat side are traces of green paint. Found with late fourth-century pottery on site B.

16. Counter cut from New Forest ware, from the same layer as no. 15.

17. Counter made from a sherd of Iron Age A pottery, from a pit (F22) of that period.

18. Chalk counter from a Bii-iii level on site D; *c.* beginning of the first century A.D.

19. Limestone disk (? counter or die) from a late fourth-century level at the eastern entrance.

SPINDLE-WHORLS

Plate xxxiii

A large number of spindle-whorls were found, both finished and unfinished. Their size and shape vary greatly, but bear no relation to culture or date. Whether large examples such as nos. 26 and 42-5 are correctly identified as spindle-whorls is perhaps open to doubt, but they are, on the other hand, probably too light for loom-weights and no other use suggests itself.

All those illustrated are of chalk except no. 6, which is of baked clay (see also fig. 99, 14), and no. 40, which is made from a potsherd.

All the whorls on pl. xxxiii, A, with the exception of no. 6 (Belgic), were found in association with Iron Age A pottery, all those on pl. xxxiii, B with Iron Age B except no. 41 (Belgic) and perhaps no. 37 (unstratified). In some cases, a number of whorls occur in the same pit: e.g. nos. 1, 2, 9, and 26 come from pit F21; nos. 3, 11, 16, and 19 come from pit L12; nos. 27, 31, and 36 come from pit B2.

Fig. 99

This figure illustrates a typical range of spindle-whorls. 1-6 are from Iron Age A levels; 7-13 are from Iron Age B levels; and 14 is from an Iron Age C (Belgic) level. All are of chalk, except 4, which is of pottery; 7, which is of stone; 13, which is made from the articular end of a femur; and 14 (=pl. xxxiii, A, 6), which is of baked clay.

LOOM-WEIGHTS OR THATCH-WEIGHTS

(Fig. 100)

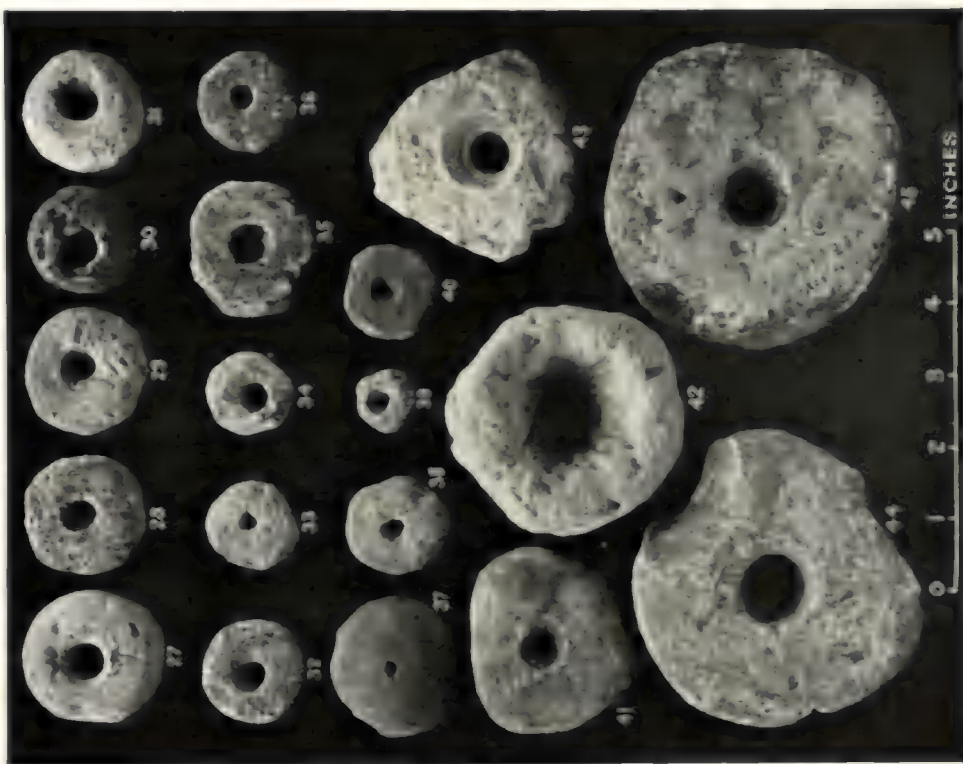
Of the numerous weights pierced for suspension and designed, at any rate in some cases, for attachment to the ends of the warp-threads on a loom, a few were of clay, but the majority were more or less amorphous lumps of chalk. It is not unlikely that some of the heavier and rougher chalk weights may have been used for holding down thatch, but the normal designation 'loom-weight' is for convenience used here for all weights of this general kind, without prejudice.

(a) Clay Loom-weights

Upwards of twenty-five clay loom-weights, mostly fragmentary, were found, and approximate to two forms: triangular and roughly oblong (fig. 100, 1 and 2).

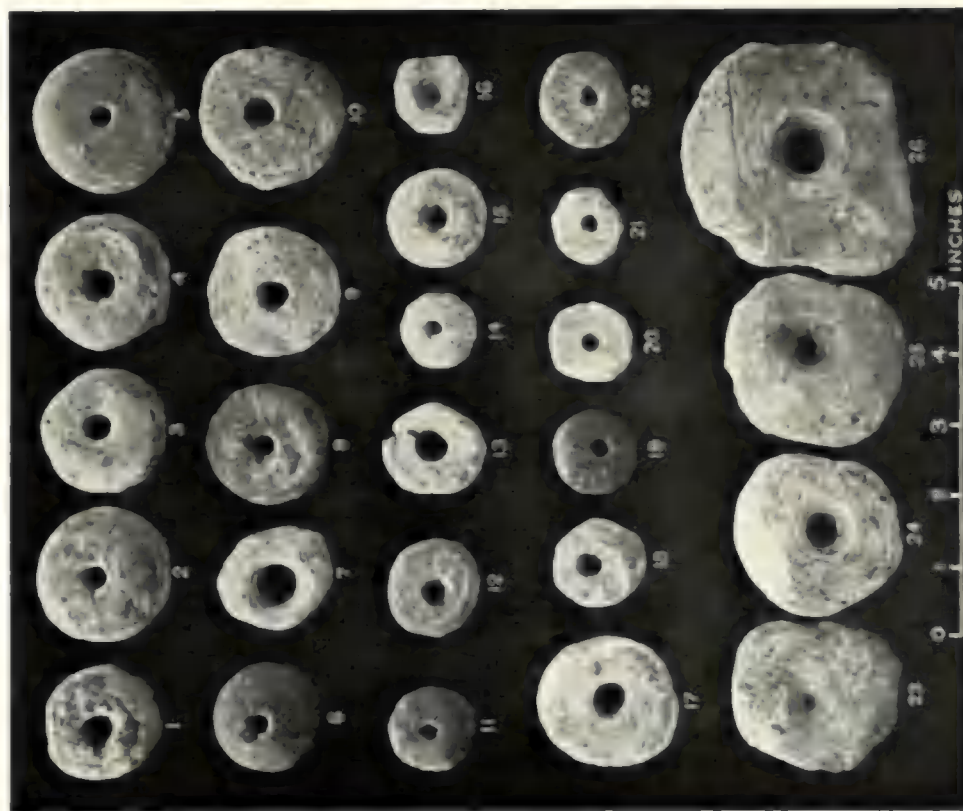
The triangular weights are of the familiar Iron Age type, normally with a piercing across each angle, and occur with all three cultures, A, B, and C.

A group of four unusually large triangular weights—presumably the equipment of a single loom—was found in a late Iron Age A level on site R (fig. 100, 1). The sides of these weights were 8 in. long, the thickness was $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., and their average weight is close upon 8 lb.—a weight which seems indeed excessive for a loom.

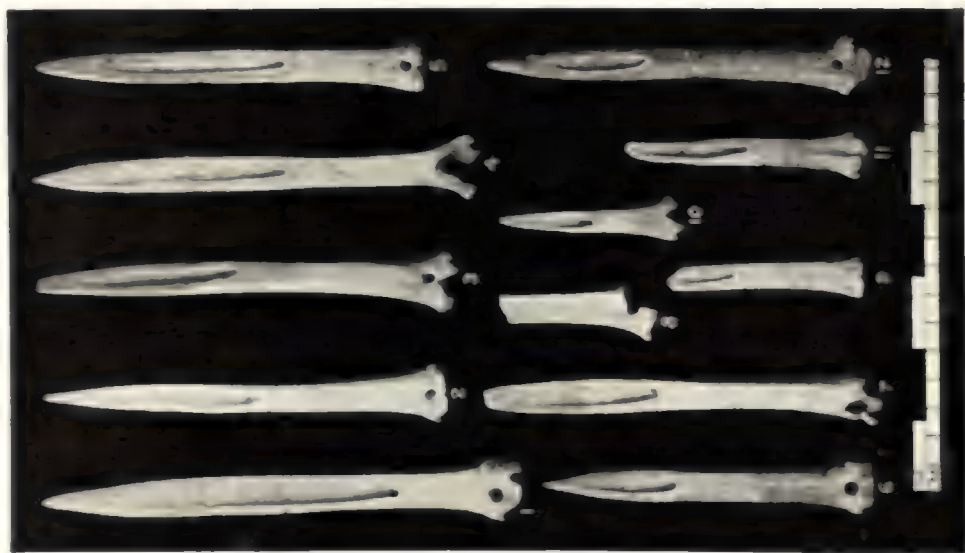


B

Spindle-whorls, &c. See p. 294



A



A. Bone 'gouges' found with Iron Age A pottery



B. Bone 'gouges' found with Iron Age B and C pottery

See p. 305

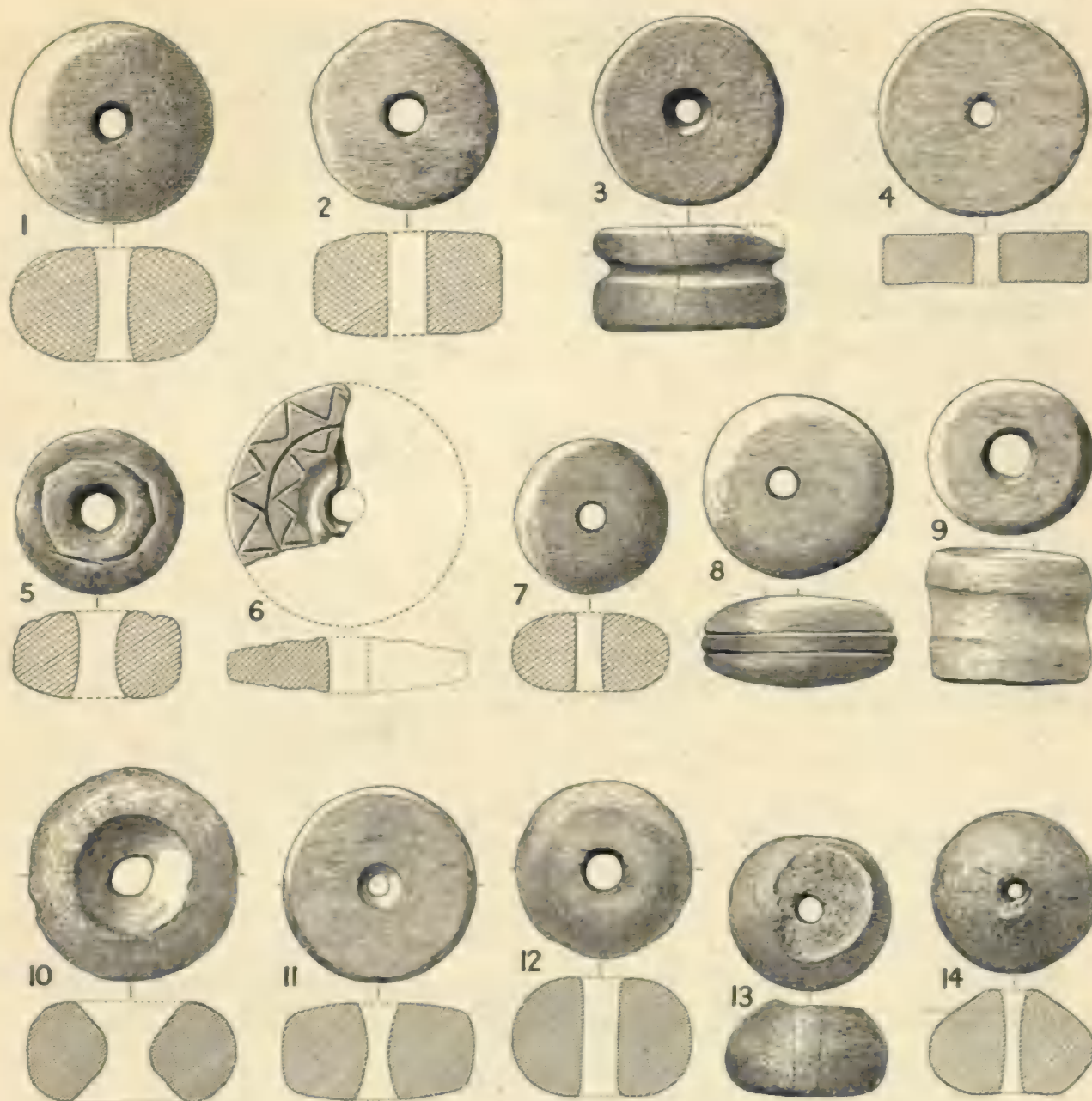


FIG. 99. Spindle-whorls (3)

See p. 294

For the rest, the following notes may be added in regard to the associations of triangular clay weights at Maiden Castle: a fragment on site B occurred with a chalk weight of type 2 (see below), with A sherds; another, from a pit on site F, was found with a weaving comb (type 4), spindle-whorls, bone 'gouges', and chalk weights, together with

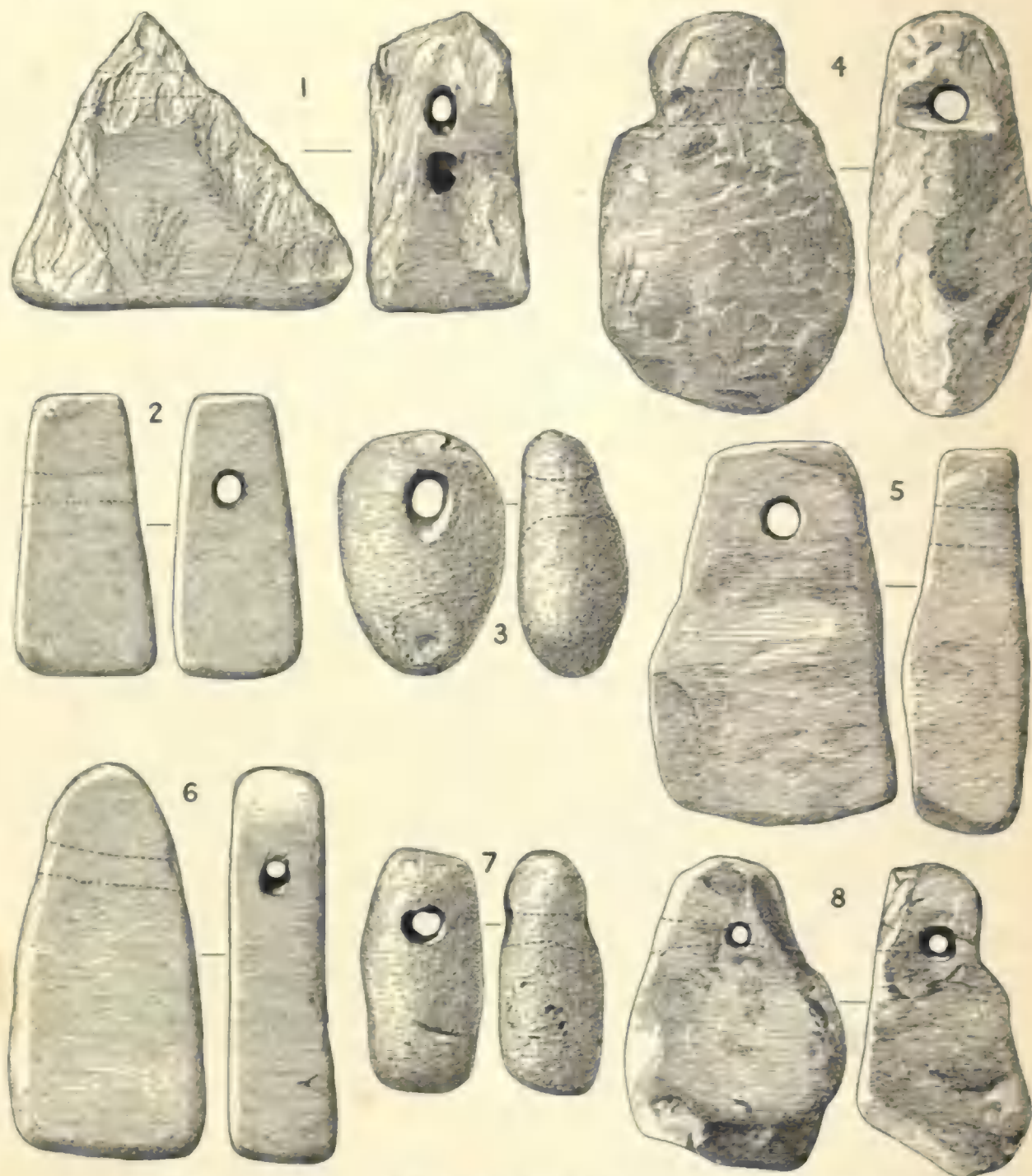


FIG. 100. Loom-weights: 1 and 2 of clay; remainder of chalk (4)
See p. 294

A sherds; in a Belgic level at the eastern entrance two fragmentary weights occurred at different points, in each case with a bone needle.

The oblong clay weights are confined to a single group of seven found in a nest with fourteen chalk weights on site E, in a floor with Bi-ii pottery and dating therefore from about 25 B.C. With them was found a broken bone needle.

The oblong type is rare, but occurs at Lakenheath, Suffolk.¹

(b) *Chalk Loom-weights*

Upwards of 208 chalk loom-weights were found, many in a fragmentary condition. They range in weight from 2 lb. to 9½ lb., but the average of a series is 5½ lb. Many are amorphous lumps of chalk with a single piercing; but it is possible to group a considerable number of them roughly into five types. It should at once be said that these types have no clear cultural or chronological significance. They are as follows (see fig. 100, 3-7):

Type 1. Pear-shaped, with one hole at the broad end. This is rare with Iron Age A pottery, but occurs fairly frequently with B.

Type 2. A shouldered form with piercing through the narrow end.

Type 3. Roughly wedge-shaped with piercing at the narrow end.

Type 4. A long narrow form with a hole at the more pointed end. This type is not infrequently made with greater care than the others.

Type 5. Bolster-shaped and fairly carefully made. This type is usually lighter than the others.

In a number of instances weights occurred in groups of two or more. In one instance seven were found together in the same pit; in another case, on site E, fourteen chalk weights (types 1, 3, and 4) occurred with oblong clay weights (see above) and a bone needle.

Where implements occur in association these are commonly typical of spinning and weaving. For example, a spindle-whorl and bone needles were found with type 4; spindle-whorls occurred with a group of four weights of varying sizes (in a Bii context); in two other cases single weights were found, also with spindle-whorls; two spindle-whorls occurred in a pit with two fragmentary weights (Biii); two weights occurred with a spindle-whorl, four grooved bones, and a bone needle; three weights, one of them of type 5, occurred with two weaving-combs and a spindle-whorl; thirteen chalk weights occurred with three bone needles, a bone polisher, and a rubbing-stone (Biii); five weights were found with combs, spindle-whorls, a bone 'gouge', and a worked metatarsal. In all, weaving-combs occur with weights in ten instances.

WEAVING-COMBS

Long-handled combs, often of antler but sometimes of bone, are a familiar feature of the Early Iron Age in England and Scotland, and 25 examples have been found in Maiden Castle—23 during the present excavations and 2 previously. Their purpose

¹ Brit. Mus., *Early Iron Age Guide* (1925), p. 152, fig. 180.

has been disputed, but they were probably used on an upright loom to close up the weft or woof after it had been worked in by the shuttle.¹ More or less comparable instruments have been used for this purpose by various peoples and at various periods; but our Iron Age form is an insular product and is absent, for example, from the contemporary cultures of northern France on the one hand and, save for a single example at Loughcrew in Co. Meath, from Ireland on the other. In England, the combs are found alike with Iron Age A, B, and C, whilst occasionally—particularly in the north—they occur also on Roman sites.²

Where in Britain the type originated is difficult to say. The occurrence of a majority of examples in Wessex may merely be proportionate to the amount of excavation carried out there and may not be a safe sign-post. On the other hand, it may be observed that, of the four types listed below, one (type 1) is scarcely found outside the Wessex sphere of influence.³ In other words, the Wessex region, where *all* the varieties occur, is the 'centre of diversity'; but whether that may properly be regarded as a claim to priority is more doubtful. Unfortunately, chronology does not help us, since all four types occur already on Iron Age A sites, and it is at present impossible to correlate the subdivisions of A cultures in different districts with one another on an agreed time-scale. It is not unlikely that the combs are yet another manifestation of the independence and provincialism of Iron Age Wessex, but proof is distant.

In publishing the Glastonbury combs, Mr. St. George Gray proposed six types,⁴ of which only the first four are relevant in the present context. No evolutionary or other significance can be claimed for these types, but they are convenient in the absence of any more significant scheme.

They are as follows:

Type 1. Those with angular or pointed terminals to the handles;

Type 2. Those with an oval enlargement to the butt;

Type 3. Those with a square or oblong enlargement (a type absent at Maiden Castle); and

Type 4. Those with squared or rounded butt, without any considerable enlargement.

On analysis it will be seen that, of the 23 combs in the following list, 1 of type 2 and 3 of type 4 are associated with Iron Age A; 1 of type 1, 1 of type 2, 13 of type 4 with Iron Age B; 1 of type 2 and 2 of type 4 with the Belgic or Belgio-Roman culture of c. A.D. 25–50; whilst 1 is fragmentary and doubtful. Decoration is more frequent in Iron Age B than in Iron Age A, though an elaborate example (no. 4) belongs to the latter. For what it is worth, it may be observed that the two examples (nos. 10 and 21) with dot-and-circle pattern are both late in the series.

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 268; R. C. C. Clay in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925–7), 76.

² Iwerne in Dorset, Lancaster, *Hunnum* in Northumberland, Newstead in Scotland.

³ Type 1 occurs at the Glastonbury and Meare lake-

villages in Somerset, at Ham Hill in the same county, at Maiden Castle, on Swallowcliffe Down in Wilts., and at Kent's Cavern near Torquay, Devon.

⁴ *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 266.

It may be added that, in addition to those here listed, two combs found at Maiden Castle in August 1871 are now in the Dorset County Museum (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, pl. 1, figs. 3 and 4, and p. 42). One is of the rare type 1, with a pointed terminal butt; the other is of type 4.

Fig. 101

1. Antler comb of plano-convex section, with rounded butt. Type 4. From the southern portal of the eastern entrance in an early A occupation-layer. A similar comb from All Cannings Cross (*All Cannings Cross*, pl. lxxvii, 7) has a suspension hole.

2. Plain bone comb, type 4, with perforated butt. From site Q, associated with early A pottery.

3. Antler comb, roughly made, with the cancellous tissue showing on the upper surface. Type 4. From pit (F22), with fragmentary rims of two haematite bowls and other pottery not later than the middle of Iron Age A.

4. Decorated antler comb of the rare type 2, with cross-hatching on the shaft and transverse bevelling at the butt and dentate ends. From pit (F18)—a pit with haematite sherds and other pottery of the earlier half or middle of Iron Age A.

Decorated type 2 combs are not common, but two with 'zigzag' decoration found at All Cannings Cross (*All Cannings Cross*, pl. II, nos. 8 and 10) are presumably of this period.

5. Decorated bone comb, type 4, with a worn butt; the zigzag pattern is obliterated at the dentate end by the recutting of the teeth. From a Bi-ii occupation level on site Q; latter half of first century B.C. This zigzag pattern is rather commoner on the Maiden Castle combs than cross-hatching, whilst the reverse seems to be the case at Glastonbury.

6. Plain bone comb, type 5. From the same level as no. 5.

7. Bone comb with bevelled butt ending in a blunt point which approaches but is not identical with the type 1. From pit (Q34) with Bii pottery (latter part of first century B.C. or beginning of first century A.D.). It may be compared with the type 1 comb found at Maiden Castle at an earlier date (Dorchester Museum), with an antler comb from Swallowcliffe Down (*Devizes Catalogue*, pl. XLVIA, and *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 77 and pl. ix, B19), with two examples from Meare (Taunton Mus.), and with an example from Ham Hill (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxxii, 1926, p. 60, pl. xiv, H3).

8. Much worn antler comb, with tapered butt and transverse line at the dentate end. Found on site D with Bi-ii pottery; latter half of the first century B.C. This comb and no. 16 are similar to the type 4 Glastonbury comb B322 (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, pl. XLVIII, B322).

9. Decorated bone comb, type 4. From pit (Q3), with Bii-iii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

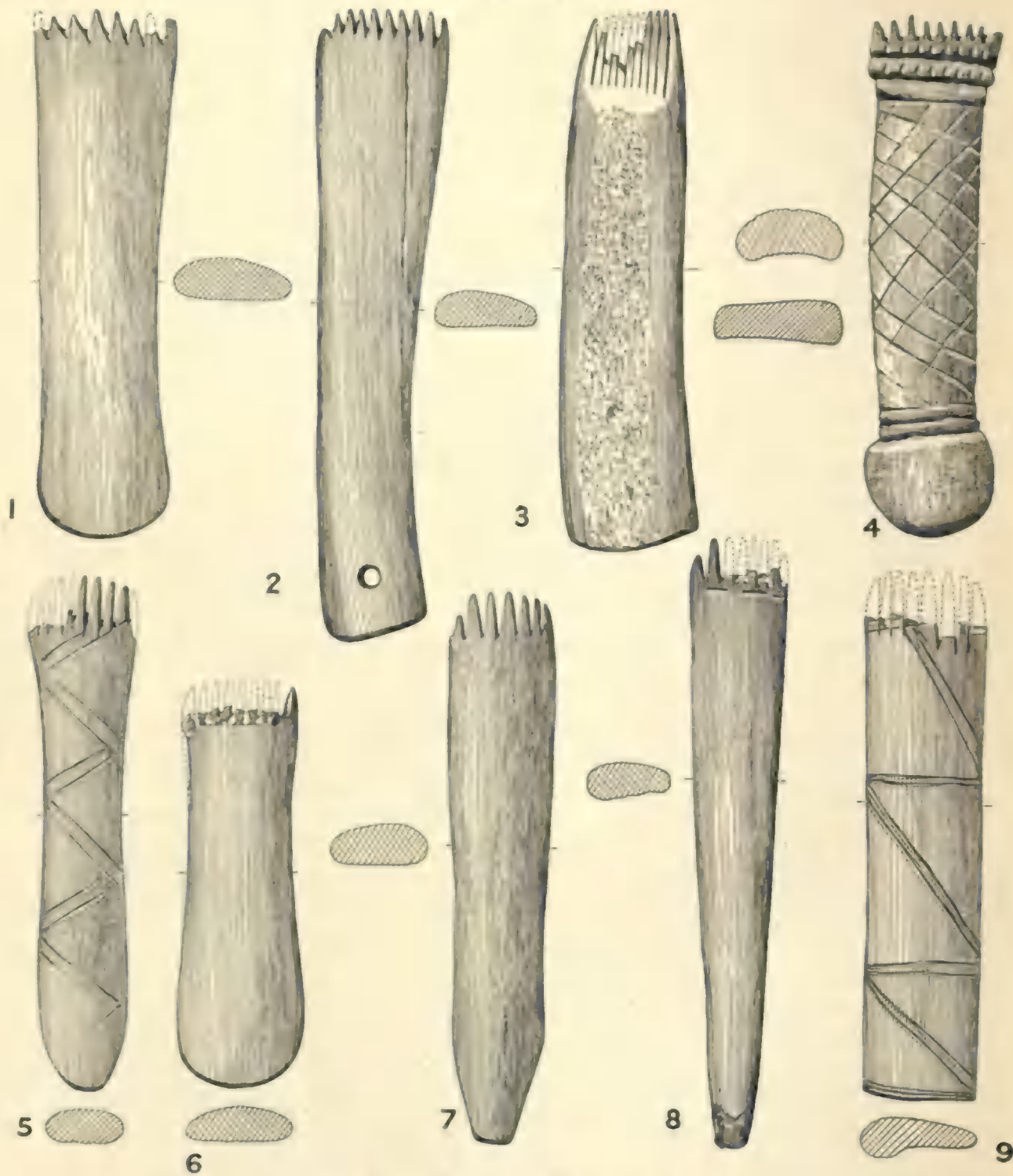


FIG. 101. Bone and horn combs (3)
See p. 299

Fig. 102

10. Decorated bone comb, type 2, with dot-and-circle pattern and a distinctive finish to the butt end reminiscent of the decorated type 3 combs. From pit (D5) with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

Type 2 combs are also found with the dot-and-circle decoration at Glastonbury—a very elaborately carved specimen (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, pl. XLVIII, fig. 3); and at Ham Hill—again with an unusual carved butt (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ix, pl. XIV, fig. 3).

11. Decorated antler comb, type 4, with a hole in the butt for suspension. From site H, with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century B.C. The carved pattern of raised bands is paralleled by a comb from Rushall Down, Wilts. (in the British Museum), but it lacks the rope design which elaborates the same technique on a Glastonbury comb (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, pl. XLVIII, H255).

12. Decorated antler comb, type 4, with a rough cross-hatched design. A recutting of the teeth has obliterated part of the pattern, but the transverse lines at the original roots can still be seen. From site H, with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D. Cf. Glastonbury comb H340 (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, pl. XLVII).

13. Antler comb with a broken handle, but probably of type 4. The shaft tapers towards the butt and two transverse lines demarcate the roots of the teeth. From a pit (D9) with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

14. Part of a burnt bone comb with zigzag decoration. From a pit (Q13), with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

15. Antler comb, type 4, with bevelled butt. From site D, with Bi pottery, c. 50–25 B.C.

16. Antler comb made from a split tine and still retaining its original curves. The teeth are worn; the shaft tapers to a point. Type 4 (cf. no. 8). From site D, with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

17. Decorated antler comb, type 4, with roughly incised design of transverse lines and cross-hatching, and perforated butt. From site D in the same layer as no. 16.

18. Bone comb, type 4, from site C with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D. The comb is made from a rib bone and is decorated with transverse lines.

Fig. 103

19. Antler comb, type 4, with transverse lines below the teeth. From site R, with Biii pottery; first quarter of the first century A.D.

20. Antler comb, type 4, with two transverse lines below the teeth, which appear to have been worn to their present semicircular outline. The butt tapers as in nos. 8 and 16. From a pit (Q31), with B pottery, c. 25 B.C.–A.D. 25.

21. Decorated antler comb with a rounded enlargement of the butt, approaching type 2 in form. The decoration consists of faintly incised dot-and-circle pattern. From the Belgo-Roman level on site L, c. A.D. 25–50.



FIG. 102. Bone and horn combs (see p. 301)

22. Decorated bone comb, type 4. The shaft is demarcated into squares with cross-hatching. From site D, unstratified.

23. Decorated antler comb, type 4, with zigzag pattern, transverse lines at the dentate

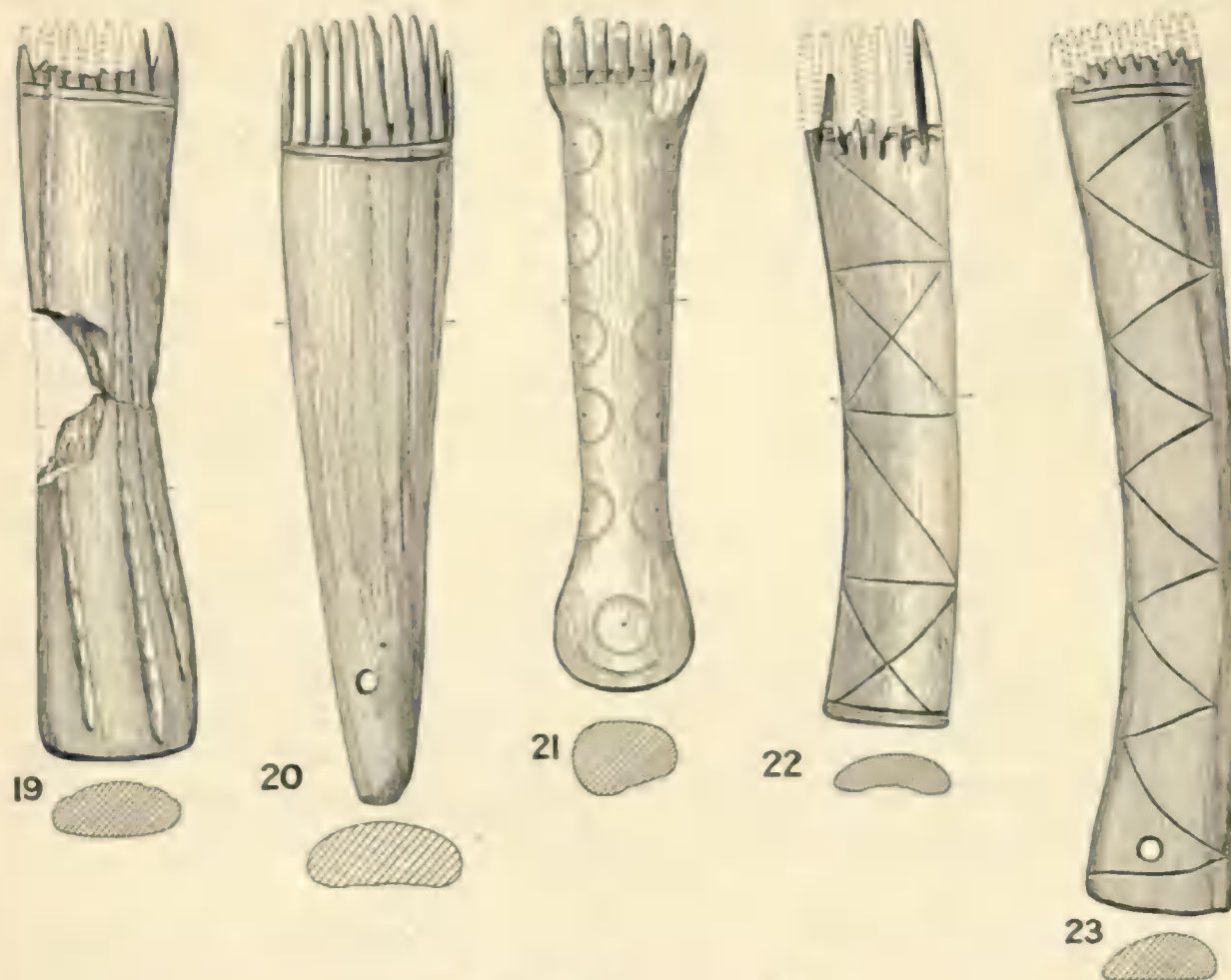


FIG. 103. Bone combs (§)

See p. 301

end, and a perforated butt. From the floor of a hut at the eastern entrance, burned during the Roman attack on the gate, *c.* A.D. 43-5.

BONE 'GOUGES'

Seventy bone implements with gouge-like points, of a type familiar on British Iron Age sites, were found during the work. The purpose of these distinctive implements, in spite of their varying detail, was presumably uniform, but much discussion has failed to reveal what that purpose was. Many of them, though not all, were prepared by

longitudinal piercing for a haft or handle,¹ to which they were commonly attached by a bone or metal rivet through a transverse piercing; the haft, however, must have been too slender for violent use, and it is difficult therefore to regard them as lance- or arrow-points. Furthermore, some of them are not prepared for hafting of any sort, and these must be supposed to have been used in the hand. On the whole, the theory that they were used as shuttles, some with and some without an attached handle, seems to present least difficulty, in spite of the rough, untrimmed butts which some of them present.² Bone shuttles of similar size, though more highly finished, are in use in northern Africa to the present day.³

The implements are made from the tibiae or sometimes the metatarsals of sheep or goats. They occur both in Iron Age A and in Iron Age B and, though not a feature of the 'pure' Belgic culture of south-eastern England, were retained by the mixed B and Belgic culture of the south-western C. But Mrs. Cunnington, in publishing the 'gouges' from All Cannings Cross, detected a subtle point of difference between the gouges from her site and those from Glastonbury: she remarked that all the Glastonbury examples of her classes A and B had been made with the larger or proximal end of the bone forming the butt end of the implement, whereas at All Cannings Cross, with only one exception, the reverse was the case, the head having been cut away and the smaller or distal end of the bone forming the butt.⁴ This curious distinction between the 'gouges' of the Iron Age A site and those of the Iron Age B site is largely maintained at Maiden Castle. There, of 50 gouges with the butt at the distal end, 33 were found with Iron Age A pottery, and only 8 with Iron Age B pottery; whilst of 20 gouges with the butt at the proximal end, 4 only were with A pottery, and the remainder were all with B pottery. In view of the generally extensive overlap between the A and B cultures on the site, the proportions are significant. With the further support of other sites, such as Swallowcliffe Down, the generalization that gouges with distal butts are normally of Iron Age A, whilst those with proximal butts are of Iron Age B, may be regarded as established. The two types are illustrated in fig. 104, in which no. 1 is from a layer on site D dating from the middle of Iron Age A, and no. 2 is from a pit (B24) on site B with pottery of Bi-ii (c. 25 B.C.).

For catalogue purposes, Mrs. Cunnington divides her 'gouges' from All Cannings Cross into five classes which are here adopted. They are as follows:

- A. With holes bored down the bone lengthwise, and with rivet-holes through both surfaces of the bone at the butt, which is left untrimmed.
- B. Similar to A, but with the butt trimmed.
- C. With lengthwise boring and trimmed butt, but no rivet-holes.
- D. Similar to C, but with untrimmed butt.
- E. Without lengthwise boring or rivet-holes.

¹ A fragment of a wooden handle was found in the socket of an example at Glastonbury. Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 420.

² For various theories as to the use of these objects, see

especially Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pp. 85 ff.; and R. C. C. Clay in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925-7), 75.

³ Information and specimen from Mr. O. G. S. Crawford.

⁴ Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, p. 87.

Plate xxxiv, A

This plate illustrates twelve gouges found with Iron Age A pottery. Nos. 1-10 and 12 are made from the distal ends of tibiae, whilst no. 11 is made from a metatarsal.

1. Variant with only one rivet-hole, from the latest A level on site L.
2. Probably of class A, but damaged. From a pit (A15) with mid A pottery.
3. Class A, from a pit (B9) with late A pottery.

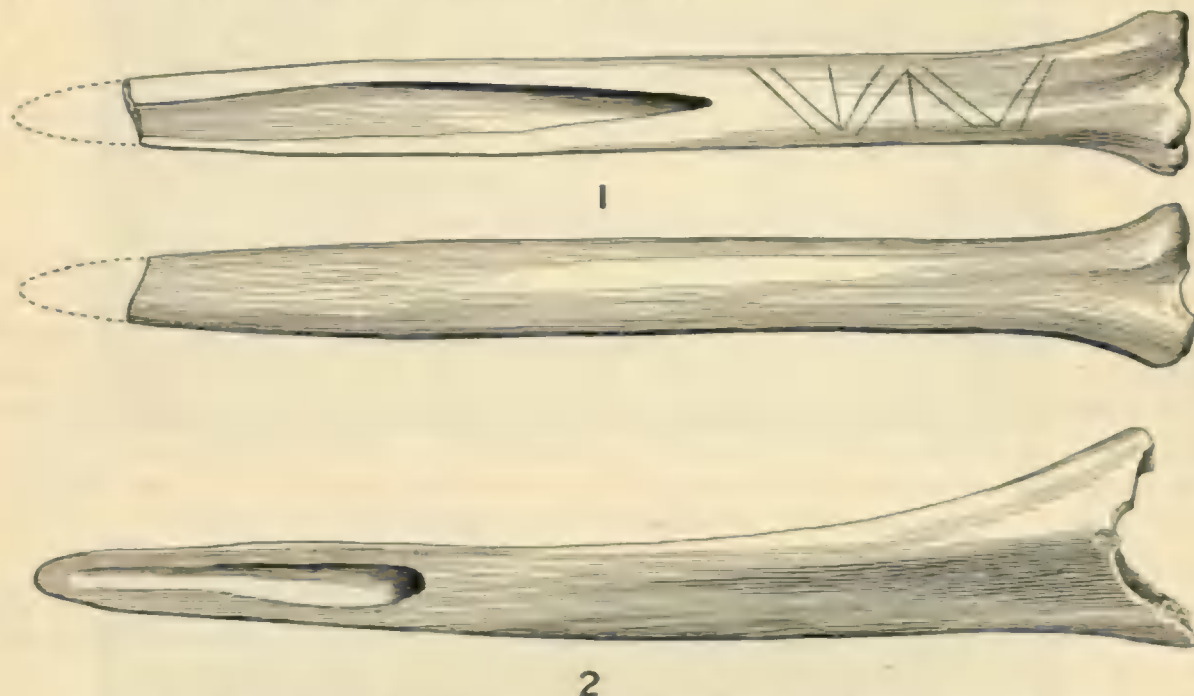


FIG. 104. Bone 'gouges': 1, Early Iron Age A type; 2, Early Iron Age B type (†)
See p. 304

4. Probably of class A, but damaged. From the same pit as no. 2.
5. Class B, from pit (F22) with early mid A pottery.
6. Class A, from the same pit as the preceding.
- 7 and 8. Probably of class A, but damaged; no. 8 has an incised chevron design. From the same pit as no. 2.
9. Class C, from pit (L12) with mid A pottery.
10. Class D, from a mixed A group on site D.
11. Class D, from a pit (A19) with late A pottery.
12. Class A, from a pit (F20) with early A pottery.

Plate xxxiv, B

This plate illustrates six gouges found with pottery of Iron Ages B and C. They are all made from tibiae, with the butts at the proximal end, and are all of the Glastonbury

type C (Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 419), with butt and two rivet-holes.

1. From a pit (B12) with Bii pottery (latter part of the first century B.C.).
2. From the Belgic level on site L (c. A.D. 25-50).
3. From a Biii level on site L (early first century A.D.).
4. From a Belgic floor on site D (c. A.D. 25-50).
5. From a pit (B6) with Biii pottery (early first century A.D.).
6. From a Bii level on site D (end of the first century B.C.).

TOOLS MADE FROM THE METATARSI AND METACARPI OF SHEEP OR GOATS

Plate xxxv, A

With the exception of no. 2, the objects illustrated on this plate are made from the metatarsal or metacarpal bones of sheep or goats.

1. Metatarsal with one face of the shaft partially pared off. Found with Iron Age A pottery on site G. The bone may have been used as a bobbin or winder, the side being flattened to reduce the liability of the thread slipping round the shaft. A similar bone object was found at All Cannings Cross (Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. ix, 17).

2. Fragmentary worked tibia, with butt pierced both longitudinally and laterally. Found with A pottery on site G. Possibly part of a 'gouge', as described above.

3. Fragmentary metacarpal, pierced laterally. From the latest A layer on site L.

4 and 5. Metatarsals with condyles complete; on the shaft are nicks, and faint parallel grooves probably caused by the friction of threads. From pits (G14 and A9) of Bii and Biii respectively; end of first century B.C. and beginning of first century A.D.

Bones of this type have been found at Iron Age A sites: *All Cannings Cross*, pl. ix, fig. 18; Fifield Bavant, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlii, 481 and pl. ix, 3; and Swallowcliffe Down, op. cit. xliii, 78 and pl. ix, 18. They also occur at Meare. At Swallowcliffe Down it was remarked that the pits with the most loom-weights had most of these grooved tarsals, and it was suggested that they were used to rub down and straighten the threads in weaving. Their association with weaving implements is well supported at Maiden Castle, where no. 4 was accompanied by four loom-weights, and of the fourteen other examples all were associated with spindle-whorls, all but one with loom-weights, and four with combs. All the Maiden Castle examples were found with B pottery, yet they do not occur at Glastonbury. It may be added that pieces of wood of similar shape are used in upright carpet looms to keep the warp taut, and the threads which pass round the neck at either end might well leave friction grooves.

6-13. Tools made from metatarsals and comparable with those found at Glastonbury. For classification and discussion, see Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 421 ff. These tools do not occur at All Cannings Cross. All the examples from Maiden Castle were associated with Iron Age B pottery. Nos. 6-10 may have been used as



A. Tools made from the metatarsi and metacarpi of sheep. See p. 306



B. Bone needles
See p. 307



A. Bone points. See p. 308



B. Deerhorn picks from the late Roman 'round building' on Site L. See p. 308

bobbins with or without a shuttle; nos. 11-13 as netting-needles or bobbins. These last three examples, with central perforations, are of Glastonbury type A; nos. 8 and 9, with longitudinal perforation and lateral perforation through one face near the butt, are of Glastonbury type E; nos. 6, 7, and 10 are similar, save that the lateral perforation pierces both faces, and are of Glastonbury type F. No special significance, however, appears to attach to these minor variations.

OTHER BONE IMPLEMENTS

Plate xxxv, B

Bone needles of the Iron Age have been divided into two main classes:¹

Type A: with rounded heads, the eyes more or less circular and close to the end of the bone (e.g. no. 12).

Type B: with more or less pointed head, extending some distance beyond the eye.

Mrs. Cunnington observed that type A did not occur at All Cannings Cross, and evidence, both positive and negative, from other sites confirms the inference that the type is peculiar to Iron Age B. We have here another of those slight differences which distinguish certain of the bone implements of the A and B cultures (cf. above, pp. 304 and 305). On the other hand, type B is found in both.

1 and 2. Somewhat like type A, but the piercing is central; probably weaving-needles used to work in broken threads. No. 1 is from an Iron Age A group on site D; no. 2 is from a pit (D3) of Bi period (middle or third quarter of the first century B.C.). Similar symmetrical 'needles' occur in Iron Age A contexts at Swallowcliffe Down and Fifield Bavant,² but the type is absent from Glastonbury.

3. Approaching the preceding in form. From a mixed Iron Age B level on site H.

4. Type B. From a pit (F23) with Iron Age A pottery.

5. Type B. From a pit (A25) with Iron Age A pottery.

6. Fragment from a pit (B9) with Iron Age A pottery.

7. Bodkin, with squared head. From the same level as no. 1, above. This type is not recorded either at All Cannings Cross or at Glastonbury. Cf. no. 14, below.

8. Fragment of wide needle, found with Belgic pottery (c. A.D. 25-50) on site D.

9. Type B. From a pit (G4) with Iron Age Bii pottery (end of the first century B.C.).

10. Type B. From a pit (F25) with Iron Age Biii pottery (early first century A.D.).

11. Rough example of type B. From a pit (G16) with Iron Age Biii pottery (early first century A.D.).

12. Type A. From a pit (G2) with pottery of Iron Age Bi-ii (latter half of the first century B.C.).

13. Type B, modified. From a pit (D16) with pottery of Iron Age B.

14. Bodkin, comparable with no. 7, above. From an Iron Age B level on site B.

15-17. Damaged. With Iron Age B pottery.

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 410; ² *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925-7), 78, B28; xlii (1926), pl. ix, fig. 11.

Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, p. 74.

Plate xxxvi, A

Simple bone points of the types here illustrated may belong to almost any culture, from the neolithic onwards (cf. above, p. 179), although they are not in fact mentioned as tools in the Glastonbury lake-village. At Maiden Castle they occur indifferently in Iron Ages A, B, and C, and they are familiar from other Wessex sites such as All Cannings Cross and Swallowcliffe Down. Nos. 1-7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, and 18 are made from the splint bones of ponies (cf. Cunington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. x, 7-9). No. 8 is the metacarpal of a sheep or goat, split longitudinally and trimmed to a point. No. 9 is the tarsal of a sheep or goat, split longitudinally and the whole shaft trimmed.

Nos. 1, 3-7, and 8-10 are from Iron Age A groups: nos. 11, 12, 16, 17, and 18 are from Iron Age B groups; nos. 2 and 13-15 are from Belgic-Roman groups.

Plate xxxvi, B

Antler picks did not occur in Iron Age levels, but two examples (one fragmentary) were found with Roman débris of the late fourth century A.D. on the floor of the circular Roman hut on site L, and are here illustrated. The picks definitely belonged to the Roman stratum, and were not derived from earlier levels.

Fig. 105

1. Bone borer from a Belgic level on site Q, c. A.D. 25-50. For the type, see above, pl. xxxvi, A.

2-9. Bone needles of types described above, p. 307. Nos. 2, 3, and 6 are from Iron Age A deposits and are all (certainly or probably) of type B. No. 4 approximates to type A and is from an Iron Age Biii layer (early first century A.D.). No. 5, type B, is from a Bii layer (late first century B.C.). No. 8, type B, is from a Belgic layer, c. A.D. 25-50. No. 9 = pl. xxxv, B, 2.

10. Bone shuttle (?) from an Iron Age B layer on site A. The shuttle (if such it be) shows signs of wear in the centre. It may possibly have been used as a drill, rotated by means of a wound cord. Two similar implements from the Meare lake-village and one from Ham Hill are in the Taunton Museum (for the last see *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxii, 82, pl. 11, 3). Another, with a 'cotton-reel' head, was found on the Iron Age A site at Swallowcliffe Down (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 79, pl. x, B25); whilst yet another, also with cotton-reel head, in the Farnham (Dorset) Museum was recovered from the site of a Roman villa at Iwerne Minster, near Blandford.

15. Antler toggle or dress-fastener, from an early Belgic layer (c. A.D. 25) on site B. For the type, see Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 460 ff.

16. Antler cheek-piece from horse's bridle-bit. From an early Belgic level (c. A.D. 25) on site B. For the type, see Bulleid and Gray, *op. cit.* ii, 440 ff.; but the present example, with triple perforation through the shorter diameter, does not fit into the Glastonbury

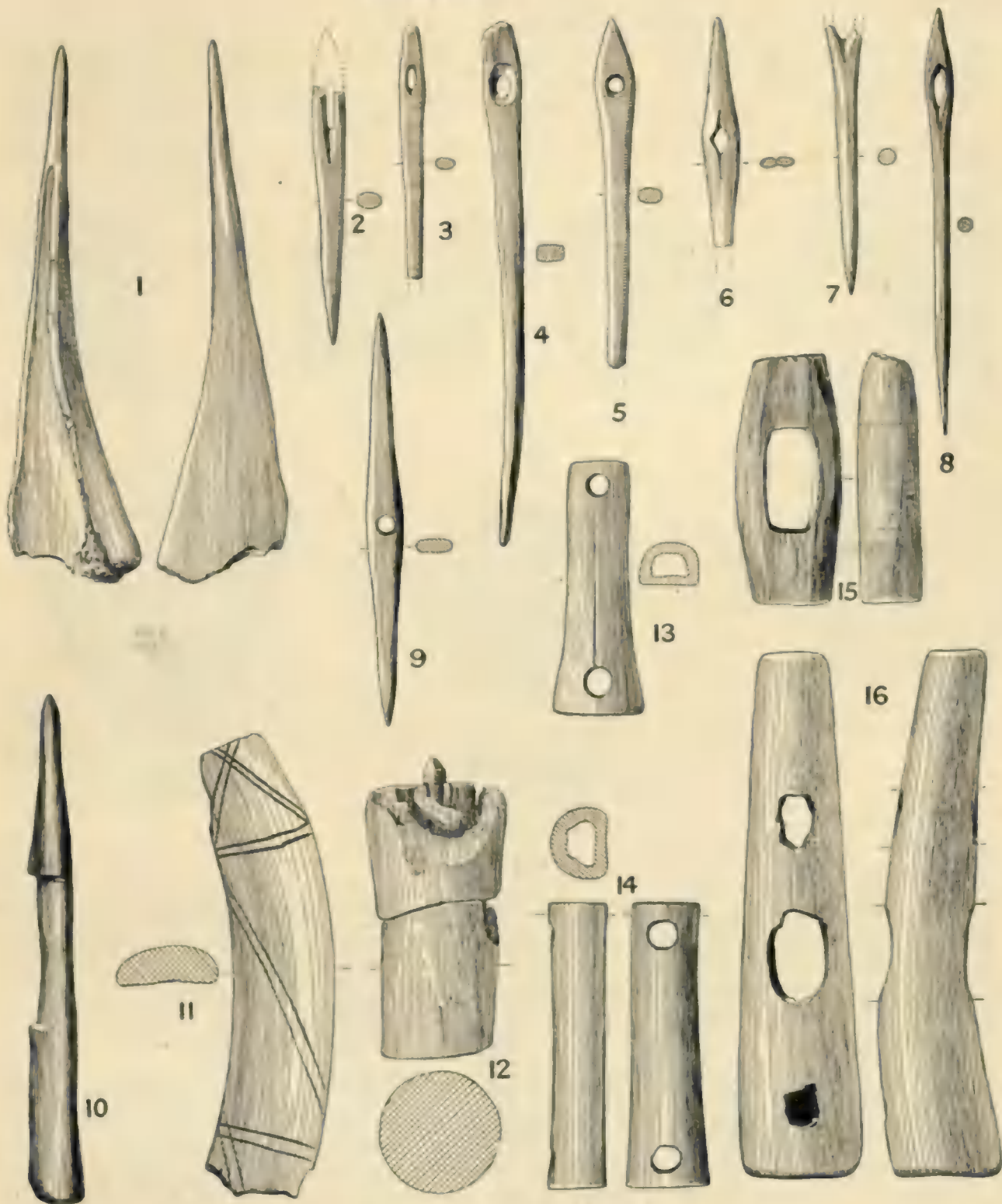


FIG. 105. Objects of bone ($\frac{1}{2}$)
See p. 308

classification. Three other antler cheek-pieces (two of Glastonbury type E and one of type F) were found in Iron Age B deposits.

Fig. 106

1. Ornamented bone plaque or counter. From a pit (A 16) with pottery of the earlier half of Iron Age A.

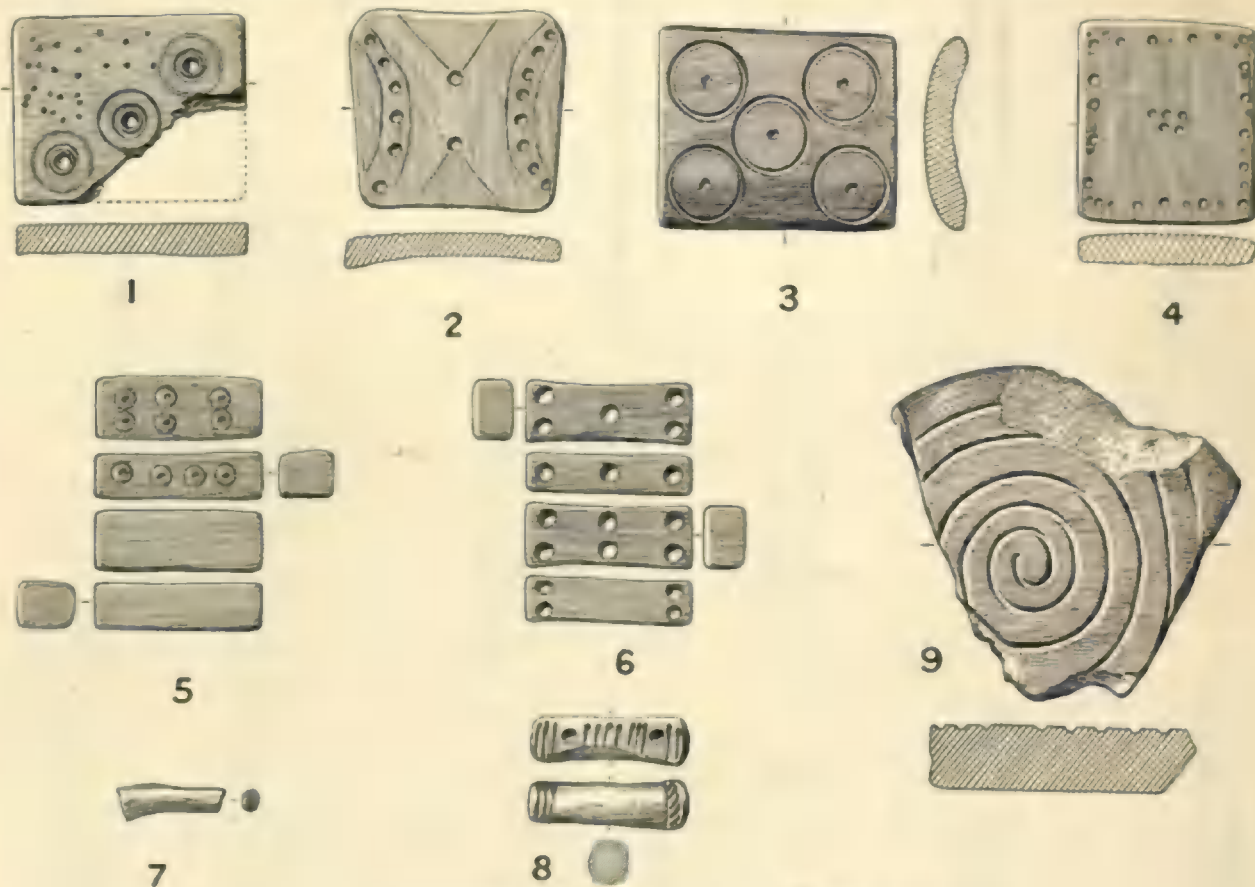


FIG. 106. Objects of bone (1-6), coral (7, 8), and stone (9) (1)

2. Similar, from a level on site F with mid A pottery.
3. Similar, burnt, from a hearth on site E with Bii pottery (last quarter of the first century B.C.).
4. Similar, from a Belgic level (c. A.D. 25-50) on site L.
- 5 and 6. Oblong bone dice of a type common on La Tène sites, particularly in La Tène II and III.¹ They are normally marked from three to six, the small ends being plain. They were presumably used, like the cubic dice, for throwing, although the

¹ See Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, ii, 1396; Bulleid and Gray, *op. cit.* ii, 407.

narrower sides, which usually bear the lower numerals, rarely fall uppermost. On the other hand, they may have been used as a sort of multiple domino. No. 5, possibly unfinished, is numbered four and six, and is from an Iron Age A deposit on site G (M). No. 6, numbered three to six, is from a Biii pit (A22, early first century A.D.) on site A.

OBJECTS OF CORAL

Fig. 106

7. Bead of true Precious Coral (i.e. the calcareous axis of *Corallium rubrum* Lamarck), presumably from the western Mediterranean. From a mixed surface-layer at the eastern entrance. A bracelet of fourteen such beads was found at Woodcuts (Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, i, 127, and pl. XLIV, fig. 19), and another at Padstow, Cornwall, in a Roman context (*Arch. Journ.* xvii, 315), but the type goes back to the latter part of the Hallstatt period (Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* ii, 876, fig. 368).

8. Fragment of Precious Coral (cf. preceding), with incised ornament and striations, and two piercings which nearly but not quite penetrate the thickness of the piece. From an Iron Age A level at the eastern entrance. The fragment appears to have been prepared for adfixure to a brooch or other ornament. A somewhat comparable fragment of fossil coral (*Parasmilia* from the Upper Chalk) was found at All Cannings Cross (Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, p. 122 and pl. xix, 8), and a coral branch with incised lines was found at Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts. (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxvii, 287, no. 16).

CARVED STONE

Fig. 106

9. Fragment of limestone carved with a spiral pattern. From a Belgic layer on site D; c. A.D. 25-50.

OBJECTS OF SHALE¹

Upwards of ninety-four objects are represented by the fragments of worked Kimmeridge shale found during the Maiden Castle excavations. Since seventy of these are from stratified cultural levels, ranging from the neolithic to the Roman period, they are of considerable value in any attempt to unravel the history of the industry. The neolithic piece is not in series with the later objects, and has been dealt with separately (p. 183); but from the beginning of Iron Age A until early Roman times it is evident that the successive cultures were introduced without great disturbance in the life of the craftsmen, and that skill in this craft was handed on without a break during the whole period.

In trying to determine whether the shale was worked locally or whether it was imported in a finished state it is necessary to consider the shale from the surrounding districts, for the same problem occurs at All Cannings Cross,² Glastonbury,³ and

¹ This section has been contributed by Dr. Henrietta F. Davies, who has made an extensive study of the Dorset shale-industry.

² M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, p. 141.

³ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 254 ff.

Hengistbury Head.¹ All must have obtained the shale, worked or unworked, from Kimmeridge. In none of these places have workshops been found such as existed at Kimmeridge both in the Early Iron Age and in Roman times.

If the shale was not worked at the sites where it has been found the industry must almost certainly have been centralized at Kimmeridge, where the very large numbers of Early Iron Age shale 'circles' and the still greater number of Roman lathe-chucks indicate a scale of production in excess of local demand.² If the worked shale was distributed to these sites from Kimmeridge it might be expected that any two sites occupied during the same time would yield fairly similar objects, or at least that when the objects were arranged chronologically a development of technique would be observable.

But there is no such relationship between the objects from Maiden Castle and from the other sites during the Early Iron Ages A and B. The shale from All Cannings Cross of the A culture and of a date approximately 400–200 B.C. shows far superior craftsmanship to that from the Maiden Castle A culture. And again, that from the Glastonbury B culture, dating about 50 B.C.–A.D. 40, is greatly in advance of that coming from the B culture levels at Maiden Castle from nearly the same period. This backwardness of the Maiden Castle shale is best explained by supposing that it was worked locally, and the occurrence of small pieces of unworked shale measuring up to 6 in. in diameter in every cultural level supports this contention.

Mr. St. George Gray has come to the conclusion that at Glastonbury, while the roughly cut shale was worked locally, the carefully finished objects were imported in a finished state (presumably from Kimmeridge).

It is likely that in Belgo-Roman times much of the worked shale was imported also into Maiden Castle, for the small circles show great similarity, whether they come from Cranborne Chase, Hengistbury Head, Maiden Castle, or Kimmeridge, where the enormous numbers of chucks from the centres of these little circles indicate a flourishing export trade. The absence of chucks at Maiden Castle gives some support to this suggestion, although the presence of a few of these would not be significant, as they might well have been introduced with the circles.

The evidence brought forward points to the conclusions that a shale-working industry was carried on at Maiden Castle, at any rate until the eve of the Roman Conquest; that the work of the earlier ages shows signs of isolation; and that no break occurred to interrupt the continuity of its development.

Section Chart (fig. 107)

The section chart is designed to show the development of the shale circle. Sections of every circle found at Maiden Castle and coming from known cultural levels are arranged in order of their cultures.

¹ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head* (1911), p. 63.

² For the industry at Kimmeridge, see Henrietta Davies, *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1936), 200 ff.

The internal diameter is given as being the controlling factor in determining the use of a circle.

It must be understood that this chart applies only to Maiden Castle, the worked shale from contemporary communities of like culture often differing widely from each other.

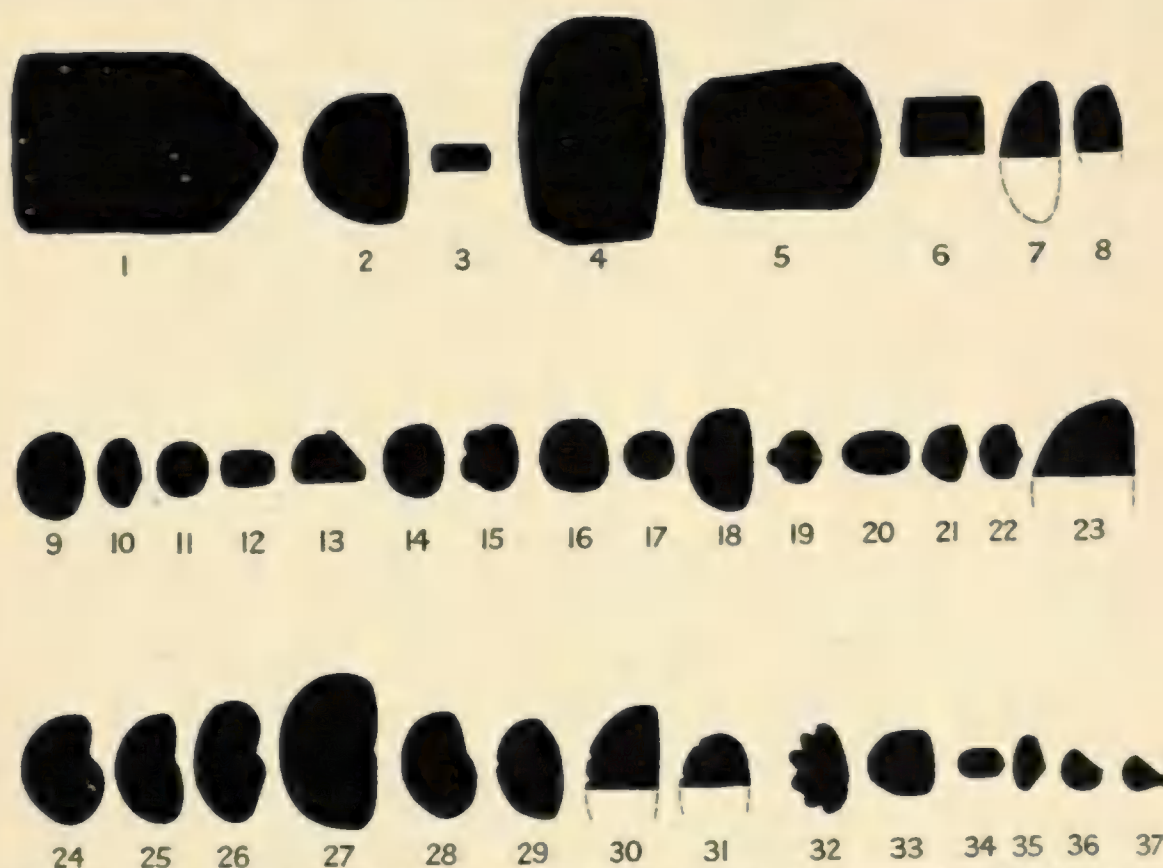


FIG. 107. Sections of shale circles or bracelets: 1-2, Iron Age A; 3-15, Iron Age B; 16-26, Iron Age C; 27-37, Roman ($\frac{1}{2}$)

See p. 312

It is apparent from the chart that the several cultures which have flourished at Maiden Castle have not each produced a type of work which can be definitely associated with individual cultures. Only perhaps the first and the last two circles on the chart are really distinctive of their cultural levels. Of the intervening patterns those found in Early Iron Age B may be repeated in Belgic levels and Belgic types may occur in Roman times.

When the series is seen as a whole, it is realized that it is not the work of four cultures but of a dozen generations of shale-craftsmen developing their skill without a break for 300 or 400 years.

Early Iron Age A

(c. 300–50 B.C.)

At Maiden Castle the circles of worked Kimmeridge shale from the Early Iron Age A levels are of two very different types: roughly cut and massive, or carefully cut and smoothed.

The roughly cut heavy circles, often too small for armlets, occur also at All Cannings Cross, Hengistbury Head (associated with haematite ware), and in large quantities at Kimmeridge.

It is not clear whether these rugged circles (fig. 108, 1) were intended to be smoothed later or whether they were used in their rough state, but the presence at Kimmeridge, on the shale workshop-floor of the Early Iron Age A culture, of many dozens of broken circles all in the same rough state and their frequent occurrence throughout the whole of this Early Iron Age A site point to their being a finished product.

Only two of the smooth circles have been found—a heavy fragment with an internal diameter of 2 in. (fig. 108, 2) and a flattened ring, 0.9 in. in internal diameter (fig. 108, 3).

There are none of the more delicate circles such as occurred in the Iron Age A levels at All Cannings Cross.

Fragments of shale slabs (fig. 108, 4) which have been used as cutting boards with a fine-edged tool come from both the Iron Age A and A–B levels.

A large slab (not illustrated), not used as a cutting board, measuring 17 in. by 13 in. by 1½ in., also from an Iron Age A–B level, is perforated by three holes of about 1 in. surface diameter drilled from each end. A central groove runs to one hole. A larger slab measuring 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. of Kimmeridge shale 'having a neatly drilled hole of an inch in diameter in its centre' has been described as covering two skeletons in a tumulus near St. Aldhelm's Head, Dorset;¹ but the Maiden Castle slab was not near a skeleton, neither was any skeleton there covered by a shale slab.

Early Iron Age B

(c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 25)

The shale circles from the earlier levels of the Iron Age B culture are very massive (fig. 108, 5), showing, as does much of the work of this period, the tool-marks left unsmoothed. This is well seen in a disk (fig. 108, 6), possibly a core left from the centre of a circle, and several circles (fig. 109, 7) too small to be used as armlets and from their shape unsuited to be used as toe- or finger-rings.

Of those circles which were probably used as armlets (having an internal diameter of not less than 2.3 in.) the commonest shape has an oval section flattened on the inner side (fig. 109, 8) resembling those found at All Cannings Cross. Other armlets are oval or circular in section, poorly centred and of inferior workmanship to those at All

¹ J. H. Austen, in *Purbeck Papers*, i (1855–63), p. 42.

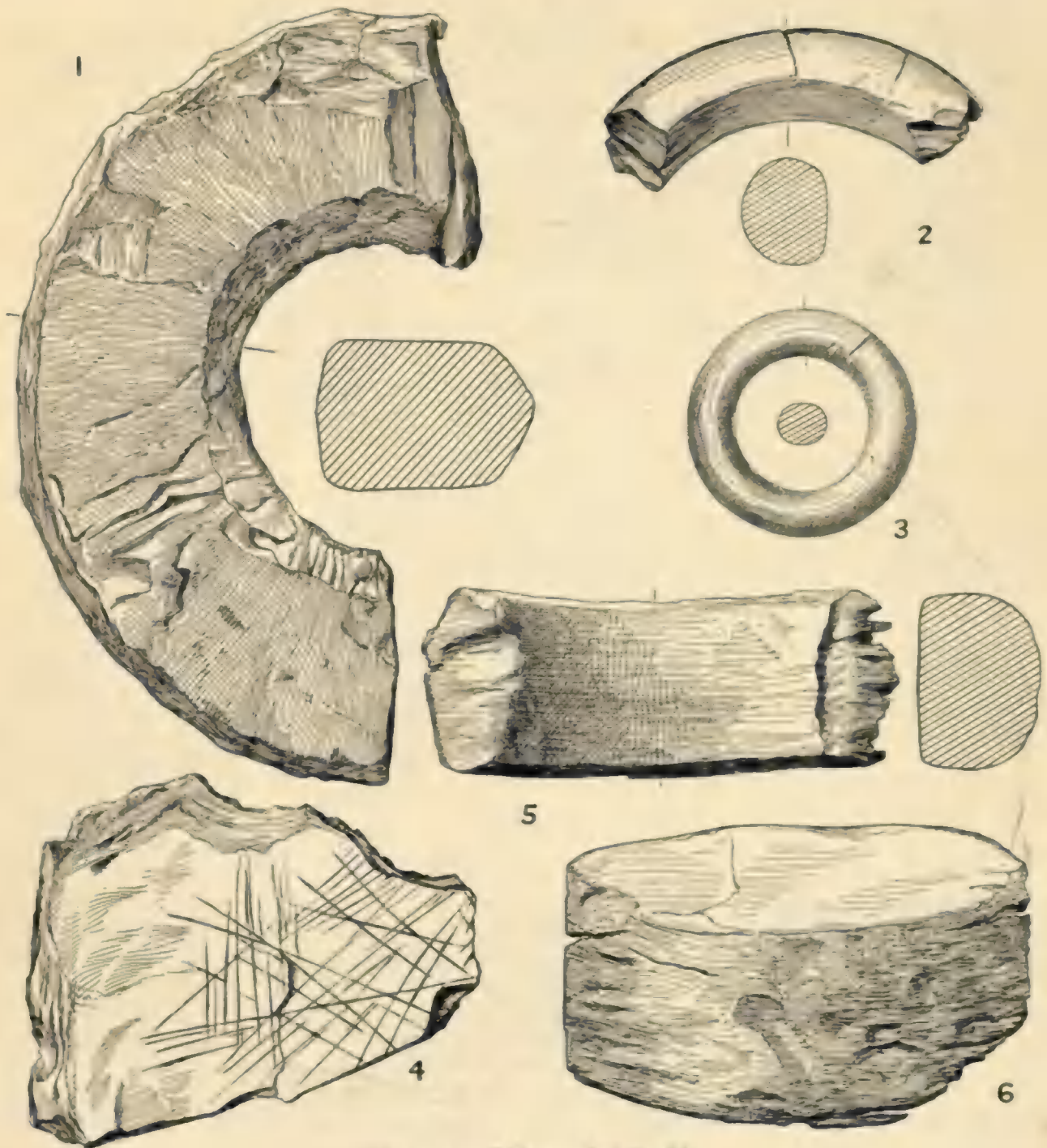


FIG. 108. Objects of shale ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See p. 314

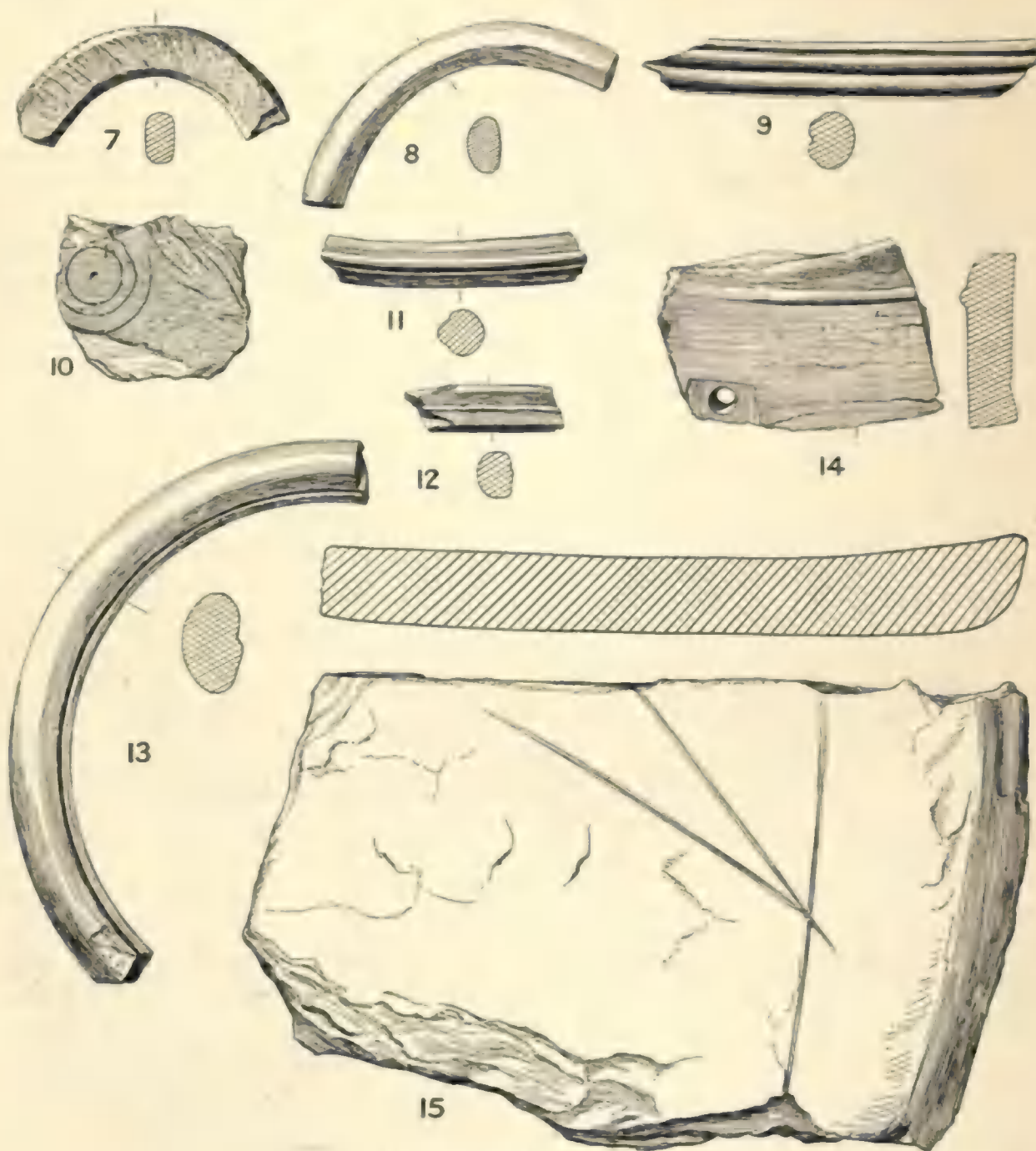


FIG. 109. Objects of shale ($\frac{1}{4}$)
See p. 314

Cannings Cross. The ridged armlet (fig. 109, 9) found in the floor of a hut of late Iron Age B (early first century A.D.) is almost certainly lathe-turned and resembles those found at All Cannings Cross and at Glastonbury. An asymmetrical and lumpy spindle-whorl from this period is of very poor workmanship.

From an Iron Age B pit came an interesting flake of shale marked with faintly incised concentric circles with a well-marked central point as though drawn with compasses (fig. 109, 10). This ancient device of dot-and-circle, which occurs frequently on bone objects, is not common on objects of Kimmeridge shale,¹ though it is notably characteristic of a series of large Romano-British tablets of Kimmeridge shale found in Dorset and London decorated with concentric circles.²

Although the shalecraft of the Iron Age B levels shows considerable advance on that of Iron Age A, yet it is backward when compared with that of the other south-western sites. It does not equal in style or finish the shale from the Iron Age A settlement at All Cannings Cross, and is considerably rougher and less sophisticated than that from the Iron Age B occupation at Glastonbury.

Belgic and Belgic-Roman

(c. A.D. 25-70)

The shale of the Belgic occupation shows a changing technique which links the backward craftsmanship of the Iron Age B population with the highly skilled work of the Roman period. A few of the simple hand-made circles survive and the grooved pattern (fig. 109, 11) is a survival of an old type found in earlier cultures at All Cannings Cross and Glastonbury.

Marks of lathe-turning can be seen on most of the Belgic shale, and for the first time the slight internal projection is found which marks the last cut in separating the circle from the chuck (fig. 109, 12). This feature is developed into various ornamental ridges in Roman work.

An unusually large circle (fig. 109, 13) with an internal diameter of 3.3 in. with kidney-shaped section is the first of a series of this pattern which runs on into Roman levels.

An armlet (fig. 92, 10) was found on the arm of a woman buried in the Belgic War Cemetery at the eastern entrance.

¹ Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverell. R. de C. Nan Kivell, *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925-27), 331. Circle with ring and dot ornament.

Saunderton, Bucks. Roman villa. D. Ashcroft, *Records of Bucks.* xiii (1939), 408. Fragment of what is possibly a piece of furniture with dot and concentric circles.

Biscot, Luton, Beds. From Luton Museum. Similar, but smaller fragment.

Corfe Castle, Dorset. In Dorchester Museum. A circular plaque with concentric half-circles and dots.

Smedmore, Kimmeridge. From the Brighton Museum. Fragment of an unknown object with concentric half-

circles and dots.

² Three tablets from Jordan Hill and one from Preston, in the British Museum.

A tablet from Rotherley and probably the fragment from Woodyates. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 174.

Corfe Castle, Dorset. Rectangular plaque in Dorchester Museum.

Three pieces of tablets from London: St. Martin's-le-Grand (London Museum); Poultry (London Museum); London (Guildhall Museum).

Several small spindle-whorls are similar to those in use during Roman times at Rushmore Park and Woodyates.¹

The double-cordoned vase shown diagrammatically in fig. 110 has no exact counterpart. The rim closely resembles that of the tazza of Kimmeridge shale from a Belgic burial at Colchester,² but the latter vessel has concave sides. The curve of the sides follows that of the vases of Kimmeridge shale from the La Tène III cemetery at Quins

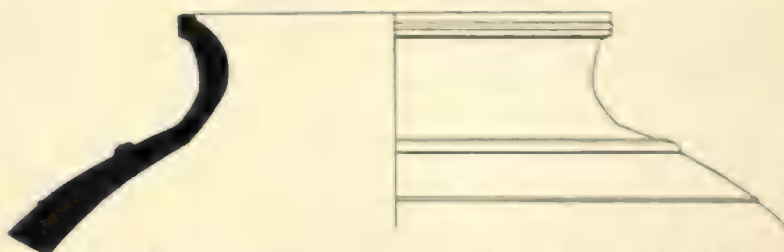


FIG. 110. Fragment of shale vase, Early Iron Age C ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Hill, Old Warden, Beds.³ Whether the Maiden Castle vessel resembles those from Quins Hill in being built up in sections cannot be determined from the part that has survived.

From a Belgic or late Iron Age B layer came two other fragments of pots, and five pieces are derived from unstratified positions. One of these shows a rivet-hole which appears to be part of the original construction and not due to repair (fig. 109, 14). It suggests the use of a strengthening band such as was found at Wookey Hole.⁴ Mr. Balch considers that these bone bands, in one of which an iron rivet is still in position, were used to strengthen such a vessel, several pieces of skilfully turned vessels of Kimmeridge shale having been found there. A piece of a tablet or platter with a diameter of 1 ft. (fig. 109, 15) recalls the circular plaque found by King Edward's Bridge, Corfe Castle, Dorset, now in the Dorchester Museum.

It was not possible to determine the culture to which belonged part of a smaller trencher with two circular shelving steps (fig. 111, 16). Pieces of a large trencher found at Ham Hill, Somerset, may be seen in the Taunton Castle Museum.

Roman

With the building of the temple in the fourth century A.D. shale objects are again in evidence.

It is remarkable that the old Belgic styles are still found. On the other hand, in appraising the evidence it is necessary to recall that the topmost (fourth-century) layer at Maiden Castle is not entirely free from admixture, and that some of the shale objects from it may be intruders from the underlying first-century deposits.

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, 141.

² In the Colchester Museum.

³ In the British and Archaeological Mus. Cambridge.

⁴ H. E. Balch in *Archaeologia*, lxii (1911), 581.

With this reservation, it may be observed that the large armlets of 'kidney' section appear to persist. On the small circles (fig. 111, 18 and 19) the sharp inner edge first seen in Belgo-Roman work of the first century A.D. is developed into an ornamental ridge. Small very delicate circles are common on Roman sites all over the country from the Roman Wall in Northumberland¹ to Kimmeridge² on the Dorset coast, from Rhostryfan, Carnarvonshire,³ to Icklingham in Suffolk,⁴ their size corresponding with that of the innumerable chucks from Kimmeridge, the internal diameter varying from 1.6 to 2 in. As they are too small for a woman's hand to slip through, it seems probable that they were used either as a dress fastening with a toggle-pin, or that they were put on the wrist when the child was very young. That infants wore such ornaments is shown by the presence of a jet armlet among the objects from a small child's grave found at Chalkwell, near Sittingbourne, Kent, now in the British Museum, a minute gold finger-ring indicating that the grave belonged to a very young child.

Pliny⁵ gives an account of the medicinal and magical properties attributed to jet, and hence to Kimmeridge shale, since these materials are still often considered indistinguishable. This faith in the efficacy of jet-like materials to ward off evil and cure disease provides a likely explanation of the otherwise puzzling popularity of the very small circles.

A 'rope' pattern armlet (fig. 111, 17) is very like those found in Roman levels at Colchester and London (now in the British and London Museums) and those from Verulamium.⁶ Another (fig. 111, 20) shows multiple grooves, but this example, from the topmost layer of site D, probably belongs to the early Roman occupation (c. A.D. 45-70).

Three spindle-whorls of the common form which occurs at Bokerly, were found, and what is probably an unusually large spindle-whorl (fig. 111, 22) with a square central hole came from an unstratified position but very closely resembles one in Dorchester Museum from Roman levels.

A foot of a piece of furniture (fig. 111, 23) is almost identical with others in the Dorchester Museum from Dorchester itself⁷ and from a Roman villa at Southern Frampton. Although shale appears to be a most unsuitable material of which to make furniture, its use for this purpose is fully demonstrated and is explained by the fact that when freshly dug it does not exhibit the flaking character which disfigures it in its old age.

¹ Roman Wall, Northumberland. Corstopitum Collection.

² Kimmeridge, Dorset. At the University of London Institute of Archaeology, Regent's Park, London.

³ Rhostryfan, *Arch. Camb.*, lxxviii (1923), p. 104.

⁴ Icklingham, Suffolk. In the British Museum.

⁵ See *Archaeologia*, xliii (1871), 516, for this and other references.

⁶ *Verulamium Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond. 1936), fig. 45. A.D. 300 or earlier.

Found in Verulamium, 1938. Unstratified. (Unpublished.) Colchester. In the British Museum.

London, Trinity Street, Southwark. Now in the London Museum. London. In the British Museum.

⁷ *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lix (1938), 9.

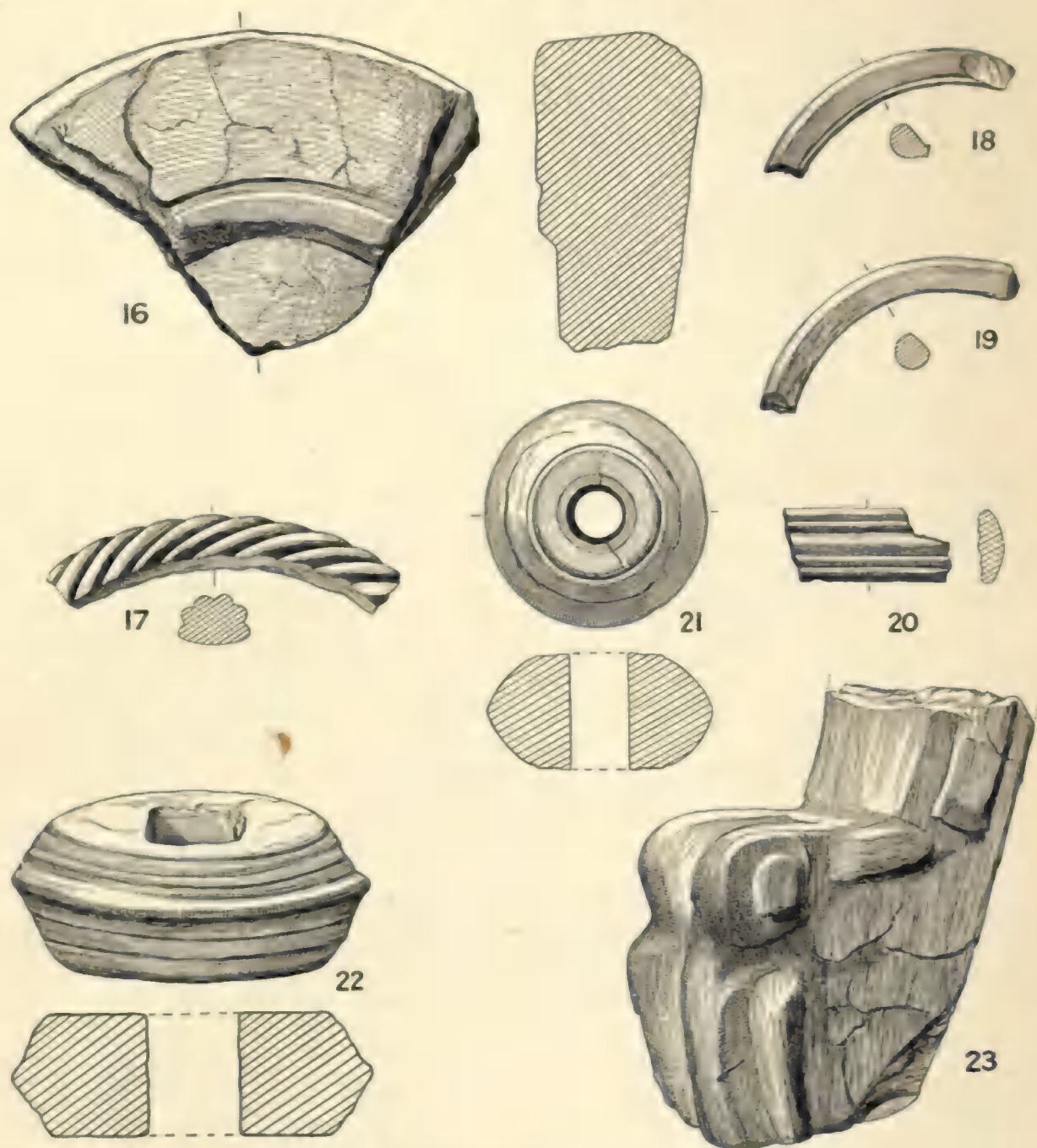


FIG. 111. Objects of shale (†)
See p. 318

PIERCED CLAY COOKING-FLOORS

A number of fragments of pierced baked clay, 1-1½ in. in thickness, were found, in one case in association with a clay oven (see p. 96), in another case on a hearth, and in all cases in an Iron Age B context (extending from late Bi-Biii and the beginning of the Belgic period, i.e. c. 25 B.C., to a little after A.D. 25). These clay floors or 'girdles' were doubtless used for cooking-purposes in ovens or, with lateral supports, over open fires, in the former case serving on a small scale the same purpose as somewhat similar floors in pottery-kilns. If used for baking, they would accommodate small scones between the holes but would not be suitable for loaves because of the unevenness of the firing. Where the margins of these floors are preserved they indicate a circular plan with a diameter of 14-16 in.

Similar pierced cooking floors have been found on a number of Iron Age B and Belgic sites: e.g. in Lidbury and Casterley camps, Wilts. (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xl, 25), a camp near Wallington, Surrey (*Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* xxv, 394), and on the site of Belgic Verulamium (*Verulamium Report*, Soc. Ant. Lond., p. 180).

Of some fifteen fragmentary examples found during the excavations, nine are here illustrated.

Plate xxxvii, A

1. From pit (B13), with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.
2. From a Bi level on site C. Third quarter of the first century B.C.
3. From a mixed stratum on site B.
4. From a late Bii level on site D. End of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D.
5. Found with no. 1, above.

Plate xxxvii, B

6. From a Bii hut floor on site D, showing a part of the margin of the slab.
7. From a B pit on site R.
8. From an early Bii level on site D, c. 25 B.C.
9. From the same level as the preceding, close to and contemporary with an oven of the usual type described on p. 93.

QUERNS¹

Sixty-three querns were found at Maiden Castle, seven saddle and fifty-six rotary, with three grindstones. The saddle querns were associated with either neolithic or Iron Age A sherds. One of the neolithic querns had a secondary use as a rubber, possibly for polishing axes, as the bed is worn to a sharp curve useless for grinding grain.

The twenty-one rotary querns of beehive shape have been classified in accordance with Dr. E. C. Curwen's scheme,² with which their chronology is consistent. They all belong

¹ This section has kindly been prepared by Miss F. M. Patchett, who is also responsible for the outline diagrams. ² *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 133 ff.

to his pre-Roman type, class 1, Wessex, a thickish beehive shape with steeply sloping milling surfaces, oval handle-sockets, hoppers, and most of the lower stones with distinct lips at the central socket. In all cases but two (nos. 22 and 23) the handle-sockets are in the sides. In the case of no. 23 the socket, originally at the side, broke away in the process of grinding and was replaced by one on the top.

Seven of these querns, though conforming in a general way to this Wessex type, seem to be a later development; their milling surfaces slope more gradually or are in some cases almost flat, they are thinner, and generally have a neater appearance. They are all found in association with Biii or Belgic pottery (*c.* A.D. 1–50) and are classed as Wessex 2.

As no rotary querns have been found on the site with Iron Age A pottery it is inferred that here, as elsewhere, this form was introduced by the Iron Age B people. At All Cannings Cross,¹ Iron Age A, only saddle querns were found; at Fifield Bavant,² also Iron Age A, the proportion is ten saddle querns to one rotary. At Glastonbury³ with Iron Age B pottery, twice as many rotary as saddle querns were found.

At Maiden Castle, with one exception, there is no great difference in the size of the beehive querns, the largest being 17 in. in diameter and the smallest 11 in. The height of the lower stones varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 8 in. No. 19, a very small beehive quern, is of interest, but unfortunately the handle-socket is broken away. It occurred in a Belgic layer. No exact parallel can be found.

The geology of the querns was reported upon by Dr. Kenneth Oakley and Mr. C. Bromehead, and is varied. At the same time, practically all the stones are of local origin, the commonest being limestone.

One of the cheese-shaped grindstones, no. 30, is of shale, probably from Kimmeridge. These stones were all associated with Belgic pottery.

NEOLITHIC QUERNS

Fig. 112

No. 1. Saddle quern. Broken: length $8\frac{5}{8}$ in., height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., width, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Sarsen. This quern was used for two purposes, the second time apparently as a rubber for polishing axes, as suggested by the sudden curve of the bed and the difference in the polish of the surface. From site T (outworks of eastern entrance), neolithic pit 1, layer 3, associated with Neolithic A sherds.

No. 2. Broken saddle quern. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., width $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Silicified flint conglomerate. From site T, neolithic pit 9, layer 5, associated with Neolithic A pottery.

IRON AGE QUERNS

Figs. 113, 114

No. 3. Saddle quern. Length 15 in., height 5 in., width 8 in. Chert. From site A, in packed clay above the natural chalk, associated with Iron Age A pottery.

¹ M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross* (1923), p. 18.

² Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 608 ff.

³ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlii (1922–24), 461.

No. 4. Saddle quern. Length 9 in., height 2 in., width 8 in. Upper Greensand of Dorset. The under surface is broken. The milling surface has been used only one way. From site D, hearth in pit 15, associated with mid to late Iron Age A pottery.

No. 5. Lower half of rotary quern. Diameter $14\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Limestone. Milling surface smooth with very steep slope. Decided lip at socket. Wessex type. From the pit (D24) in hut DB2, associated with late Bi pottery, *c.* 25 B.C.

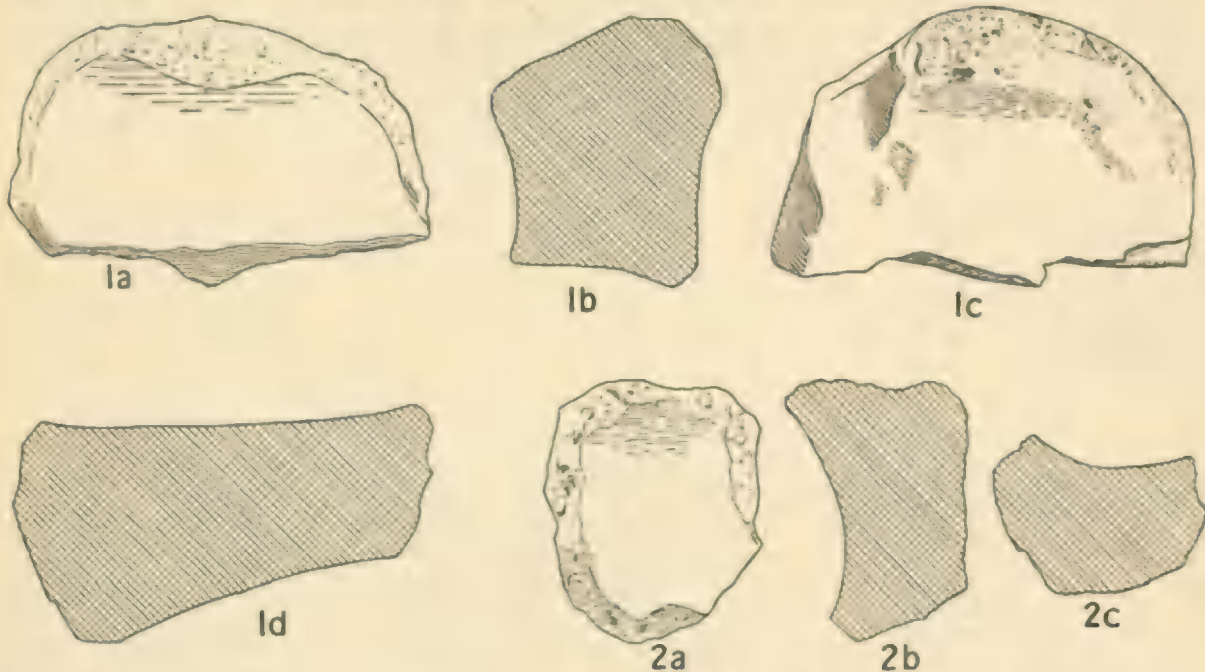


FIG. 112. Querns, Neolithic A (4)

See p. 322

No. 6. Upper half of rotary quern. Oolite limestone. Milling surface smooth at the edges, worn in the centre. Outer surface pecked. Hollowed at the top to form a hopper. This quern corresponds to Dr. Curwen's early pre-Roman type, class 1, Wessex. From the same pit as no. 5, associated with late Bi pottery, *c.* 25 B.C.

No. 7. Lower stone of rotary quern. Fine calcareous grit. Milling surface shows signs of much wear and has a steep slope. Wessex type. From site D, associated with late Bii pottery. End of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D.

No. 8. Lower stone of rotary quern. Diameter $13\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 5 in. Conglomerate; possibly dolomitic conglomerate from Mendip. Shows very little signs of use. Pecked surface. Distinct lip at central socket. Lower half of no. 9. Wessex type. From site D, associated with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 9. Upper stone of no. 8. Same material. Outer surface pecked. Handle-socket oval in shape, rising towards the centre. Hopper. Wessex type. As preceding.

No. 10. Lower stone of rotary quern. Diameter 15 in., height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Oolite. Milling

surface very much worn. Curved in section.¹ Wessex type. From site D, associated with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 11. Upper stone of rotary quern. Oolitic limestone. Surface pecked. The central socket for the spindle has two slots, making it practically oval in shape. Wessex type. Cf. quern from Kingbarrow Quarry, Portland, for shape of socket.² From site B, associated with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

No. 12. Fragment of lower half of rotary quern. Diameter $14\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Impure limestone, probably Jurassic of Dorset. Milling surface smooth and slope



FIG. 113. Querns, Early Iron Age A ($\frac{1}{8}$)

See p. 322

slight. Wessex type A. From site D, associated with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

No. 13. Lower stone of rotary quern. Calcareous sandstone. Pecked surface. Wessex type. From site D, associated with Bii pottery. Last quarter of the first century B.C.

No. 14. Fragment of upper stone of beehive quern. Oolite with ferruginous matrix. Surface pecked. Same type as no. 6. Wessex type. From site Q, associated with Bii-iii pottery. End of the first century B.C.

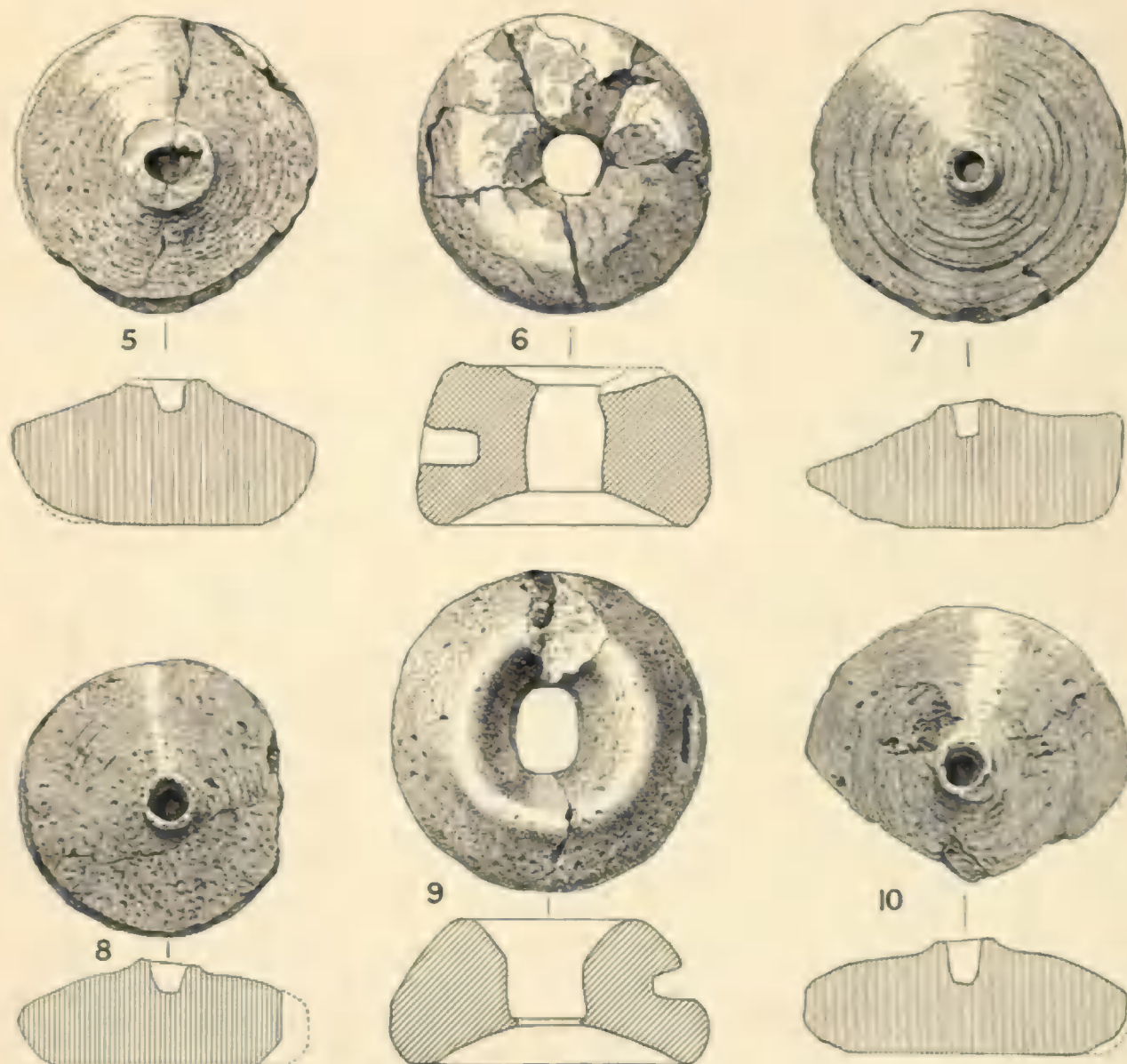
No. 15. Lower stone of rotary quern (broken). Fine calcareous grit. Milling surface conical in section. Much worn. Socket has very distinct lip. Wessex A. From site D with Bii-iii pottery. End of the first century B.C.

No. 16. Upper stone of truncated beehive quern. Soft, slightly ferruginous oolite. This stone has two handle-sockets; the first, oval in shape and low down in the side, was evidently broken, and a second, rectangular in shape, has been added on the top. Outer surface pecked. Wessex B. From site Q with Bii-iii pottery. End of the first century B.C.

No. 17. Lower stone of rotary quern. Coarse ferruginous grit. Grinding surface

¹ Cf. *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 42, 141, fig. 12 (Glastonbury); and *Hengistbury Head Report* (1911-12), pl. xxi, 1.

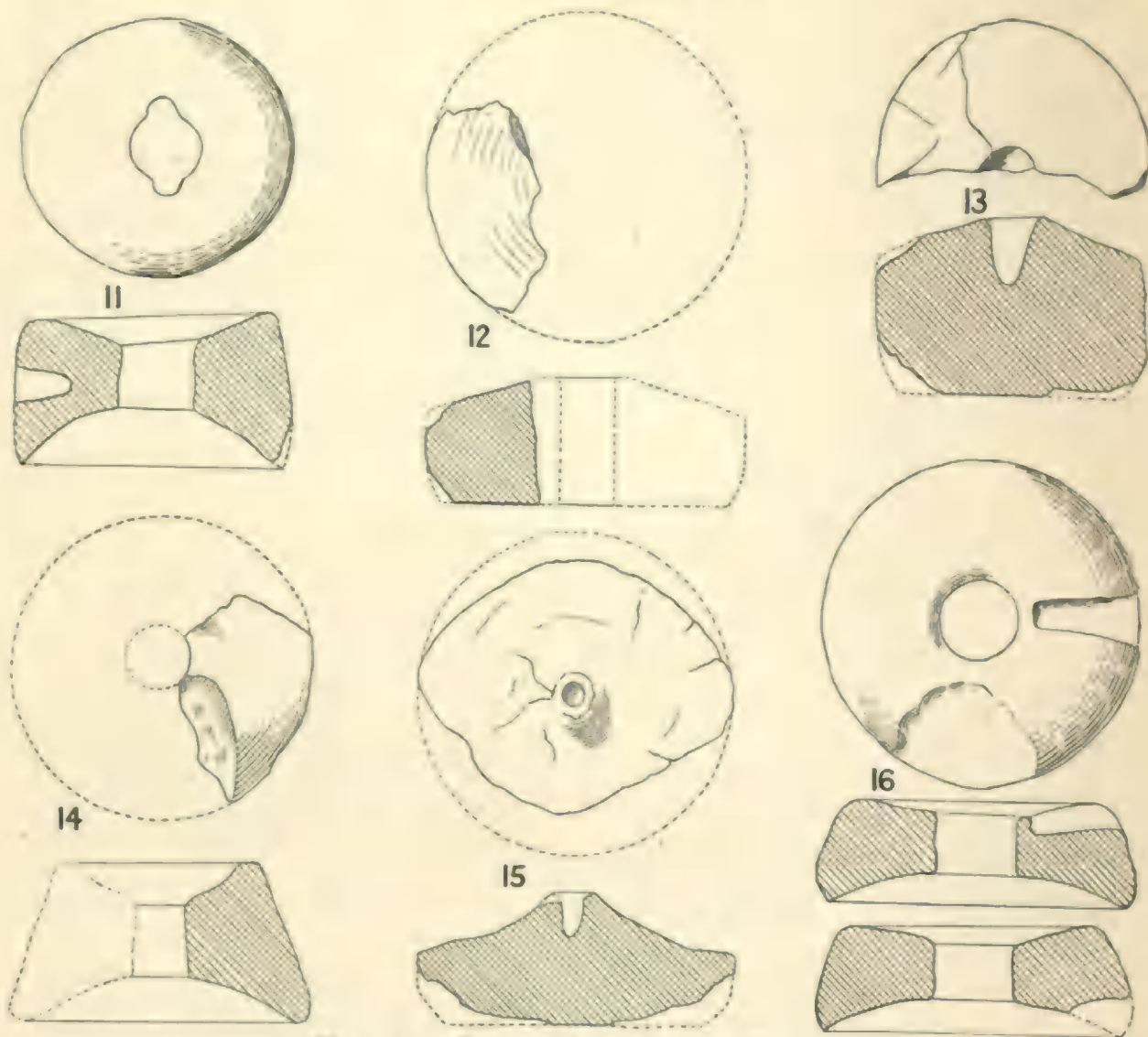
² *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 42, 141, fig. 7.

FIG. 114. Querns, Early Iron Age B ($\frac{1}{8}$)

See p. 323

much worn. The almost flat grinding surface and the thinner and neater shape places this late in the Wessex series. Wessex 2. From site B, pit B22, with Bii-iii pottery. End of the first century B.C.

No. 18. Lower stone of rotary quern. Fissile limestone. Slightly sloping grinding surface. Perforation instead of socket. This stone has been used twice, as on the present underside there is evidence of a broken handle-socket, showing that its original use was

FIG. 115. Querns, Early Iron Age B ($\frac{1}{8}$)

See p. 324

as a top stone. This double use explains the perforation. Wessex type. From site A, associated with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 19. Lower stone of rotary quern. Local Jurassic limestone. The very slightly sloped milling surface shows no sign of use. Both milling surface and sides are pecked. The very gradual slope of the milling surface and careful shaping of this stone place it late in the Wessex series. Wessex 2. Associated with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 20. Lower stone of rotary quern. Fine calcareous grit. Milling surface

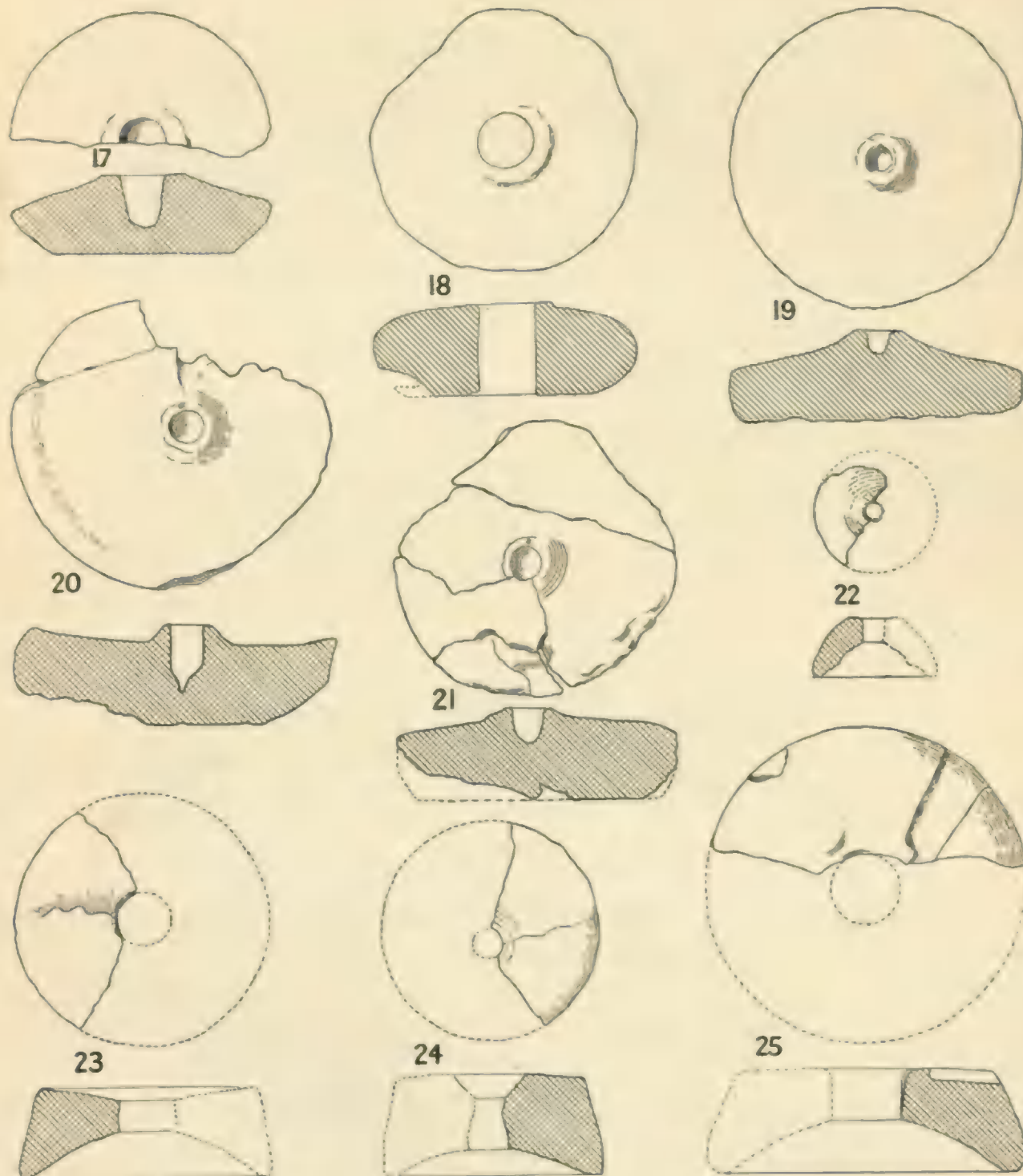


FIG. 116. Querns, Early Iron Age B ($\frac{1}{8}$)
See pp. 324-7

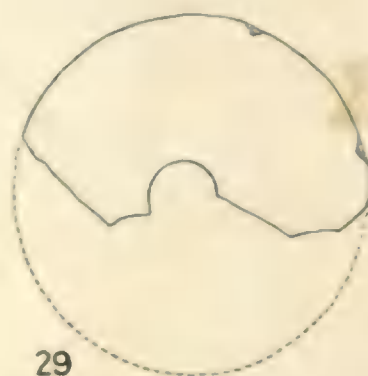
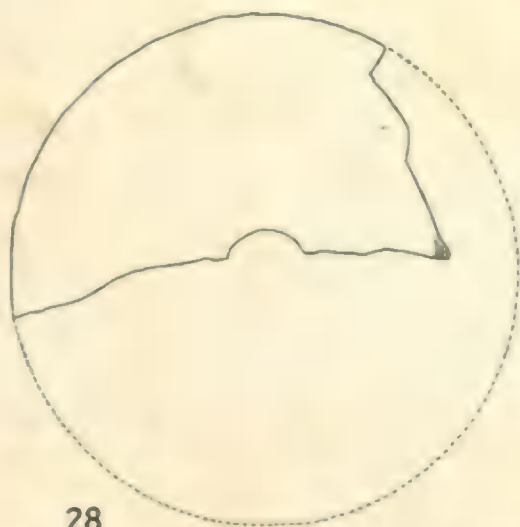
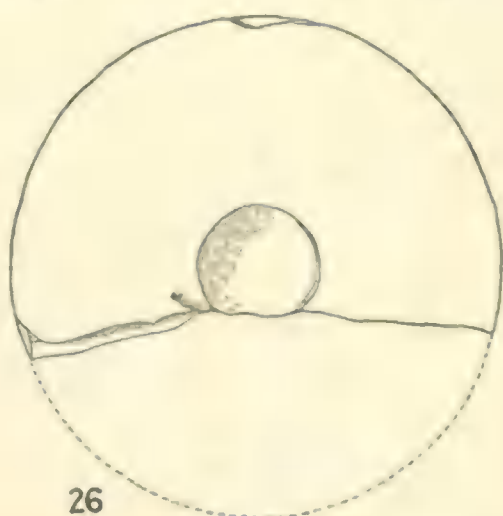
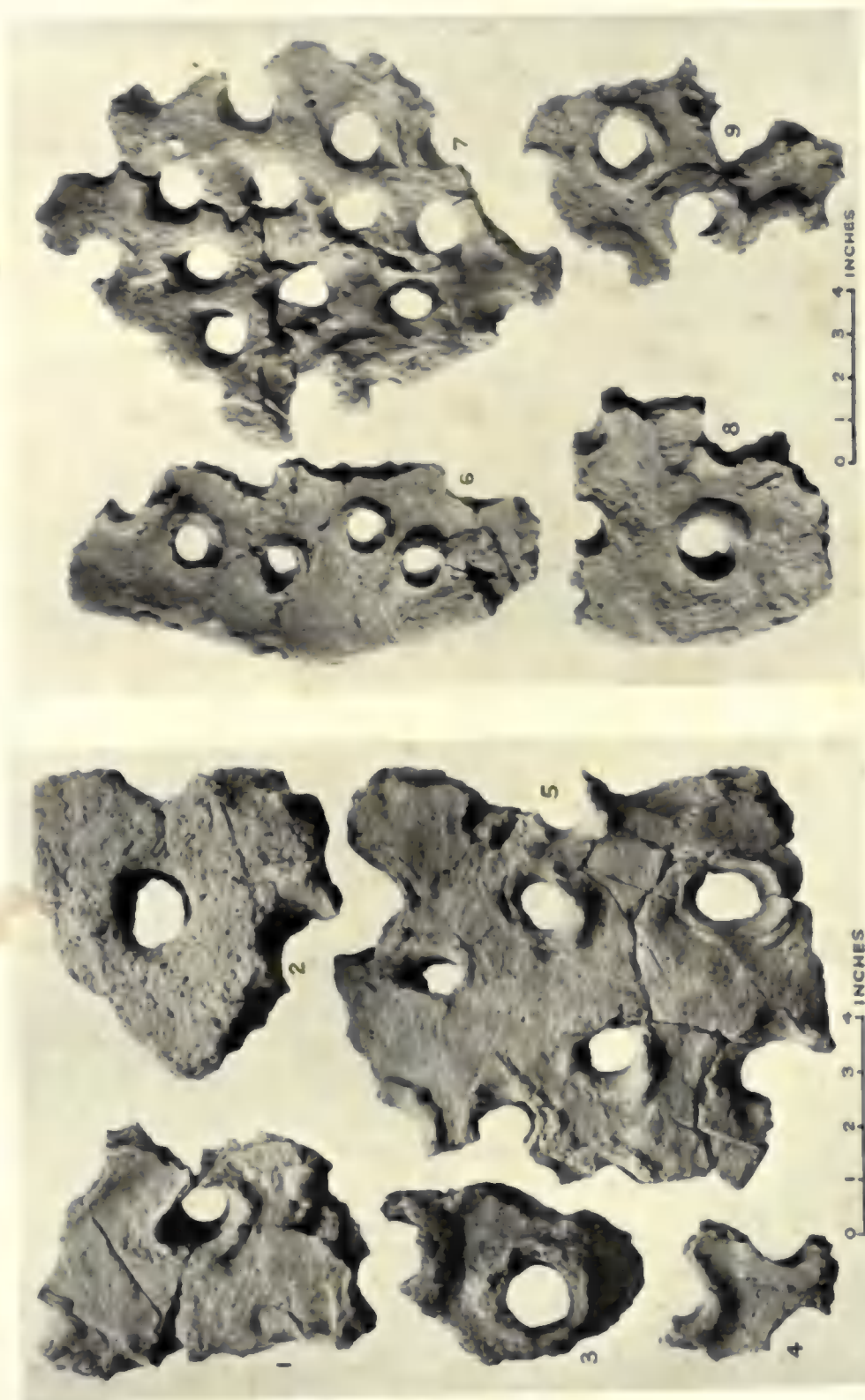


FIG. 117. Querns, 1st century A.D. ($\frac{1}{8}$)
See p. 329



Clay 'girdles' or oven-plates. See p. 321



Obverses



Reverses

British coins from Maiden Castle. |. See p. 329

practically flat, which places it late in the Wessex series. Wessex 2. From site L, in the kerb of the pre-Belgic street, associated with Biii or slightly earlier pottery. Early first century A.D.

No. 21. Lower stone of rotary quern. Greenish-grey silt stone with fossils *Trigonia pecten*, etc. Upper Greensand. Milling surface nearly flat and much worn. Socket oval in shape. Wessex 2. From site B (pit B36), associated with early Bii pottery, c. 25 B.C.

No. 22. Upper stone of minute rotary quern (broken). Hard grey limestone. Slightly flattened on the top. Compare small quern found at Rotherley associated with Samian ware; and with a small quern from Earns Heugh.¹ From site E, associated with Belgic pottery. Second quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 23. Fragment of upper stone of a truncated rotary quern. Hard sandy limestone. Milling surface much striated. Wessex B. From site D, associated with Belgic pottery. Second quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 24. Fragment of upper stone of a truncated rotary quern. Ironshot quartz grit, probably Bagshot series from W. Staffs. to Wareham, Dorset. Smooth milling surface, slightly sloped. Outer surface pecked. No sign of handle-socket. This quern, from its flattish grinding surface and its associated pottery, seems to come late in the Wessex series. From site D, associated with late Biii pottery, c. A.D. 25.

No. 25. Fragment of upper stone of rotary quern. Coarse oolitic limestone. Handle groove on the top, rectangular in shape. Outer surface pecked. From site L, with mixed pottery including Roman sherds of the fourth century A.D.

No. 26. Lower stone of rotary quern. Limestone. Same type as no. 27 but with socket instead of perforation, possibly an earlier example. From site B, pit B14, with late B or Belgic pottery. Second quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 27. Upper stone of disc-shaped quern. Limestone. Curwen's type 3a, cf. Cissbury, Worthing Museum. From site D, associated with Biii pottery. First quarter of the first century A.D.

No. 28. Upper stone of rotary quern. Limestone. Same type as no. 27. From site B, pit B6, associated with late Biii pottery, c. A.D. 25.

No. 29. Upper stone of rotary quern. Fissile meally limestone. Surface much worn. From a high and mixed level at the eastern entrance. Probably first century A.D.

COINS

1. BRITISH COINS

(Plate xxxviii)

Fifteen British coins were found at Maiden Castle during the recent excavations, and another (in the Dorchester Museum) was picked up on the site many years ago. All these coins have been seen by Mr. Derek F. Allen, of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and his notes are reproduced below. On stratigraphical evidence,

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, 179; Childe and Forde, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxvi (1931-2), 182.

none of the British coins found in 1934-7 was lost before the arrival of Belgic influence *c.* A.D. 25, but several of them were deposited within the two decades following that date —i.e. they precede the Roman Conquest of *c.* A.D. 44. This narrow dating is of general interest in relation to the chronology of British coins in south-western Britain.

South-Western 'Atrebat' type

This type, known in gold, silver, and bronze, is descended from a type of gold stater (Evans B7) issued by the Atrebates in Gaul. The Gaulish issue was the first to be copied in this country, perhaps in the second quarter of the first century B.C., somewhere in the Thames valley (Evans B4, 6).¹ After the Caesarian invasions it was replaced in the central and eastern counties by better-executed types, but continued apparently to circulate in outlying parts, less immediately subject to Belgic influence. In Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and west Hampshire it was gradually replaced by coins of the same type struck in silver (Evans F1-3) and later in bronze (Evans G5-6).² Finally, there exist bronze coins from the same district conforming roughly to the same type, but cast instead of struck (*Num. Chron.*, 1911, pp. 42-56). These cast coins, best known from the 'South Hants'³ and Hengistbury finds,⁴ can be shown to have circulated well into the second century A.D. The complete absence of the cast coins from the excavations at Maiden Castle suggests that they were not made until some while after the Roman Conquest. The struck bronze coins, of which nos. 3, 4 and 5 below are examples, must have been the type circulating at the time of the Roman Conquest, though there is as yet no evidence as to when they were first introduced. Similar coins have been found at Timsbury associated with Roman coins as late as Domitian.⁵ The silver type has also been found in the excavations at Maiden Castle (nos. 1 and 2 below). Unlike the other silver and bronze coins circulating in Britain at the time, they are not smaller denominations, but are the debased descendants of the gold staters. In this they are closely analogous to the base silver coins struck in Brittany somewhat earlier.⁶ They cannot have been used in distant trades, for their intrinsic value was too small; they must have been intended mainly for local circulation. The following are the previous find-spots of which I have record:

Silver (F1-3): Blandford, Ockford Fitzpaine, Badbury Rings, Gussage St. Michael, Woodcuts, Cranborne Chase, Hod Hill, Iwerne, Langton, Wareham, Moore Critchell, Shroton, Tarrant Gunville, Tarrant Crawford, Bere Regis, Jordan Hill (Dorset), Rotherley, Stockton Down, Tollard Royal, Mere, Tisbury (Wilts.), Danebury, Portsmouth, Hengistbury, 'South Hants Find', Isle of Wight (Hants), Silchester (Berks.), Aylesbury (Bucks.), Dover, Richborough (Kent), Seaford (Sussex), Colchester (Essex), Charterhouse-on-Mendip, Chard, Shapwick, South Petherton (Somerset), Swacliffe (Oxon.).

Bronze (G5-6): Hod Hill, Blandford, Conyngore Hill, Langton, Woodcuts Common

¹ G. C. Brooke in *Num. Chron.* (1933), p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109, map IV.

³ G. F. Hill in *Num. Chron.* (1911), p. 42-56.

⁴ G. F. Hill in *Report on Excavations at Hengistbury Head*

(1911-12), p. 65.

⁵ *Num. Chron.* (1908), p. 80.

⁶ A coin of the Dorset class has been found in Brittany at S. Pierre-sur-Dives. See Evans, p. 103.

(Dorset), Timsbury, Hengistbury, Bitterne, Silchester, 'South Hants Find' (Hants), Rotherley (Wilts.), Axminster (Devon), Richborough (Kent), Farley Heath (Surrey), Lilly Hoo (Beds.), S. Pierre-sur-Dives (Calvados, France).

1. From the Belgic layer on site L; c. A.D. 25-50.

Evans F1-2; Æ.

20 mm.: 85.6 gr.

Rev.: small pellets above horse. To the right the three strokes converge to form an arrow-head and are separated by pellets, thus: \Leftarrow

2. Found between the first and second of the three layers of Belgic road-metal in the northern portal of the eastern entrance. The third layer was in use at the time of the Roman Conquest; c. A.D. 44.

Evans F1-2; Æ.

18 mm.: 53.5 gr.

Rev.: pellets above the horse and on the legs are of exaggerated size. Otherwise as Evans.

3. From the Belgic-Roman level on site L; c. A.D. 25-50.

Evans G5-6; Æ.

20 mm.: 49.2 gr.

Identical with the specimens from Hengistbury Head.

4. Found in the filling of a grave in the War Cemetery of c. A.D. 44 at the eastern entrance.

Evans G5-6; Æ.

18 mm.: 43.0 gr.

Generally similar to the preceding.

5. From a Belgic level on site R; c. A.D. 25-50.

Evans G5-6; Æ.

16-19 mm.: 42.4 gr.

Similar to the preceding.

South-western silver coins derived from Selsey types

These coins, like those already discussed, are debased descendants of gold coins. Their prototype is a gold quarter-stater found in Sussex and especially common at Selsey (Evans E9), whose ultimate ancestry is uncertain, though it may be Gaulish rather than British. Its date appears to lie in the third or fourth quarter of the first century B.C., though it cannot yet be fixed precisely. The obverse bears a degenerate version of a boar, the reverse a geometrical pattern of uncertain derivation. The first coin below, no. 6, is an exact reproduction in silver of the Sussex type; it may have a slight admixture of gold. Similar coins have been found previously at Hengistbury and near Portsmouth (Hants). The remaining coins, nos. 7, 8, and 9, are local varieties never found in gold. Others of this class have been found at Broadwindsor (Dorset), Bapton (Wilts.), the 'South Hants Find', and in some numbers at Hengistbury. All these coins exhibit similar characteristics to those observed in the so-called 'Atrebat' coins; they, too, are reproductions in silver for local circulation in the south-western counties of gold coins having a regular circulation elsewhere. The occasional admixture of gold, the fact that they are never found in copper, and the strata in which they have been found at Maiden Castle, together suggest that this type was in use earlier than the 'Atrebat'. The only specimen which has been found in the latest Belgic level, no. 10, was worn almost beyond recognition.

All of those found were to some extent worn, and it seems possible that the issue had begun before the date of the first Belgic level on the site; that is, at least as early as some time in the first quarter of the first century A.D.

6. From the base of the lowest Belgic road in the northern portal of the eastern entrance; c. A.D. 25.

Hengistbury Head Report (1911-12), p. 67, pl. xxxii, 19-21. *Æ*. 11 mm.: 16.1 gr.

7. From the make-up of the lowest Belgic road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance.

A similar coin, possibly from the same dies in a later state.

8. From the lower filling over the road leading from site L to the northern portal of the eastern entrance.

Evans M13; *Æ*.

From the same obverse die as a specimen in the 'South Hants Find' (*Num. Chron.* 1911).

9. In the lowest Belgic road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance; c. A.D. 25.

Evans M14; *Æ*.

Obv. worn smooth.

10. From the surface of the latest Belgic road in the northern portal of the eastern entrance; c. A.D. 44.

Probably Evans M14; *Æ*.

Obv.: as M13 and 14, etc.

Rev.: worn almost smooth.

11. From the surface of Belgo-Roman metalling on site R. Similar to but not identical with Evans M13 or 14, and containing more bronze than is usual for similar coins. Presumably one of the latest of this particular series.

Local south-western silver type

10 mm. Slightly damaged.

A number of base silver coins of paper-like thinness were found in the excavations at Hengistbury Head. Two are illustrated on pl. xxxii, nos. 25-6 of the *Hengistbury Head Report*. On the obverse they have a pattern derived from a head and on the reverse a formalized horse. No undamaged examples survive, but from the fragments it would seem that there are several varieties of the type. Another coin of the same fabric in the British Museum was found at Portsmouth. A third find-spot is now provided by Maiden Castle. The date or connexions of the coins are hard to estimate from the surviving specimens, but they seem to have more affinity with north Gaulish issues than with other British coins of the time. The Maiden Castle specimen differs in detail from any others recorded; it is, however, too corroded to reveal much information.

12. From the Belgo-Roman level on site L; c. A.D. 25-50.

Unpublished; *Æ* or base *Æ*.

Obv.: a meaningless collection of scrolls and pellets.

13 mm.: 8.7 gr.

Rev.: probably a horse surrounded by pellets, right. The hind legs only are distinguishable.

'Channel Island' or Armorican coins

The so-called Channel Island coins are quite distinct from the preceding. They have, on the one side, a very recognizable head which might be feminine, and, on the other side, varieties of a characteristic horse (see Evans, pl. I). The coins derive their name from the fact that several hoards of them have been found in the Channel Islands, but there is little doubt that they were actually struck in Armorica. A few of them have been found in England, for the most part in the same districts as the south-western coins, with which they may have been interchangeable. Recent excavations in Brittany have shown them to belong there to the second quarter of the first century B.C. and to have been the regular currency at the time of Caesar's conquest of N.W. Gaul.¹ Blanchet's ingenious theory that they were struck as 'money of necessity' at the time of Caesar's campaigns, though not far out in date, provides too short-lived an occasion for so prolific an issue. How long they remained in circulation in Britain, is on general grounds incalculable, but those here listed are from strata of the first century A.D.

13. From the make-up of the lowest Belgic road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance; c. A.D. 25.

De la Tour, *Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises*, pl. xxii, no. 6598. Billon. 19 mm.: 81.4 gr.

Attributed very dubiously to the Curiosolites.

14. From the Belgic level on site B.

Unpublished variety of De la Tour, op. cit., no. 6543. Æ. 15 mm.: 19.8 gr.

Obv.: badly corroded, but apparently as in De la Tour. There is a larger scroll in front of the face, perhaps terminating in a smaller head.

Rev.: horse as in De la Tour; but to right instead of to left. Beneath, the suggestion of a boar; above, a rosette.

Attributed very dubiously to the Osismii.

Uncertain coin

15. Fragment, broken from the side of a copper coin, from the lowest Belgic road in the southern portal of the eastern entrance; c. A.D. 25. Uncertain, possibly equivalent to Evans G5-6. 13×5 mm. Not illustrated.

Found previously at Maiden Castle

'Whaddon Chase' type

The gold staters of 'Atrebat' type, the prototypes of the silver and bronze coins nos. 1-4 found at Maiden Castle, were replaced in the central counties by a type with a more lively representation of a horse and a more formalized scheme of the head. They are amongst the commonest of gold British coins, owing to the discovery of a large hoard at 'Whaddon Chase' (Bucks.) in 1849. Elsewhere they have been found at Chichester, Brighton, Bognor Regis (Sussex), Bletchley (Bucks.), Cirencester (Glos.), Burwell (Cambs.), Bedford (Beds.), Standon (Herts.), Thetford (Norfolk), Grimsby (Lincs.), and Maiden Castle (Dorset). In date they clearly precede the coinage of Tasciovanus,

¹ *Antiquity* xiii (1939), 67.

and Dr. Brooke has attributed them to Caesar's contemporary, Cassivelaunus. It is not certain that they are as early as the Caesarian invasions, and it would be safer to attribute them to the third quarter of the first century B.C., during which they seem to have had a long circulation. The specimen found at Maiden Castle is amongst the earliest of the class, having a star-shaped ornament below the horse.

16. Found at Maiden Castle, 1890. Not illustrated.

Evans C8. *A*.

19 mm.: 88.0 gr.

Obv.: Pattern derived from the head of Apollo.

Rev.: Horse prancing right; star below.

A. Hoards

2. ROMAN COINS

(a) Four gold coins found in 1934 with a gold ring (above, p. 133 and fig. 86, 27) immediately outside the entrance to the Roman temple. (Pl. xxxix, A).

1. *Obv.*: DN HONORIVS PF AVG. Bust of emperor diademed r.

Rev.: VICTORIA AVGGG. MD in field. COM OB in exergue. Emperor r. on fallen barbarian, holding labarum in right hand and victory on orb in left hand.

2. *Obv.*: DN ARCADIVS PF AVG. Bust of emperor diademed r.

Rev.: VICTORIA AVGGG. RV in field. COM OB in exergue. Type similar to 1.

3. Similar to 2, but with MD in field.

4. Similar to 1, but with RV in field.

Of these coins, Mr. Harold Mattingly writes as follows:

'The four gold coins, found with a ring outside the Roman temple in 1934, are *solidi*, coins of the famous denomination that dominated the world for many centuries far down into Byzantine times. The mints are MD = Mediolanum (Milan) and RV = Ravenna. Mediolanum first appeared as a mint about the middle of the third century, when North Italy became the seat of important military commands. It was revived after an interval, and attained great prominence in the reign of Theodosius I. Ravenna, the city safe in its marshes, which attracted the Roman court to their protection, began to strike under Honorius and Arcadius, under whom it became the most important mint of the West. The obverses show the elaborately draped, diademed busts, with little individual characterization, common in the late fourth-early fifth century. The reverse type, the Emperor, holding a *vexillum* (not clearly defined as the *labarum*) or a Victory on globe and treading down a foeman, was first introduced on issues of Theodosius I and his sons at Sirmium, c. A.D. 393. It continued in use and for some twenty to thirty years was the standard type of the *solidus* in the West. It shows the victorious Emperor as *debellator gentium barbararum*. The four *solidi* are all fairly close together in time, and, from portraiture, might be dated to the neighbourhood of A.D. 405.'

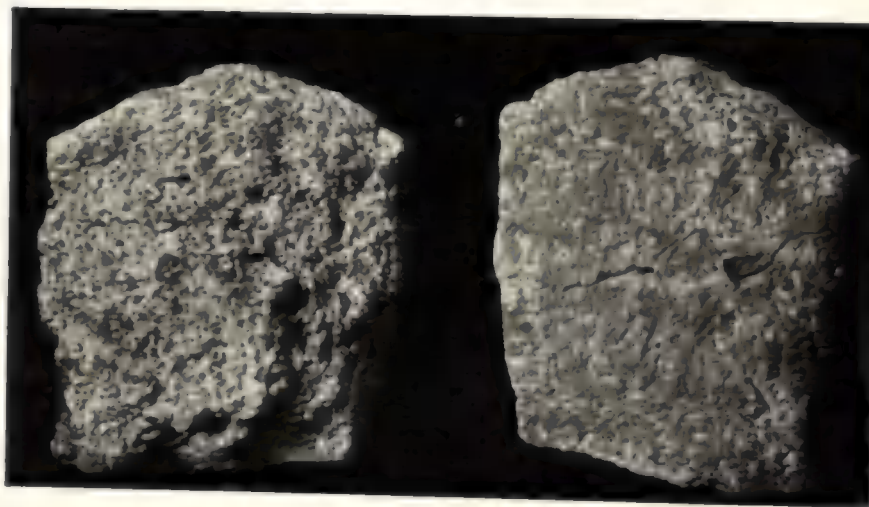
(b) Hoard of 70 Æ 3 coins, some retaining traces of a silver wash, found in a pot (above, p. 73 and fig. 80, 44) buried in the earth-deposit immediately on the surface of the fourth-



B. Bronze plaque from the Roman temple
See p. 131



A. Site B: hoard of gold coins and finger-ring from the Roman temple
See pp. 264, 334



A. Carbonized wheaten loaf, Iron Age B. |
See p. 375



B. Underside of pot-base with 'dimpled' pattern from pit B1 (late
Iron Age B). See p. 223

century road on site Q to the south of the Roman temple. Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil has very kindly examined the hoard, and reports as follows:

'Distributed according to types' there are 17 *Constantinopolis* and 14 *Urbs Roma*, which were issued between A.D. 330 and 337 with 2 of Helena and 1 of Theodora, which are probably contemporary. Of the *Gloria Exercitus* type with two standards (A.D. 330-5) there are 21 examples and of the later (A.D. 335-42) issue with one standard only 6. Of these 6, 3 were minted before Constantine I died in A.D. 337. There are, however, 7 coins of the Two Victories type of A.D. 340-8.

'The coins of the years A.D. 330-7² comprise the bulk of the hoard, and, although the inclusion of later issues shows that the hoard cannot have been buried until after A.D. 340, the paucity of issues minted after the death of Constantine I suggests that the burial or at least composition³ of the hoard took place early in the fifth decade of the century. Negative arguments of this kind are admittedly of doubtful value, but such a conclusion is supported in this case by the fact that the coins of the two latest issues in the hoard are in better condition than is usual for their types in this country, and by the fact that these latest issues (two victories and one standard) were exceedingly common and exceedingly poor in quality and must quickly have become current throughout the province.'

B. Other Coins

By B. H. St. J. O'NEIL, F.S.A.

The reference numbers for the Imperial coins are those of M. and S. (= Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*) down to and including those of Allectus. From Diocletian onwards they refer to Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed. From the time of Valentinian I reverse types are given to facilitate reference. The name of an emperor in brackets at the beginning of the reference numbers, e.g. Faustina I (Antoninus Pius), indicates that the reference numbers are those of coins listed under that emperor in M. and S. Numbers in square brackets indicate the number of coins of the particular type. The plus sign (+) following the mint-marks within brackets indicates the number of coins of the particular type, of which the mint-marks are illegible. The letters 'var.' following a number indicate that the coin is a slight variant in type from that of the particular reference number, and has therefore, apparently, not been recorded previously.

Most of the work of identification of the coins was undertaken by Miss Anne Robertson and Mrs. M. A. Cotton. The writer is much indebted to them and to Mr. Harold Mattingly and Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, F.S.A., who have assisted him in cases of doubt.

The coins which are of interest to numismatists will form the subject of a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Here it is only necessary to make two observations. The first is that the coins are exceptionally well preserved. The list shows how small a number of coins are even partially illegible, yet this good result has been obtained without the use of any chemicals. The second observation concerns the preponderance of certain

¹ The coins of Licinius I and II do not affect the argument. dating of the various series.

² The issues perhaps started earlier than A.D. 330. The writer is indebted to Mr. H. Mattingly for confirming the

³ It need hardly be stated that these terms are not synonymous.

MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET

HOARD (b)

All 3 Æ; a few retain slight traces of silver wash.

Licinius I	A.D. 307-23	C. 74 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{II} \Gamma \\ \text{SMKA} \end{array} \right)$	1
Licinius II	A.D. 317-26	C. 21 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{II} \Gamma \\ \text{SMK} \Gamma \end{array} \right)$	1
Constantine I	A.D. 307-37	C. 250 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{SMKS} \end{array} \right)$, 254 $\left(\begin{array}{c} * \\ \text{PCONST} \end{array} \right)$, $\begin{array}{c} * \\ \text{PCONST} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{SCONST} \end{array}$, PLG, PLG, *PLG, PLG, TRP, TRP*, TRS, 255 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{TRP} \end{array} \right)$, TRP [2], TRP	15
Constantinopolis	A.D. 330-7	C. 21/22 $\left(\begin{array}{c} * \\ \text{AQS} \end{array} \right)$, $\begin{array}{c} * \\ \text{CONST} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{CONST} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{PCONST} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{SCONST} \end{array}$, *PLG, TRP [2], TRP, TRP, TRS, TRS [2], TRS* [2], + 2	17
Urbs Roma	A.D. 330-7	C. 17/18 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{SCONST} \end{array} \right)$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{RLG} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{PLG} \end{array}$ [2], *PLG [3], TRP, TRP [2], TRP, TRS [3]	14
Helena	Died 328	C. 4 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{TRS} \end{array} \right)$, + 1	2
Theodora . . . . .	..	C. 4 (illeg.) ¹	1
Delmatius	A.D. 335-7	C. 14 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{PCONST} \end{array} \right)$	1
Constantine II (as Caesar)	A.D. 317-37	C. 122 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{PLG} \end{array} \right)$, TRP, TRP, SMALA, + 1	5
Constantius II (as Caesar)	A.D. 323-37	C. 92 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{SMTSI} \end{array} \right)$, 105 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{SCONST} \end{array} \right)$	2
(as Augustus)	A.D. 337-61	C. 93 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{TRP} \end{array} \right)$, 100 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{AQP} \end{array} \right)$, 101 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{TRS} \end{array} \right)$, 293 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{TRP} \end{array} \right)$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{TRP} \end{array}$	5
Constans (as Caesar)	A.D. 333-7	C. 50 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{PLG} \end{array} \right)$	1
(as Augustus)	A.D. 337-50	C. 179 $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{TRP} \end{array} \right)$ [2], $\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{TRP} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{M} \\ \text{TRS} \end{array}$, $\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{TRS} \end{array}$	5
Total			70

C = Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed.
Numbers in square brackets indicate the number of coins
of the particular type. The plus sign (+) following the mint-

marks within brackets indicates the number of coins of the
particular type, of which the mint-marks are illegible.

¹ Found near but not in the hoard, no doubt a straggler.
See pp. 334-5.

issues. As was to be expected from such a site, the first three centuries of Roman rule are poorly represented with 77 coins in all; even some of these are likely to have been in circulation in the late fourth century. It is, however, noticeable that there are 299 coins of the period A.D. 300 to 360, and only 150 certainly to be attributed to the later fourth century, when the temple was built and occupied. These figures clearly show for how long a time the Constantinian issues, particularly those of the middle of the fourth century, remained in common circulation.

I. *Republican*

<i>British Museum Catalogue</i> , i, p. 298, 2330 ff. (87 B.C.)	.	.	.	1
<i>Ibid.</i> i, p. 418, 3373 ff. (71 B.C.)	.	.	.	1
			Total	2

II. *Imperial Coins: see pp. 338-42*

3. ENGLISH COIN

From the site of a brick-and-timber barn within the hornwork of the eastern entrance.

Silver half-groat of Queen Elizabeth. Mint-mark, crosslet, i.e. 1558-61.

Obv. Bust to l. ELIZABETH D.G.ANG. FR. ET HI. REGINA.

Rev. Arms on cross fourchée. POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM.

(Cf. *Brit. Mus. Handbook of Coins of Great Britain*, 1899, p. 99, no. 521; G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 1932, pl. XLII, 8.)

HUMAN BONES

Dr. G. M. Morant, of the Galton Laboratory, University College, London, and Mr. Christopher Goodman have very kindly examined all the human bones from Maiden Castle and have subsequently published a detailed account of them.¹ For the present report they have supplied a few selected data and have suggested certain general conclusions (see below, p. 356).²

Of the neolithic skeletons, that of the extensively mutilated man in the Long Mound is of unusual interest, and suggests anthropological problems which are touched upon elsewhere (p. 21).

The Iron Age skeletons form a substantially homogeneous series. Iron Age A is

¹ In *Biometrika*, xxxi (1940), 295.

² Where the lists prepared by Dr. Morant and Mr. Goodman (p. 357) exceed in total numbers the skeletons

here described, the difference is due to the omission of insignificant fragments from the present section.

II. Imperial

EMPEROR	DATE	R	Æ	REFERENCES	TOTAL
Caligula	A.D. 37-41	..	2	43, 44	2
Vespasian	69-79	..	1	1 illegible <i>as</i>	1
Domitian	81-96	..	2	340, 356b	2
Hadrian	117-38	..	5	535b + 4 illegible <i>sestertii</i>	5
Antoninus Pius	138-61	..	1	1 illegible <i>dupondius</i>	1
Faustina I	Died 140	..	2	(Antoninus Pius) 1099 ff. + 1 illegible <i>as</i>	2
Marcus Aurelius	161-80	..	1	1 illegible <i>sestertius</i>	1
Lucilla	..	..	1	(Marcus Aurelius) 1779	1
Commodus	180-92	..	2	307a or 326a + 1 illegible <i>sestertius</i>	2
1st or 2nd cent.	..	..	1	1 <i>Æ</i>	1
Julia Domna	193-211	..	1	(Septimius Severus) 848	1
Severus Alexander	222-35	1	2	45, 407, 525	3
				All Antoniniani	
Gallienus	260-8 (Sole)	166 (illeg.)	176 ($\frac{1}{\epsilon}$), 208 ($\frac{1}{N}$, +1), 210 ($\frac{1}{N}$), 214 ($\frac{1}{X1}$), 330 var. ($\frac{1}{X1}$), 499 (illeg.)		8
Claudius II	268-70	14 or 15 (illeg.), 315 (illeg.), 34 ($\frac{1}{1}$), 36 ($\frac{1}{1}$), 49 (illeg.), 94 ($\frac{1}{S}$), 150 (illeg.), 261 (illeg.), 266 (2 illeg.), one consecration obverse with reverse VBERTAS AVG			10
Quintillus	270	24 ($\frac{1}{X1}$)			1
Aurelian	270-5	24 ($\frac{1}{\Delta}$)			1
Tacitus	275-6	89 ($\frac{1}{XXIB}$)			1
Probus	276-82	119 ($\frac{1}{D1}$)			1
Victorinus	268-70	61, 71 [3], 114 ($\frac{V1*}{*}$, $\frac{*}{1}$), 118 but <i>Laetitia</i> type, one ? barbarous <i>Victory</i> type			8
Tetricus I	270-3	56 or 59, 87, 100 [4], 101, 100 or 101, 121 or 123, 136, 130-6			11
Tetricus II	270-3	272			1
Carausius	287-93	301 ($\frac{S1P}{C}$), 880 [2]			3
Allectus	293-6	35 ($\frac{S1A}{ML}$), 124 ($\frac{1}{QC}$)			2
Radiate crowns	c. 253-96	One <i>Pax</i> type with vertical sceptre; remainder barbarous, including two <i>Pax</i> type and one ? <i>Laetitia</i> type			8

EMPEROR	DATE	REFERENCES	TOTAL
	A.D.	All \bar{A} except where specified (Julian \bar{R} , Arcadius and Honorius \bar{A})	
Diocletian	284-305	87 $\left(\frac{\bar{A}}{\text{PLG}} \right)$	1
Licinius I	308-24	49 $\left(\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PTR}} [2] \right)$	2
Constantine I	306-37	16 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \cdot \text{STR} \right)$, 20 $\left(\frac{\text{STR}}{\text{STR}} \right)$, 250 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{ASIS}} \right)$, 251 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{ASIS}} \right)$, 253 $\left(\frac{\text{STR}}{\text{STR}} \cdot \text{TRS} \right)$, 254 $\left(\frac{\text{PLG}}{\text{PLG}} \cdot \text{TRP} \cdot \text{TR} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{ASIS} \right)$, 256 $\left(\frac{\text{PCONST}}{\text{PCONST}} \cdot \text{CONST} \right)$, 442 $\left(\frac{\text{S|A}}{\text{PTR}} \right)$, 454 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \right)$, 487 $\left(\frac{\text{PLON}}{\text{PLON}} \right)$, 530 $\left(\frac{\text{S|F}}{\text{PLN}} \cdot \text{PTR} [2] \right)$, 534 $\left(\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PLN}} \right)$, 536 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{PLN}} \cdot \text{PLN} \right)$, 633 (illeg.), 636 $\left(\frac{\text{TARL}}{\text{TARL}} \right)$, 640 $\left(\frac{\text{PLN}}{\text{PLN}} \right)$, 665 $\left(\frac{\text{S|F}}{\text{PCONST}} \right)$, 689 $\left(\frac{\text{C|R}}{\text{PLG}} \right)$, 695 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \right)$	29
Constantinopolis	330-7	21/22 $\left(\text{PCONST}, \text{SCONST}, \text{PLG} [4], \cdot \text{PLG}, \cdot \text{PLG}, \text{R} \cdot \text{TRP} \cdot \text{TRP} \cdot \text{TRS} \right)$	12
Urbs Roma	330-7	17/18 $\left(\text{PLG} [3], \cdot \text{PLG}, \text{TRP} [2], \text{TRP}, \text{TRP}, \text{TRP} \cdot \text{TRP} \cdot \text{TRP} [2], \text{TRP}, \text{TRS}, \text{TRS} \right)$, $\text{TRS} \cdot [2], \text{TR} \cdot +4$ illegible (1 barbarous)	20
Helena	Diel 328	4 $\left(\text{TR} \right)$, 12 $\left(\frac{\text{PTRE}}{\text{PTRE}} \right)$	2
Theodora	..	4 $\left(\text{TRP}, \text{TRP}, \text{TRS} [2], \cdot \text{TRS} \right)$	7
Fausta	..	15 $\left(\text{SMKA} \right)$	1
Crispus	317-26	15 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \right)$, 22 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \cdot \text{STR} \right)$, 45 $\left(\frac{\text{PLON}}{\text{PLON}} \right)$, 124 $\left(\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{PTR}} \right)$	5
Constantine II	317-40	8 var. $\left(\frac{\text{PLON}}{\text{PLON}} \right)$, 10 var. $\left(\frac{\text{PLON}}{\text{PLON}} \right)$, 38 $\left(\frac{\text{PLON}}{\text{PLON}} \right)$, 113 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{O}} \cdot \text{TRS} \right)$, $\text{TR} \cdot$, 114 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{O}} \cdot \text{PLG} \cdot \text{PLG} \right)$, 114 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{O}} [2] \right)$, 114 $\left(\frac{\text{TRS}}{\text{TRS}} \right)$, 119 $\left(\frac{\text{O}}{\text{O}} \cdot \text{CONST} \right)$, 122 $\left(\text{SLG} [2], \cdot \text{SLG} [2], \text{TRP}, \text{TR} \cdot \text{S} [2], \text{TRS}, \text{TRS} \right)$, 124 $\left(\frac{\text{R}}{\text{R}} \cdot \text{SCONST} \right)$, $\cdot \text{PLG}$, 160 $\left(\frac{\text{STR}}{\text{STR}} \right)$, 252 $\left(\frac{\text{PLN}}{\text{PLN}} \right)$, 256 $\left(\frac{\text{S|F}}{\text{STR}} \right)$	28

EMPEROR	DATE	REFERENCES	TOTAL
Constantius II	A.D. 324-61	<p>46 ($\overline{\text{CPLG}}[2]$, $\overline{\text{SPLG}}$, $\overline{*PLG}$, $\overline{\text{CSLG}}$, $\overline{\text{LN}}$, $\overline{\text{RT}}$, $\overline{\text{RT}}$, $\overline{\text{TR}}$, $\overline{?TR}$, $\overline{?TR}[2]$, $\overline{?TR}$, $\overline{?TRS}$, $\overline{?TR}$ + 9, of which two are barbarous, one being an overstrike).</p> <p>57 ($\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}[2]$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 93 ($\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{?TRS}$ + 1).</p> <p>92 or 93 ($\overline{\text{TRP}}$), 99 ($\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 100 ($\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{PARL}}$, $\overline{\text{SLG}}$), 101 ($\overline{\text{Y}}$, $\overline{\text{PLG}}$).</p> <p>104 ($\overline{\text{ASIS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 105 ($\overline{\text{CONST}}$), 293 ($\overline{\text{PARL}}$, $\overline{\text{PLG}}$, $\overline{?PLG}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ + 2).</p>	51
Constans	333-50	<p>10 ($\overline{\text{RS}}$, $\overline{\text{RQ}}$), 11 ($\overline{\text{PLG}}$, $\overline{*PLG}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ + 1), 15 ($\overline{\text{PLG}}$ [2]), 15/16 (illeg.), 18 ($\overline{\text{PLG}}$, $\overline{\text{R*T}}$, $\overline{\text{BSISAM}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 21 ($\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [2], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [4] + 1), 22 ($\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [5], $\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [6], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ + 1), 52 ($\overline{\text{Y}}$, $\overline{\text{PLG}}$), $\overline{*ASIS}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TR}}$ + 1), 55 ($\overline{\text{Y}}$, $\overline{\text{SLG}}$), 57 ($\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 67 ($\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{SIS}}$), 76 ($\overline{\text{SCONST}}$), 77 ($\overline{\text{R}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$), 102 ($\overline{\text{R}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), 179 ($\overline{\text{C}}$, $\overline{\text{D}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [7], $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [3], $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [2], $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ [3], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [4], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [2], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [4], $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ [2], $\overline{\text{TR}}$ [2], $\overline{\text{TR}}$, $\overline{\text{STR}}$, $\overline{\text{D}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}$ + 2), 183 ($\overline{\text{TR}}$).</p> <p><i>Fel. Temp. Reparatus</i> ($\overline{\text{CPLG}}$, $\overline{[T]RP}$ + 4), barbarous ditto 22 including five overstrikes.</p> <p>Two Victories type ($\overline{\text{TR}}$, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$), $\overline{\text{D}}$ + 4, one being barbarous)</p> <p>7 ($\overline{\text{SLG}}$ + 1)</p>	93
Constantius II or Constans	340-61		35
Constantius Gallus	..		2
House of Constantine	330-42	<p><i>Gloria Exercitus</i>, two standards ($\overline{\text{TRS}}$ + 1), one standard ($\overline{\text{PCONST}}$, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\overline{\text{TR}}$ [2], $\overline{?TR}$ + 2 barbarous), two Victories type with VOT PR ($\overline{\text{N}}$) + 1 illegible</p>	11

[illegible]

insufficiently represented for comparative study, but Iron Age B and C have produced over fifty skeletons from which significant particulars are available. Pending the detailed analysis by Dr. Morant and Mr. Goodman, it can only be observed here that the average heights are, in the case of males, 5 ft. 4½ in.—5 ft. 5¼ in., and, in the case of females, a fraction over 5 ft. Skull-forms are commonly mesaticephalic, with a strong tendency to dolichocephalism; most cephalic indices fall between 74 and 77·5, whilst only two are over 80. Putting aside the skeletons from the Belgic War Cemetery, it may be observed that few individuals survived early middle age, only one skeleton in the whole series being credited with a possible 50–60 years. The average Iron Age man or woman at Maiden Castle appears to have died before rather than after the age of 40.

These small, lightly built, short-lived folk were buried, save in one exceptional instance, outside the defences, only infants being buried in odd corners within the town itself. One (no. 8) may have been a foundation-burial at the time of the enlargement of the camp. Another (no. 21) was thrown into a rampart during a reconstruction of the eastern entrance, and, though a woman, probably represents one of the gang or *corvée* employed on the building. Others (nos. 33–6, etc.), in the comparatively late Belgio-Roman period, were buried in regular rows amongst and, in some cases, over the outworks of the eastern entrance. Again others (nos. 49–82), buried with hasty ceremony after battle, have an added importance in that they constitute a war cemetery of the period of the Roman invasion, and can therefore be dated with precision. Infant-burials were common; at least a dozen, often fragmentary, were found in addition to those noted below. Where the position was identifiable, it was flexed as in the case of adults.

Prior to the Belgio-Roman period (Iron Age C), none of the burials was associated with grave-goods, but graves of the period named commonly contained one or more pots, or a joint of mutton, or even, in one case (no. 47), the carcass of a sheep. At all Iron Age periods the dead were buried in a flexed position, exceptions being the tumbled burials in the War Cemetery and one late burial (no. 47), in which the body was extended and enclosed in a coffin.

In four late Roman burials (nos. 83–6) the bodies were extended and oriented, whilst the solitary Saxon burial (no. 87) was also extended and the dead man was buried with his gear.

I. NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE

1. *Skeleton GM1(a)*. Fragment of vault of skull and of distal end of shaft of right radius of a child, perhaps between the ages of 3 and 8. Found with Beaker sherds in the top filling of the main neolithic town-ditch at the eastern entrance of the Iron Age camp.

2. *Skeleton GM1(b)*. Fragments of long bones and pelvis of a child perhaps between the ages of 1 and 3. From the same level as preceding.

3. *Skeleton L*. Fragments of long bones and pelvis of an adult, probably female. A cut on a fragment of a shaft of a femur may possibly have been made at the time of death,

but this is uncertain. From the Neolithic B filling of the ditch of the Long Mound on site L. Late neolithic or Early Bronze Age.

4. *Skeleton R5*. Incomplete brain-box (lacking base) of an adult male, probably 20–25 years of age. Cephalic index about 71. From the middle filling of the outer neolithic town-ditch on site R. Neolithic A–B.

5, 6. *Skeletons Neo.Q2–3*. Bones of two children, probably 6 or 7 years old, buried together north and south in crouched positions, head to tail, in a shallow grave cut into the ancient turf-line and sealed by the eastern end of the neolithic Long Mound (see above, p. 22, and pl. iv). A pygmy vessel of simple Neolithic A form (fig. 29, 50) was buried by the shoulder of one of the skeletons.

7. *Skeleton Neo.Q1*. This remarkable burial, on the axis of the neolithic Long Mound and near its eastern end (pls. xli–lii), was doubtless the principal primary burial of this structure. The bones lay together in a shallow grave scraped into the ancient turf-line, and were sealed by the mound.

The significance of the burial is discussed above (p. 21). In regard to the actual bones, Dr. G. M. Morant reports as follows:

The individual was a male with muscles developed to an average extent for his sex. He was probably between 25 and 35 years old at death with teeth showing remarkably little sign of wear and none lost. His stature was about 5 ft. 4 in. The skull, when pieced together, was too distorted for precise measurement, but it was very long and the cephalic index had been about 70.

On the whole the bones of the skeleton are well preserved—the vertebrae, ribs, and pelvis being most decayed—and the damage which it suffered before interment must have hastened disintegration of the missing parts.

The skull, most of the long bones of the arms and legs, and the pelvis show signs of having been hacked with considerable force by a sharp instrument, but no such signs were found on any other of the extant parts of the skeleton. One or more of these injuries may have been the cause of death, but nearly all of them must have been inflicted on the cadaver, the possibility of the mutilation having been effected after the integuments had disintegrated being ruled out for reasons discussed below. The cut surfaces show no signs of healing, so no one of the injuries can have been received at any length of time before death.

There is evidence of intentional damage to the skull at the following sites:

Frontal bone. This shows signs of a few cuts, but it is probable that no part of the bone, except chips, was excised by the operator.

Left parietal bone. Several cuts were made, apparently with the intention of removing the roughly circular fragment left detached on the restored skull (pl. xlii, B). This rondelle was not cut all the way round, but the greater part of its margin was freed and the fragment was probably broken off by impact or leverage. This operation was remarkably neat, no ineffective cuts having been made. It was quite different in nature from any recognized mode of trepanation of the living subject. The

absence of ineffective cuts and the straightness of the cut edge suggests that the operation was performed by holding one flint—possibly a fragment such as that found in the face—in contact with the bone and hitting the butt-end of this flint with a heavy object.

Occipital bone at the extreme back of the head (region of inion). There is clear sign of cutting here, but it is probable that no part was removed except chips. As this is the strongest part of the skull, an attempt to cut through it may well have been abandoned.

Base of the skull. This was cut through from behind along a transverse line extending right across the occipital bone—a little above the level of the spinal foramen—and across the mastoid part of the right temporal bone. The line of the cut is remarkably straight. There is sign of a deep cut on the left temporal bone, rather in front of the auricular passage. It is not possible to discover more particularly how the base of the skull was treated as the greater part of it is missing, which is a significant fact. The treatment from behind probably broke the base into a considerable number of pieces: a few of these, including the greater part of the margin of the spinal foramen, were forced into the palate together with fragments of vertebrae, but the majority of them were not found.

Although separated from the brain-box and broken into several pieces, the skeleton of the face is far less damaged than would have been anticipated, and it shows no signs of intentional damage. The rami of the lower jaw were injured, but otherwise the bone is perfectly intact.

A tentative reconstruction of the operation on the head can be offered. It was probably treated after decapitation. Since the cutting of the base was most extensive, it must be supposed that this was attacked last. The abandoned attempts to make holes in the frontal and occipital (inionic) regions were probably made first, followed by the excision of the piece of the left parietal. When it was realized that the hole made there was not large enough for the purpose in view, the head was placed face downwards—it is conjectured—in soft earth, which favoured the preservation of the face, and the wide transverse cut across the occipital base was made. This broke the base of the skull into pieces and forced some of them into the palate. The opening made was then large enough to remove the brain, which was taken away with some pieces of the base of the skull adhering to it, which would account for their absence. It must be supposed that the vault of the skull collapsed in the concluding stage of the operation and its pieces were scattered to some extent.

The fact that many of the bones of the skeleton are in proper articulation makes it clear that they were operated on when covered with flesh; otherwise it is extremely unlikely that the severed parts of each particular long bone would have remained close to one another and in most cases in alignment, as they were when excavated. At the same time, the cadaver cannot have been intact when it was mutilated by having the limbs broken. It must have been dismembered first, and it is practically certain that this was

done on the spot where it was found, as the two halves of the severed pelvis were close together, though pointing in opposite directions. The 'stratification' suggests that the skull and trunk were operated on first—decapitation probably being the preliminary gesture—the legs next, and the arms last.

The long bones appear to have received attention merely for the purpose of breaking them. All the cuts are more or less perpendicular to the axes of the shafts, and no attempt whatever was made to split them longitudinally. The humeri were more extensively damaged than the other long bones (was someone doing his best to ensure that the victim would never use his arms again?) and the femora received more attention than the lower leg bones. The intentional damage was at the following sites:

Right fibula (24). Several cuts on lateral surface $\frac{1}{2}$ down shaft and bone broken.

Right tibia (23). Several cuts on posterior surface and bone fractured $\frac{1}{4}$ up shaft.

Right femur (21). Cuts on anterior surface and bone fractured $\frac{1}{8}$ up shaft and lateral condyle apparently cut off.

Left fibula (2). One cut on lateral surface and bone probably not broken.

Left tibia (3). Apparently cut $\frac{1}{2}$ up shaft, but probably not broken.

Left femur (1). Several cuts at upper end of shaft and bone cut right through there—also lateral condyle cut off.

Right humerus (45). More mutilated than any other bone—damage chiefly at lower end of shaft and bone cut right through there—also internal condyle cut off.

Right radius (47). Cut through $\frac{1}{2}$ up shaft.

Right ulna (46). Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ down shaft and bone probably fractured.

Left humerus (63). Extensively damaged and cut through in two places—at middle and lower $\frac{1}{4}$ of shaft.

Left radius (65). Apparently not damaged.

Left ulna (64). Entirely undamaged.

The ilium of the right innominate bone was probably cut when the body was dismembered.

II. IRON AGE A

8. *Skeleton* ('foundation' burial) in pit on site H. For general particulars relating to this skeleton, see above, p. 38. It is that of a muscular youth, probably 22–30 years old, height 5 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., and cephalic index of 72.6. Pl. XLIV.

9. *Skeleton* T7. Trench LXIV. Foetus or very young infant in fragmentary condition lying on back with head to north, arms behind back, and legs flexed. The grave was a shallow pit cut in the natural chalk and sealed by the early Iron Age A metalling outside the inner hornwork. Probably of Iron Age A date, but may be earlier.

10. Upper jaw and fragments of facial skeleton only of a child 14–17 years old, found with Iron Age A sherds incorporated in the structure of an Iron Age B rampart on site H.

11. Fragmentary skeleton of an infant about 3 months old, found in an Iron Age A rampart between the portals of the eastern entrance.

12. Fragment of frontal bone of a child about 2 years old, found in an Iron Age A deposit on site L.

13. Skeleton of an infant about 3 months old, found buried under two limestone blocks with Iron Age A sherds beneath the tail of the Iron Age B enlargement of the inner hornwork at the eastern entrance.

14, 15. Skeletons of two more infants about 3 months old were found in Iron Age A levels on sites Q and R.

III. IRON AGE B

16. *Skeleton T11*. Trench XLVIII. Adult female, aged about 40–50 years. Height 5 ft. Cephalic index 75.0. Lying on left side, head towards the west, legs flexed to south. Slight healed wound on left side of frontal bone. In upper filling of the 'Y' ditch at the eastern entrance. Iron Age Bii (end of the first century B.C.). Pl. XLV, A.

17. *Skeleton T9*. Trench LXXV. Incomplete skull and incomplete mandible only of adult male, aged about 20–25 years. In the lowest filling of pit T10, within the outermost rampart of the eastern entrance. The pit contained Biii sherds (first quarter of the first century A.D.).

18. *Skeleton T13*. Trench LXXXIV. Adult female, aged about 30–40 years. Height 4 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 77.3. Lying on right side, head to the south-east (140°), arms bent over body, knees flexed to east. In dome-shaped cist of large chalk lumps on edge of the filling of pit T10 within the outermost rampart of the eastern entrance. Iron Age Biii (first quarter of the first century A.D.). Pl. XLV, B.

19. *Skeleton T14*. Trench LXXV. Adult female, aged about 40–50 years. Height 5 ft. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 73.3. Lying on right side, head to the east-north-east (60°). Legs and arms flexed to the north-east. In filling of pit T10 within the outermost rampart of the eastern entrance. Iron Age Biii (first quarter of the first century A.D.).

20. *Skeleton T17*. Trench CII. Adolescent male? Mandible and incomplete skeleton lacking cranium, lying with head to east. Legs flexed. Associated with bone 'gouge' and bead-rim of Bii-iii. Near but prior to skeleton T13. End of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D.

21. *Skeleton T18*. Trench CXI. Adult female, aged about 45–55 years. Height 5 ft. 3 in. Cephalic index 74.5. Lying on left side with head to the south-east (130°), arms and knees tightly flexed to south. The stratigraphical position of this skeleton shows that it was buried while the large middle rampart was actually under construction in early Iron Age B times (Bi). The body had been thrown in between two tips. (See above, pp. 43, 110, 343). Pl. XLVI.

22. *Skeleton T19*. Trench LIX. Infant, aged about 3 months. Lying in crouched position with head to west. Grave dug in second silting of the 'Y' ditch at the eastern entrance and sealed by a limestone slab. Iron Age Bi (c. third quarter of the first century B.C.).

23. *Skeleton T24*. Trench LXXXIII. Adult female, aged 20–30 years. Height

4 ft. 10½ in. Cephalic index 75.1. Lying on left side, head to the east-north-east (60°). Right arm folded with hand at right side of neck. Left arm folded with hand across left shoulder. Legs tightly flexed to east. The grave was a small oval pit, 2 ft. 4 in. deep, cut through the outer spread of the counterscarp bank of the main defence on the side of the eastern entrance. It was sealed by a thick muddy deposit in which graves of skeletons T11 and T12 (both Belgic) are cut. The burial is almost certainly of Iron Age B, probably Bii (end of the first century B.C.).

24. *Skeleton from pit Q4.* Adult female, aged about 20–30 years. Height 4 ft. 10¾ in. Cephalic index 75.0. Lying on left side, head towards the west-south-west (240°), legs flexed to the north, arms extended by sides. The skeleton was lying in the earth on the bottom of the pit; the layer contained part of a shale bangle, a chalk loom-weight, and 117 sling-pebbles, together with Iron Age Bi sherds (third quarter of first century B.C.). This is the only instance of an adult burial within the defences prior to the late Roman period, with the partial exception of the Iron Age A 'foundation' burial on site H (above, no. 8). Pl. XLVII A.

25. *Skeleton from pit B42.* Fragmentary cranium and right femur of an adult female, possibly 40–50 years of age, found in the filling of this Bii pit. The bony bridge of the nose is prominent and alveolar processes well formed. Teeth show a fair degree of crown-wearing, but no disease. The skull manifests a post-coronal depression of the vault; it shows no signs of fracture or disease. The cephalic index closely approaches 80.

26. *Skeleton N1.* Adult male (probably), aged about 25–35 years. Height 5 ft. 4¾ in. Cephalic index about 75.8. Grave dug into counterscarp bank of main ditch near northern end of hornwork. Head towards the north, facing west, arms slightly bent, legs flexed with thighs at right angles to body. Teeth markedly worn but none lost. Traumatic depression on right parietal. Late B or C; first half of first century A.D.

27. *Skeleton N2.* Adult female, aged 25–35 years. Height 5 ft. Cephalic index 77.9. Left occipital mastoid suture prematurely obliterated, but right open. Upper jaw edentulous and all teeth except two lost from lower jaw before death. Buried in oval pit, in crouched position on right side, head to north-north-east, facing north-north-west. About 10 ft. north of skeleton no. 26 and of similar date.

28. *Skeleton R1.* Bones of an infant about 3 months old, buried in a crouched position, from pit R2. Probably Iron Age B.

29. *Skeleton R2.* Bones of an infant about 3 months old, buried in a crouched position, from pit R1, with Bii pottery. Late first century B.C.

30. *Skeleton R3.* Bones of an infant, probably foetal, from the same pit as the preceding.

IV. IRON AGE C AND EARLY ROMAN

(a) *Remains other than those from the Belgic War Cemetery* (below, p. 351)

A majority of these skeletons, dating approximately from the second quarter of the first century A.D., had been buried in orderly lines within the outworks of the eastern

entrance. The position was usually flexed, with the head towards the north-east, east, or south-east. There is no doubt that further exploration on the southern flank of the central outworks of the entrance would reveal many more burials of this period.

31, 32. Two infant-burials on site B. One (infant-burial 1 on pl. vii, see also pl. XLVII, B) was that of a child nearly 2 years old, buried in a flexed position with the head towards the south-east and facing north-east, covered by a slab on which stood the Belgic bowl, fig. 73, 192; second quarter of first century A.D. The other (infant-burial 2 on pl. vii) was similarly oriented and dated; it was that of a child probably just over a year old.

33. *Skeleton T3*. Trench LII. Adult male. Height 5 ft. 4½ in. Lying on back, head to east (100°), knees tightly flexed to north-east. Skull and upper vertebrae missing, as they had been dug away by an old trench. One of a line of four skeletons (T3, T4, T5, T6), all similarly oriented, in graves sealed by the latest ancient level (a thin layer) in this cutting. Iron Age C (Belgo-Roman), c. A.D. 25-50. See pl. xiii.

34. *Skeleton T4*. Trench LVIII. Adult male, aged 40-50 years. Height 5 ft. 5 in. Lying on right side, head towards the north-east (40°). Legs and arms flexed towards west. Legs and ribs of lamb over the right pelvis. Same series as preceding. Pl. XLVIII, A.

35. *Skeleton T5*. Trench LXI. Adult male. Height 5 ft. 5¼ in. Lying on right side, head to east-north-east (70°). Knees tightly flexed to north, arms bent across body. Skull missing, as it had been dug away by an old trench. The right elbow-joint had sustained a severe injury, and there were healed fractures on the left radius (near wrist) and left fibula (near ankle), the latter bone being fused to the tibia. Same series as preceding.

36. *Skeleton T6*. Trench LXV. Adult female, aged about 30-40 years. Height 5 ft. 0½ in. Cephalic index 74.7. Lying on right side, head to north-east (45°), knees flexed to north. Wheel-turned Belgic pot with bead-rim, chevron decoration, and pedestal base (fig. 73, 188) inverted above feet. Same series as preceding.

37. *Skeleton T10*. Trench LXXV. Adult male. Height 5 ft. 7½ in. Cephalic index 67.0? Lying on right side, with head to south-south-east (160°), arms bent over chest and legs flexed to north-east. Two slingstones beside skull, one by legs, one by left shoulder. This burial was in a grave sealed by the latest ancient level. Belgo-Roman, c. A.D. 25-50.

38. *Skeleton T11*. Trench LXXXIII. Adult male, aged 25-35 years. Height 5 ft. 5¼ in. Cephalic index 75.4. Lying on back with head to east-north-east (60°). Head turned to right, arms bent up to sides, legs flexed to north-west. Ox bones in filling of grave above head. In a grave in the latest ancient level. Belgo-Roman.

39. *Skeleton T12*. Trench LXXXIII. Adult female, aged about 20-30 years. Height 4 ft. 11½ in. Cephalic index 77.2. Lying on back with head to east-north-east (60°). Skull facing right, arms folded across ribs, knees tightly flexed to north. Left humerus markedly deformed, probably by inflammatory condition of soft tissues. Wheel-made Belgic pot with countersunk handle on its side 1 ft. 3 in. above skeleton in filling of grave. In a grave in the latest ancient level. Belgo-Roman. Pl. XLVIII, B.

40. *Skeleton T16*. Trench C. Adult male, aged about 20-30 years. Height 5 ft. 4¾ in.

Lying on back with head to south-east (125°). Legs bent to north. Left hand on pelvis, right arm stretched towards right knee. The burial was very near the surface, and this probably accounts for the fact that the skull is incomplete. Date not certain, but late and probably Belgo-Roman.

41. *Skeleton T20*. Trench CXXVI. Adult male, aged about 25–35 years. Height 5 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cephalic index 72.0. Lying on right side with head to south-south-east (162°). Legs and arms tightly flexed to south-east. Bead-rim pot with foot-ring immediately to the east of the head, found on its side with the mouth to the east (fig. 73, 189). Grave on edge of ditch E (see plan, fig. 9) and cut through lower chalky filling and natural chalk before surface-traces of the ditch were finally obliterated by a thick layer of clay. Early part of Belgo-Roman period, soon after A.D. 25. Pl. XLIX.

42. *Skeleton T21*. Trench CXXVII. Adult female, aged about 20–30 years. Height 5 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Lying on face with head to east (100°). Left arm bent at side, legs bent back from knee only. Grave in and sealed by Belgo-Roman levels.

43. *Skeleton T22*. Trench CXXVII. Adult female, aged about 20–30 years. Height 5 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 71.9. Lying on right side with head to north-east (42°). Knees flexed to north-west. Healed wound on frontal bone. Close to, and stratigraphically identical with, no. 42. Belgo-Roman.

44. *Skeleton T25*. Trench CXXIX. Adult male? aged about 25–35 years. Height 5 ft. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 73.9. Lying on left side with head to north-east (55°). Arms bent up to face, legs flexed to east. Grave an oval pit overlying that of skeleton no. 45. Belgo-Roman level.

45. *Skeleton T26*. Trench CXXIX. Adult female. Height 5 ft. $0\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 74.2. Lying on left side, head to north-west (315°). Arms and legs flexed to west. Half a pig's head on left side of skull. Early Belgo-Roman level.

46. *Skeleton T27*. Trench CXXXII. Incomplete skeleton of female adult. Cephalic index 80.7. Lying with head to south-east (127°), knees flexed. Spiral bronze toe-ring amidst the bones of the feet. Grave on northern lip of ditch B (see plan, fig. 8), in Belgo-Roman layer and sealed by the latest ancient level, c. A.D. 25–50.

47. *Skeleton T28*. Trench CXXXII. Adult female, aged about 25–35 years. Height 5 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Stretched full length on back with head to south (182°), skull incomplete. In a square-cut grave, round the edge of which large iron coffin-nails were found. Smaller boot-nails were also found near the feet. The headless skeleton of a lamb, oriented to south-west, lay in articulation under the pelvis and vertebrae, and a young dog had been buried east of the body near the skull. The dog lay with its head to south and was probably outside the coffin, as it was 10 in. higher up in the filling of the grave. Sealed by the latest ancient level; probably early Roman. For an extended Belgo-Roman burial (Claudian period), compare *Verulamium Report* (1936), p. 133. Pls. L–LI.

48. *Skeleton T29*. Trench CXXIX. Adolescent female. Cephalic index 78.0. Lying on right side, head to east (100°). Legs and arms flexed to north. Oval grave cut in make-up of main counterscarp rampart. Iron arrow-head (fig. 93, 4) in the grave, south

of skull, in a position suggesting that the shaft had been held in the hands. Belgo-Roman.

V. THE WAR CEMETERY OF C. A.D. 44, WITHIN THE OUTWORKS OF THE
EASTERN ENTRANCE

The general circumstances of the burial of thirty-four skeletons, many of them bearing sword-cuts and one with an iron arrow-head in the spine, have been discussed above, p. 62. The pottery and other objects found in the graves have been described on pp. 231 and 278. The present section includes a description of the cemetery, grave by grave, but full anatomical data are in publication in *Biometrika*. Dr. G. M. Morant and Mr. Christopher Goodman, who together very kindly undertook the detailed examination of the skeletons, have supplied an interesting summary report which, at the risk of some slight duplication, is printed in full below.

The general orientation of the skeletons is east-west, with the head towards the east or south-east, but the obvious haste and anxiety with which the interments were carried out (p. 119) is probably reflected in the occasional variations.

The mutilations which many of the skeletons bear are of three kinds. There are several specimens with one or more cuts which must have been made by swords, and in the majority of cases it is clear that a very effective weapon was being used with the utmost force of a man's arm. For example, a single cut appears to have detached a rondelle of bone from the vault of a massive male cranium (P34, see pl. LV, c), and another single cut extends right across the frontal bone of a male cranium of average thickness (P2, pl. LIII, A). The second kind of injury is only found on one specimen (P7, pl. LIII, D). This has a square hole in the left temporal squama which must have been made by a sharp-pointed weapon—since there are no cracks—having a square section, such as a ballista-bolt (cf. fig. 93, 1 and 2). The third kind of injury cannot be detected with the same assurance, but it is extremely probable that some of the crania were damaged by blows with weapons—whether properly so called or improvised—lacking a sharp edge or point. Some of the sword-cuts were evidently inflicted with sufficient force to reduce parts not hit directly, and particularly the fragile facial skeletons, to fragments. But a few skulls were found in fragments, although no sword-cuts can be detected on them. The breaks were certainly made anciently in these cases, as can be judged from the condition of the broken surfaces of the pieces, and it is very unlikely that all were due to earth pressure in the grave. Most of the long bones in the Belgic War Cemetery were found intact, and they do not suggest that the skeletons suffered much posthumous damage.

In the majority of cases it is not possible to tell whether the head injuries of the Belgic defenders of Maiden Castle were the cause of death, or whether they were made on cadavers. There are examples of single cuts which may well have been fatal. A few of the specimens have multiple injuries, however, and some of these must have been inflicted after it was quite clear that the victim was dead. The most striking example of

this kind is furnished by the imperfect skull-cap of a young man with exceptional muscular development (P12, pl. LIV, A). There are at least nine sword-cuts on it, and it appears to have been damaged by blows as well.

It can be seen from Table I (p. 357) that 23 male and 11 female skeletons were excavated from the Belgic War Cemetery. The adults of both sexes are of various ages. Of the males, there are 18 with skulls, all of which are more or less imperfect, and 11 of these 18 specimens show mutilations. Of the females, there are 7 with skulls, and 3 of these 7 specimens show mutilations.

Photographs of most of the affected skulls are reproduced in pls. LIII-LV. It should be realized that some of the specimens were restored in the laboratory by sticking together detached fragments of bone, so that they appear more whole now than they were after the legionaries had taken their revenge.

49. *Skeleton P2*. Adult male, age uncertain. Height 5 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Lying on the back, head towards the north-east, knees drawn up towards the east. Left arm folded across chest, right arm outstretched down the side, a pottery mug (fig. 72, 185) by the right wrist. On the big toe of the right foot a bronze spiral ring (fig. 92, 1). For the use of toe-rings, see above, p. 278. The skull shows a single cut extending across the frontal bone to the parietal dating from the time of death. The greater part of the left side of the cranial vault and all the facial skeleton except the mandible are missing. Pls. LIII, A and LVI.

50. *Skeleton P5*. Adult female, aged 20-30 years. Height 5 ft. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 73.1. Lying on the right side, head towards the north-east, knees drawn up towards the north-west. Hands crossed below the chin. A British coin (above, p. 331, no. 4) was found in the grave, but whether it was deliberately associated with the burial could not be determined. Single long cut along line of lambdoid suture. Pl. LIII, B.

51. *Skeleton P6*. Adult male, aged 25-30 years. Height 5 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cephalic index 69.6 (?) Lying on the back, head towards the south-south-west (195°), knees drawn up towards the north-north-east. Arms bent at right angles across the body. Pottery bowl (fig. 72, 171) beside the left humerus. The skull bears no evidence of cuts, but the left parietal was probably fractured before death, the detached pieces of bone having become warped posthumously. Pl. LVII, A.

52, 53. *Skeletons P7 and P7A* were buried simultaneously, with P7A partially overlying P7. Skeleton P7, adult male, aged 25-30 years, height 5 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., cephalic index 3.4 (?), outstretched on the back, head towards the east-south-east (120°). Arms by the side. Two pots (fig. 72, 172-3) beside the left femur. A long cut extends sagittally across the frontal bone; there are two short cuts on the right parietal; and the left temporal squama is pierced by a weapon with square section, possibly a Roman ballista bolt of the type illustrated above, fig. 93, 1 and 2. Skeleton P7A, adult male, aged 20-30 years, height 5 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Outstretched on the back, similar orientation to P7. Right hand on pelvis, left hand on chest. Iron arrow-head (fig. 93, 13, and pl. LVIII, A) fixed in the twelfth thoracic vertebra. A cut, which removed a lamina of bone from the inferior border of the right side of the mandible, extends from a point below the second

molar to the symphysis. Trace of suture across right parietal bone: this is a very rare anomaly. Pls. LIII, c and d, and LVIII, A.

54. *Skeleton P8*. Adult male. Height 5 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Lying outstretched on the back, head (mostly missing) towards the east-south-east. Right arm by side, left arm missing. The skeleton was close to the surface and had been badly mutilated by agricultural operations.

55. *Skeleton P9*. Adult male, aged 25-35 years. Height 5 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 77.7. Lying outstretched on the back, head towards the south-east (136°). Arms by the sides, fore-quarter of lamb held by the left hand.¹ Three cuts on the cranial vault, all close to the bregma; the most severe of these was about 9 cm. long. Pl. LVII, B.

56. *Skeleton P11*. Adult male, aged 20-30 years. Height 5 ft. 5 in. Cephalic index 77.8 (?). Lying on the back, head towards the south-east, legs flexed towards the south-west. Right arm bent across the body, left by the side.

57. *Skeleton P12*. Adult male, aged 20-30 years. Height 5 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Lying on the face, head towards the east, knees flexed towards the north, arms by the sides. The skull has been extensively mutilated. It received at least nine cuts and was probably damaged by blows as well. The injuries extend from the left orbit to the supra-occipital region. The skeletons suggests that this man was decidedly stronger than the average. Pl. LIV, A.

58. *Skeleton P14*. Adult female, aged 20-30 years. Height 5 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Lying on the face, head towards the south-east, legs flexed towards the south-west, arms bent behind the body (possibly bound at the time of death). Piece of bone cut from occiput, probably by three blows. Double iron ring (fig. 92, 5) on the third and fourth fingers of the right hand. Leg of lamb in the left hand. Pls. LIV, B and LVIII, B.

59, 60, 61. *Skeletons P16, 17, and 18*. Three skeletons, all fragmentary (damaged by plough), and possibly all originally in the same shallow grave. P18, adult male, 20-30 years, height 5 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., cephalic index 77.4, had been lying on the back with the head (facing left) towards the south-east. Immediately in front of the face was a pot (fig. 72, 187).

62, 63. *Skeletons P19 and P19A* occupied the same grave and were buried simultaneously side by side. P19, adult female, aged 25-30 years, height 5 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., cephalic index 74.1, lay outstretched on the back, head towards the south-east, right arm bent across the chest, left arm at the side. Above the right shoulder was a pot (fig. 72, 174). The skull was propped up and the neck dislocated, apparently at the time of death. P19A, adult male, aged 40-50 years, height 5 ft. 1 in., south of P19, lay on the back with the head towards the south-east and legs flexed to the north-east. The arms were bent across the body. The skull, marked and distorted by earth-pressure, showed a healed wound (?) above the left orbit. A spiral bronze ring (fig. 92, 2) was worn on the smallest toe of the left foot, and a leg of mutton lay on the chest. Pl. LV, A and LIX, A.

64. *Skeleton P20*. Adolescent female, aged 18-20 years. Cephalic index 83.7. Lying on the back, head towards the south-east, legs flexed to the north-east, arms by the sides. Mutton bones near the right hand and on the chest. There are unossified epiphyses

¹ For analogies in Scandinavia in the Roman period see D. P. Dobson in *Greece and Rome*, v (1936), 76, 82.

at the proximal ends of the humeri, the distal end of the left radius, the distal end of the right ulna, and at the left ilio-pubic articulation. There are traces of a severe healed injury to the right side of the facial skeleton. Pl. LIX, B.

65. *Skeleton P21*. Adult male (?), aged 25-35 years. Lying on the back, head towards the south-east, right arm by the side, left arm bent across the body, legs missing.

66, 67. *Skeletons P22 and P23* were buried simultaneously, with the right leg of P23 between the legs of P22. P22, adult male, aged 25-35 years, height 5 ft. 4 in., cephalic index 71.6, lay on the left side with the head towards the east (100°), the legs flexed loosely towards the south, and the arms by the sides. The skeleton showed signs of muscular development above the average. P23, adult male, aged 25-35 years, height 5 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., cephalic index 77.4, lay on the back with the head towards the east-south-east (122°), the legs each bent outwards, the right arm bent upwards and outwards, and the left arm bent across the body. Five pottery vessels were included in the grave: no. 1, a bowl (fig. 72, 175), lay on the right hand of P23; no. 2, a bowl (fig. 72, 176), lay on the right elbow of P23; no. 3, a lid (fig. 72, 183), lay on the pelvis of P22; nos. 4 and 5, bowls (fig. 72, 177 and 178), lay together by the left tibia of P23. An iron axe-head (fig. 92, 8) lay edge downwards on the left chest of P22, and partially under it lay an iron knife (fig. 92, 6), whilst below the lower jaw lay a bronze 'ear-scoop' (fig. 92, 7). Pl. LX.

68, 69. *Skeletons P24 and P25* occupied the same grave and were buried simultaneously. P24, adult male, aged 30-40 years, height 5 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., lay on the right side with the head towards the south-east, the left leg straight, the right leg flexed to the north-east, and partially underlying P25, the arms by the sides. Fragment of bone cut from the posterior border of the left ramus of the mandible; and the cranial vault was probably smashed by blows at the time of death. P25, adult male, aged 50-60 years, height 5 ft. 7 in., cephalic index 74.3, lay on the left side, the head towards the south-south-east, the legs flexed to the south-south-west, the arms straight and somewhat spread from the body. The skull of P25 was also probably smashed by blows at the time of death, but there is no evidence of sword-cuts. Behind the head of P25 lay a bowl with omphalos (fig. 72, 180), and another bowl (fig. 72, 179) lay beside the left femur of P24. Against the head of P25 lay an ox-skull. Osseous deposits on muscular ridges of left femur and left fibula of P25.

70, 71. *Skeletons P26 and P27* occupied the same grave and were buried simultaneously side by side. P26, an adult female, aged 20-30 years, height 5 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., cephalic index 72.3, lay on the face, the head towards the east-south-east, the legs bent backwards at the knees, the right arm by the side and overlying the right side of P27, the left arm bent underneath the body. The skull shows a single long cut on the left parietal bone, penetrating to the brain-cavity. P27, an adult male, aged 30-40 years, height 5 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., cephalic index 76.5, lay on the back, the head towards the east-south-east and drooping over the right shoulder, the legs extended, left crossed over right, the arms by the sides. The skull bears a small healed wound on the frontal bone and a long cut on

the left parietal (through to the brain-cavity) with cracks at its extremities and a superficial cut, made before the severe one, removing a slice of bone near the mid-point of the sagittal suture. On the left wrist of P27 was an iron bracelet (fig. 92, 9). Pls. LIV, c and D, and LXI, A.

72. *Skeleton P28*. Adult male, aged 30-40 years. Height 5 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 80.3. Lying on the back, head towards the north-east, the knees flexed towards the north-west, the hands resting on the pelvis. Above the skull lay an ox-bone, and in the filling of the grave was a plain bronze ring (fig. 92, 4) which may have been in association with the body. Pl. LXI, B.

73, 74. *Skeletons P29 and P36* were buried one above the other, P29 being uppermost. The two burials have separate graves, but the interments clearly took place when P36 still retained flesh and sinews, since the bones were not displaced by the overlying burial; moreover, both graves are filled with the identical material. P29, adult male, aged 25-35 years, height 5 ft. 3 in., cephalic index 76.4, lay on the face with the head to the north-east, the knees flexed towards the north-west, the arms bent up under the body. P36, an adult female, aged 25-30 years, height 4 ft. 9 in., cephalic index 87.0, lay on the back with the head towards the south-east (143°), the knees flexed towards the north-east, the right arm by the side and the left arm bent across the body. The skull is of a different type from the others, particularly in its facial skeleton (p. 358). There were traces of a healed fracture of the left fibula. By the right hand lay a pottery bowl (fig. 72, 182), and by the right humerus lay a saucer or lid (fig. 72, 184).

75. *Skeleton P30*. Adult male, aged 25-35 years. Height 5 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 75.1. Lying on the back, head towards the east, legs bent outwards, feet together, right arm by the side, left hand on centre of chest. On one of the smaller toes of the right foot was a bronze spiral ring (fig. 92, 3). A piece of bone had been cut from the mandible to the left of the chin. Pl. LV, B.

76. *Skeleton P31*. A small female, aged 25-35 years. Height 4 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cephalic index 75.4. Lying on left side with head towards the south-west, knees flexed towards the north-west, hands on the chest. The hip-joints are antiglozed. Pl. LXIII, A.

77. *Skeleton P33*. Adult female, age uncertain. Height 4 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Lying on the back towards the north-north-east (10°), skull missing, knees flexed to the south-south-east, right arm bent over ribs. Shale armlet (fig. 92, 10) round the right arm just above the elbow.

78. *Skeleton P34*. Adult male. Height 5 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 72.0. Lying on the right side, head to the south-west (225°), legs flexed backwards, right arm by the side, left bent across the body. The skeleton showed signs of muscular development above the average. A rondelle of bone had been cut from the frontal bone, probably by one terrific blow. A pottery bowl (fig. 72, 181) lay beside the right elbow, two sling-stones by the right humerus and a third by the left shoulder. A fragmentary iron dress-clasp (fig. 92, 10a) lay beside the left shoulder. Pls. LV, c and LXIII, B.

79. *Skeleton P37*. Adult female, aged 25-35 years. Height 5 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic

index 77.6. Lying on the right side, the head towards the south (180°), the knees drawn up, the right arm straight with the wrist between the two femurs, the left forearm bent back to the shoulder. The spine had been severed above the fifth lumbar vertebra at death.

80. *Skeleton P38*. Adult male, aged about 25–30 years. Height 5 ft. 5 in. Cephalic index 75.7. Lying on the back, the head towards the south-east, right leg flexed outwards, left leg flexed upwards, right arm flexed across the body, left arm by the side.

81. *Skeleton P39*. Adult male, aged about 25–30 years. Height 5 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 75.3. Lying on the right side, head towards the south-east, knees flexed towards the north-east, hands together and resting on the pelvis.

82. *Skeleton P40 (O4)*. Adult female, aged about 25–35 years. Height 4 ft. 11 in. Cephalic index 71.6. Teeth markedly worn, and several had been lost before death. The skeleton was feebly developed and all crests of long bones sharp and prominent. It was recovered from the falling side of an exploratory trench, cut late in the year, and its orientation and posture are uncertain. With it was the pot illustrated in fig. 72, 186.

In addition to the above thirty-four skeletons, four other skeletons, found in a very fragmentary condition, had belonged to the cemetery. With one of them was a dog's skull, with another a bowl of the type already described.

VI. LATE ROMAN

Four late Roman burials (QI–IV) were found, overlying the southern ditch of the neolithic Long Mound near the original western rampart of the Iron Age Camp (see plan and section, pl. v). The burials were only partially uncovered, but they were evidently extended on their backs, with the heads towards the west (275 – 285°). Their date was indicated partly by their high level and partly by the inclusion of a sherd of fourth-century New Forest ware in one of the graves. The fragmentary bones of a child, 3–5 years old, were found in the same stratum.

83. *Skeleton QI*. Adult female. Height 5 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cephalic index about 73.7.

84. *Skeleton QII*. Adult female (probably). Height 5 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cephalic index 80.8.

85. *Skeleton QIII*. Adult female. Height 4 ft. $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 74.4.

86. *Skeleton QIV*. Adult male. Height 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Cephalic index 73.1.

VII. SAXON

87. Saxon skeleton, site Q. See above, p. 78. Pl. LXIV.

NOTE ON THE HUMAN REMAINS FROM MAIDEN CASTLE

By G. M. MORANT and C. N. GOODMAN

The skeletal remains of ninety-nine individuals excavated at Maiden Castle during the four seasons from 1934 to 1937 have been submitted to us for examination. Some of these people are represented by small fragments of bone only, but, for more than half,

the entire skeleton, defective to a greater or lesser extent, is available. Table I gives the distribution according to period, sex, and age at death. The nine infants were all from about 3 to 6 months old, and the children were much older. Particulars of the individuals are given in the list providing details of the graves and their contents.

TABLE I

The Periods, Sexes, and Ages of Individuals whose Skeletal Remains were excavated at Maiden Castle

<i>Period or group</i>	<i>Adult male</i>	<i>Adult female</i>	<i>Adult ? sex</i>	<i>Adolescent male</i>	<i>Adolescent female</i>	<i>Child</i>	<i>Infant</i>	<i>Foetus</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Neolithic	2	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	7
Iron Age A	1	..	..	..	..	2	4	1	8
Iron Age B	3	8	3	1	..	3	3	2	23
Iron Age C	8	8*	1	..	1	..	3	..	21
Belgic War Cemetery	23	10	..	..	1	..	..	..	34
Romano-British	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	5
Saxon	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	39	30	4	1	2	10	10	3	99

* Including one individual (Tz8) classed as Iron Age C or Romano-British.

The writers of this section have made an anthropological examination of the skulls and long bones of the eighty-three skeletons which are sufficiently complete to give records of value. Other parts of the skeletons have not been examined yet. A report on the material, which includes tables of individual measurements, has been published.¹ A summary of the general conclusions reached is given below, following an account of the mutilations which were not described in the paper in *Biometrika* as they are of archaeological rather than anthropological interest.

Mutilations which must have been inflicted at the time of death are apparent on the skull and long bones of the only complete adult skeleton (Neo. Q1) of neolithic date which was excavated. It is that of a man, and the condition in which his remains were found suggests that the cadaver was operated on for an anthropophagous or other ritual purpose. This question is discussed in other sections of the report on the excavations (pp. 20 and 344), where a description of the skeleton is given. The only other mutilations found are on certain of the skulls from the Belgic War Cemetery, and are described above (p. 351).

Estimates of the ages at which the adult individuals died were obtained by observing the condition of the three principal sutures of the cranium. There is no appreciable difference between the age-constitutions of the Belgic War Cemetery series and of the series made up by all the other individuals of Iron Age date, including the few Romano-Britons. In both cases the men must have died at a rather younger age, on the average, than the men interred in seventeenth-century London graveyards, but the women are not distinguished in the same way.

¹ G. M. Morant and C. N. Goodman, 'The Human Remains of the Iron Age and Other Periods from Maiden Castle, Dorset', *Biometrika*, xxxi (1940), 295 ff.

Unless otherwise stated, the Maiden Castle series referred to below are those made up by taking together all the individuals from the site except those of neolithic and Saxon date. The commoner cranial anomalies were observed with unexceptional frequencies. A very rare condition is exhibited by a male specimen (P7A) which has a trace of a suture extending for a short distance across the right parietal bone. Wounds which had healed during life were found on three of the male and on three of the female skulls. Two of the skeletons from the Belgic War Cemetery have healed fractures of single long bones (P23, male, right ulna; P36, female, left fibula). By far the most serious injury of traumatic origin is shown by a male skeleton (T5). The right elbow was shattered, involving complete separation of the proximal extremity of the ulna, and the left radius and left fibula were also fractured. The man lived for some time after receiving these injuries. A few cases of bones deformed owing to disease were noted. On the whole the teeth of the inhabitants of Maiden Castle were badly preserved, and the skulls exhibit dental anomalies with exceptional frequencies.

Racial relationships have to be estimated principally from cranial characters. Judging from the general appearance of the specimens, the Iron Age and Romano-British people from the site may well have represented a single racially homogeneous population, and there is only one skull which stands apart from the others on account of exceptional features. This female from the Belgic War Cemetery (P36) has an unusual form of facial skeleton, and it also has the highest cephalic index (87.0). The peculiarities of the skull may be individual rather than racial. A qualitative examination suggests that the male and female samples represent the same population, and this conclusion is confirmed by the measurements of the skulls and long bones.

All the specimens with the exception of P36 would be unexceptional if found in a series representing *any* of the predominant populations of England from the earliest phase of the Iron Age to modern times, though there are few examples of a markedly retreating frontal bone, which is a characteristic of seventeenth-century Londoners. These populations were all very similar in physical type, and there is no doubt that they were all closely related. Distinction between them depends on very small differences between average measurements, and effective differentiation can only be made for larger series than that available representing the population of Maiden Castle.

As far as can be told from the cranial measurements, the Belgic War Cemetery series, on the one hand, and that made up by all the other specimens of Iron Age and Roman date, on the other, might have represented precisely the same community. For both types the height of the brain-box is large, both absolutely and also relative to the length and breadth, and they have no other distinguishing features. One may accept the hypothesis that a single population is represented, though the evidence is quite inadequate to demonstrate that the racial constitution of the group remained unchanged from Iron Age A to Roman times. The type of the pooled series is found to be indistinguishable from that of Anglo-Saxons, while it is differentiated from that of seventeenth-century Londoners.

In interpreting conclusions of this kind, it should be realized that a small and relatively isolated community may have persisted at Maiden Castle for a considerable number of generations. The characteristics of such a local group may mislead to some extent if it is supposed to typify a large racial population of which it formed a special part. Reliable knowledge with regard to these matters can only be derived from an adequate corpus of evidence. The skeletal remains from Maiden Castle form a welcome addition to the scanty records relating to the physical characters of the inhabitants of England in Iron Age times. It may be hoped that the descriptions of them will form a nucleus to which similar data for the numerous Iron Age and Romano-British specimens preserved in our museums will be added. A survey of that kind would disclose the racial history of the country for a span of more than 2,000 years, as good evidence (published and unpublished) relating to Anglo-Saxon and later times is already available.

Comparisons of measurements of the lower jaws were only made for the total series of Iron Age and Romano-British date. The type defined by these is very similar to the Anglo-Saxon, but the two are just distinguishable. The resemblance between them is closer than that between either and the type of seventeenth-century Londoners, whose mandibles were of a smaller size. The relations found favour the hypothesis that on the average the lower jaws of Englishmen, but not their teeth, became slightly smaller in historical times, though more extensive data will be needed to substantiate it.

The length of the long bones of the arms and legs, and the proportions of these lengths, are the only measurements of the Maiden Castle skeletons taken hitherto other than those of the skulls. As far as can be told from the restricted numbers, these criteria make no distinction between the Belgic War Cemetery population, on the one hand, and the total population of the site throughout Iron Age and Roman times on the other. The average stature for the latter was about 1 in. shorter, in the case of either sex, than that of Anglo-Saxons. The estimate obtained is below that of the general population of England to-day—as is also the estimate for Anglo-Saxons—and very close to the average found for all modern populations of Europe. The only clear distinction between the two ancient groups, other than that in body-size, is for an index expressing the length of the radius as a percentage of the length of the humerus. The forearms of the Maiden Castle men, but not of the women, appear to have been peculiarly long, on the average, relative to their upper arms. It may be suggested that this was due to continual use of the sling, but the measurements provide no clear support for such an hypothesis.

The average measurements given in Table II illustrate some of the conclusions mentioned.

The first two of the cranial measurements are practically constant for all four series. For the cranial height and the two indices involving this diameter both Maiden Castle series are closely similar to the Anglo-Saxon, and the later London series is clearly distinguished from them. The size-measurements of the lower jaw show very similar relations, but for stature the Iron Age and seventeenth-century groups agree, while the Anglo-Saxons are distinguished by being about 1 in. taller. The length of the forearm

TABLE II

Mean Measurements of the Maiden Castle and Other English Series of Skeletons¹

			<i>Maiden Castle</i>			
			<i>Belgic War Cemetery</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon</i>	<i>17th-century London</i>
Cranial	Cephalic index		75.4 (14)	73.5 (9)	74.7 (52)	75.4 (132)
	Horizontal circumference . . .		528.6 (12)	530.9 (8)	532.0 (73)	530.0 (126)
	Basio-bregmatic height		137.1 (14)	136.9 (9)	136.0 (31)	129.7 (118)
	Height-length index		73.4 (13)	72.4 (8)	71.2 (25)	68.6 (115)
	Breadth-height index		103.3 (13)	102.7 (8)	104.9 (61)	109.8 (117)
Mandibular	Bicondylar breadth (<i>co.</i>) . . .		121.9 (14)	120.4 (5)	123.7 (25)	117.7 (23)
	Total projecture length (<i>ml.</i>) . .		104.3 (16)	107.2 (8)	107.2 (31)	104.1 (34)
	Length of ramus (<i>rl.</i>)		67.6 (16)	63.9 (10)	64.0 (45)	62.2 (36)
Stature reconstructed from lengths of long bones	Men		5' 5½" (19)	5' 4½" (13)	5' 6¼" (161)	5' 5" (218)
	Women		5' 0" (9)	5' 0½" (17)	5' 1½" (59)	5' 0" (171)
100 ×	Max. L. of radius	Men	77.2 (15)	75.4 (10)	74.6 (62)	..
	Max. L. of humerus	Women	73.4 (7)	74.2 (9)	73.5 (32)	..

relative to that of the upper arm also distinguishes the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon male types, but not the female.

In the case of all these characters the populations are only differentiated by very small distinctions between average values, while differences of a much larger order are found between individuals belonging to any particular one of the populations. In these circumstances, large series must be demanded before there can be any hope of determining the relationships of the groups with any assurance of accuracy.

ANIMAL BONES

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I. NEOLITHIC

The animal remains obtained from the neolithic levels at Maiden Castle, Dorset, consist of the bones and teeth of the following domestic species: ox, sheep, pig, and dog, those of ox being the most abundant. Among the material are some splinters of a metacarpal bone of red deer, from pit A1; also antlers of red deer and roebuck, and some remains of field vole and frog. A few teeth of horse are also present.

The various species are described below under their respective headings. The remains have been compared with others from neolithic or Early Bronze Age sites, as Woodhenge;²

¹ The means of the cranial and mandibular characters are for male series and the numbers of individuals on which the means are based are given in brackets. The data are for the Belgic War Cemetery series, for all the other skeletons of Iron Age and Roman date from Maiden Castle, for Anglo-

Saxon skulls (Morant) and long bones (Münter), and for the Farringdon Street crania (Hooke) and mandibles (Cleaver) and the Whitechapel femora (Pearson and Bell).

² Cunnington, *Woodhenge* (1929), pp. 61, &c.

Whitehawk Camp;¹ Ratfyn near Amesbury;² Stonehenge;³ the 'Sanctuary' on Overton Hill near Avebury;⁴ and a long barrow (no. 163a), Thickthorn Down, Cranborne Chase.⁵ Owing to the imperfect condition of the remains, it has not been possible to obtain more than a few dimensions.

Ox

The remains of five skulls of large oxen were found in 1937 in the eastern end of the southern ditch of the Long Mound resting in the surface of the rapid silt which marks the last phase of Neolithic A on the site. Although so badly crushed that few dimensions are obtainable from them, the skulls present some interesting features, more especially in the horn-cores, which are of the *Bos primigenius* type (pls. iv and xlv).

Skull no. I. This was completely crushed when found, but it has been possible to restore a part of the occipital portion. The only dimensions obtainable are: width across the occipital condyles, 12.5 cm.; depth of supracrestal part of occiput, 4.7 cm.; depth of remainder to upper margin of foramen magnum, 10.35 cm.

With the above were a perfect phalange and the proximal end of a split femur minus the epiphysis, indicating a young animal.

Skull no. II. This consists of the greater part of the occipital and frontal portions with both horn-cores of the *primigenius* type. Though badly crushed, like the others, it has been most carefully restored. It has the following dimensions: horn-cores, tip to tip, c. 55.5 cm. (tips slightly restored); greatest width apart, 74.5 cm.; length along outer curve, 61.5 cm.; basal circumference, 24.5 cm.; basal diameters, 8.5 by 6.8 cm. Frontals, length along intercornual ridge, between the horn-core bases, 21.5 cm.; the ridge has a mesial prominence and is not straight as in the *urus* (= *primigenius*) skulls. The occiput is distinctly notched by the temporal fossae and the width between the notches is 18.8 cm.; depth of supracrestal part of occiput, 4.5 cm.; depth from latter to upper margin of foramen magnum, 10.5 cm. The anterior muscular tubercles on the basi-occipital are very strong and prominent.

Skull no. III. This is a fragment of the frontal with the right horn-core attached. The latter is shorter and less robust than those of skull no. II. The length along the outer curve is 41.5 cm.; basal circumference, 21.7 cm.; basal diameters, 7.4 by 6.3 cm.

With the above are a fragmentary basi-occipital; two lower teeth, M2 and M3, in a fragment of jaw; an imperfect, but small, innominate bone; also fragments of another rougher horn-core.

Skull no. IV. This is a much broken skull with imperfect horn-cores, the lengths of which are not obtainable. The circumference at the base of the horn-core is 22.8 cm.; basal diameters, 7.5 by 7.1 cm. The occiput is notched by the temporal fossae, the width

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (1934), 127-9.

⁴ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlv (1931), 330-1.

² Obtained by J. F. S. Stone in 1934 with pottery of Woodhenge type. *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlvii (1935), 55.

⁵ Obtained by Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in 1933. See *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, n.s., ii, pt. i (1936), pp. 93-4.

³ Obtained by R. S. Newall in 1920-6. *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 434-40.

between the notches being 17.1 cm.; depth of supracrestal part, 4.9 cm.; depth from latter to upper margin of foramen magnum, 8.6 cm. The width across the occipital condyles is 12.75 cm.

Skull no. V. This is a much broken skull with basal parts of horn-cores similar to skull no. II. The frontal appears to be dished and not flat. The occiput is notched by the temporal fossae, the width between the notches being 15.6 cm. The depth of the supracrestal part is 4.7 cm.

The above five skulls are all of the same general type and may be regarded as a domesticated form of the urus (*Bos primigenius*, Boj.). They are considerably smaller than the wild form so common in Pleistocene times, the remains of which have been found in many places in the Thames valley and elsewhere in Great Britain, though not so far in Ireland. In these ancient remains the horn-cores are always more massive and longer, and the distance between their tips is much greater.

Similar remains of a large-horned domesticated ox have been seen from Windmill Hill, Whitehawk Camp, Ratfyn, and elsewhere. Two large horn-cores from the lower, or silt, layer at Stonehenge are interesting for comparison with those from the Maiden Castle excavations. One of these from ditch VII (bottom of ditch on south-east of main causeway) has the following dimensions: length along outer curve, 31.5 cm.; basal circumference, 20.0 cm.; basal diameters, 6.9 by 5.6 cm. In the other the tip is broken off and the length of the basal portion (? a third) is 19.0 cm.; the basal circumference is 23.5 cm.; the long diameter at base is 8.2 cm. The fragment of attached skull shows an occiput notched by the temporal fossae and a forehead with a mesial prominence (not flat, as in the urus).¹ The Maiden Castle skulls agree in the two features just mentioned, though the horn-cores, on the whole, are longer. The horn-core of skull no. III, however, is comparable with the broken horn-core from Stonehenge.

In urus skulls with thick and heavy horn-cores a bridge of bone extends downwards from the base of the horn-core and forms a posterior wall for the temporal fossa, thus cutting it off from the occiput.² The Maiden Castle and other remains show the gradual disappearance of these extra supports owing to the reduction of the horn-cores.

A further point of interest in connexion with the Maiden Castle remains is the complete absence of the maxillae and mandibles, two lower teeth only being found with skull III. This suggests that the anterior portions of the skulls may have been chopped off before burial.

Other remains of oxen are present amongst the bones and teeth from various neolithic pits which antedate the Long Mound and belong, therefore, to the earlier phase of Neolithic A on the site. The most interesting are some large bones from pit A2, layer 1. They include a perfect right radius, with the following dimensions: length (over all), 321 mm.; least circumference, 135 mm.; diameter mid-shaft, 51 mm.; diameter of proximal end (over all), 91 mm.; and diameter of distal end (over all), 85 mm.; the distal end of a right humerus with a width across the condyles of 87 mm. (over

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 438.

² *Proc. Zool. Soc.* (1911), 273.

all) (this articulates with the above radius): the distal end of a right ulna articulating with the above: a perfect left tibia with the following dimensions: length (over all), 405 mm.; least circumference, 129 mm.; diameter mid-shaft, 52 mm.; diameter of proximal end (over all), 100 mm.; diameter of distal end (over all), 69 mm.; a left astragalus with a total length of 68 mm.; a left scapho-cuboid with a diameter (over all) of 63.5 mm.; and a large phalange measuring 63 mm. in length. The above radius is larger than those from Woodhenge, except in the case of a distal end which is 85 mm. in diameter. A somewhat larger right radius was found at Stonehenge (ditch, south, second crater) by R. S. Newall, and an imperfect example from Ratfyn, Amesbury, agrees closely. The humerus is larger than a Ratfyn specimen in which the condyles are 80 mm. The tibia is larger than any from Woodhenge, with the exception of one very large proximal end with a diameter of 100 mm. (over all). It is also somewhat larger than one from Ratfyn. The astragalus is slightly longer than one from Whitehawk Camp. The phalange agrees with a large example from Whitehawk Camp and one from Ratfyn. In addition to the above limb-bones there are five large vertebrae and fragments of ribs, also a pair of large lower jaws, all from pit A2, layer 1 (Early Bronze Age). The lower jaws are rather broken, but are interesting as being of the five-toothed variety.¹ They yield the following dimensions: length from back of condyle to tip, 430 mm.; summit of coronoid to lowest part of angle beneath it, 225 mm.; least depth behind molars, 64 mm.; least depth behind incisors, 32 mm.; length of tooth-row (5 teeth), 130 mm.; length of M1, 2, and 3, 92 mm. The above jaws are only slightly less in length than a lower jaw from Stonehenge (ditch, south, second crater) found by Newall. The latter has a tooth-row (6 teeth) measuring 143.5 mm., the three molars being 89 mm. A rather smaller five-toothed jaw, with a length of tooth-row of 140 mm., was found at Woodhenge.

Other large bones of ox are present from pit A2, layer 2 (Early Bronze Age). They include two distal ends, a right and a left, of radii measuring 69.5 mm. (over all); the proximal end of a left radius measuring 74.4 mm. (over all); the distal end of a tibia measuring 61 mm. (over all); and the distal end of a metacarpal with a diameter across the condyles of 59.4 mm. The radii are rather smaller than the examples from pit A2, layer 1, but agree with examples from Woodhenge. The tibia agrees with most examples from Woodhenge, but is smaller than the large example from pit A2, layer 1. The metacarpal agrees with examples from Whitehawk Camp.

From pit A2, layer 3 (Neolithic B), are some fragments of lower jaw containing molars 1 and 2 of larger size than in the Stonehenge jaw mentioned above. There is also an astragalus, 65 mm. in length (over all), exact to one from Whitehawk Camp; and the distal end of a tibia measuring 58.5 mm. in transverse diameter, which also agrees with examples from Whitehawk Camp.

From pit A2, layer 4 (Neolithic A-B), are some loose teeth, fragments of pelvis, etc.,

¹ J. W. Jackson, *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, ser. 8, xv (1915), 291-5; also in Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 654.

also the proximal end of a left radius and the distal end of a right radius. The diameter, over all, of the proximal end is 87 mm., in which it agrees with an example from Ratfyn, Amesbury, and some from Woodhenge. The diameter, over all, of the distal end is 70 mm., thus agreeing with several examples from Whitehawk Camp and Woodhenge, also an example from Ratfyn, Amesbury.

From pit A2, lower filling (Neolithic A), there is the distal end of a right humerus of large size with a diameter across the articular surface of 75 mm. This agrees with examples from Woodhenge, Whitehawk Camp, and Amesbury.

The source of these large neolithic oxen is not easy to determine in the present state of knowledge. As pointed out above, they are derived from a *Bos primigenius* stem, but whether the animals were imported into Britain or domesticated from wild British forms is not yet clear.

From the general character of the ox-bones seen by me from the low level at Maiden Castle it is evident that none belong to the small Celtic ox (*Bos longifrons* Owen) so abundant on Early Iron Age, and to some extent later Bronze Age, sites.

It seems possible that the larger oxen belong to the megalithic civilization and the smaller to a later invasion from the Continent via East Anglia.

Sheep

The remains of this animal are very fragmentary, and a few belong to lambs. There is little to be said about them, except to remark upon their scarcity. A few broken bones from pit A23 (Neolithic A) include part of a slender metacarpal, the proximal end of which is 21 mm. in transverse diameter: it resembles the thin-shanked form from later sites.

A few slender limb-bones of sheep were found at Whitehawk Camp, and in long barrow 163a, on Thickthorn Down, Cranborne Chase; very scanty remains were met with at Woodhenge: but no sheep remains occurred at Ratfyn near Amesbury, or at the 'Sanctuary', Overton Hill, near Avebury.

Pig

The scanty remains of pig occur in several of the bags. From Neolithic A levels on site A, a fragment of lower jaw with the last molar in place, another fragment of lower jaw containing the two last molars, an imperfect radius, an imperfect scapula, the anterior part of a lower jaw, and the distal end of a humerus.

Similar remains of pig were found at Ratfyn near Amesbury; Woodhenge; Whitehawk Camp; long barrow 163a, Thickthorn Down; Stonehenge; and the 'Sanctuary', near Avebury.

Dog

The almost complete skeletons of two dogs were found in neolithic pit T6 (3a) in 1937. Measurements of the skulls, mandibles, and certain limb-bones are given

Dimensions of the Skulls

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>Easton Down</i>	<i>Foxhound</i>
	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
Total length	176	177	167	181
Basilar length	150	160	144	160.5
Length of snout	76	78	72	78
Length of palate	86.5	83	81.5	90.5
Greatest height of occiput	48	..	43.5	45
Height of orbit	31	30	27.5	34.5
Width of orbit	27	27	..	30
Skull-width near root of zygoma	57	57.5	57.5	62.5
Max. width of occiput	60.5	63.5	58.5	65.5
Least frontal width	35	36	38	37
Max. frontal width (between post-orbital processes)	45	49	44	50
Least width between orbits	31	36	33.5	33
Zygomatic width	96	100	89	104
Max. width of palate	59	..	57	64.5
Least width of palate	33	..	32.5	36
Breadth over canines . . . . .	..	..	35.5	37.5
Length of tooth-row	61.5	64	58.5	60.5
Length of crown of PM ₄	16	18	17.8	17
Length of crown of M ₁	11.5	12	12	13
Length of premolars	47.5	50	..	45
Length of molars	17.5	18.5	..	21

Dimensions of Mandibles

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>Easton Down</i>	<i>Foxhound</i>
	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
Length from middle of condyle to alveolar point	130	134	120.5	134.5
Length of tooth-row	68	69.5	67.5	69
Length of premolars	39	37.5	35.5	36
Length of molars	29	32	32	33

Dimensions of Limb-bones

	<i>Full length</i>	<i>Least circumference</i>	<i>Diameter mid-shaft</i>	<i>Distal end (over all)</i>
	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
I. Femur, R.	153	36	12	27
II. Femur, R.	158	..	12	28.5
Easton Down. Femur, R.	145	34	11.5	29
I. Tibia, R.	149	34	11	18.5
II. Tibia, R.	159	34	11.5	21
Easton Down. Tibia, R.	148	32	10	19.5
I. Humerus, R.	140	36	11.5	26.5
II. Humerus, R.	141	38	12	30
Easton Down. Humerus, L.	153	36	10.5	29.3
I. Radius, R.	136	28	11	21
II. Radius, R.	140	29	11.5	22
Easton Down. Radius, R.	133	28	10.5	21.5

on p. 365, along with those of a complete skeleton found by Dr. J. F. S. Stone at Easton Down, Winterslow (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlvii, 1935, pp. 76-8 and pl. iv), and of the skull of a foxhound in the Manchester Museum.

The left tibia of I is in two pieces: it has been broken in life and shows osteophytic growth round the broken parts.

Complete skeletons are extremely rare in excavations, though perfect skulls and, at times, associated sets of limb-bones are common, especially in sites of Iron Age and Roman date. The present examples, therefore, are of particular interest and importance.

In 1934 I had the privilege of describing a complete dog skeleton found by Dr. J. F. S. Stone associated with Beaker pottery at Easton Down, Winterslow (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlvii, 1935, pp. 76-8, and pl. iv). This was a small dog of the general type of *Canis palustris* Rüttimeyer, described originally from the Swiss lake-dwellings of the New Stone Age (*Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*, 1861, p. 119, text-figs.). It appears to have had a stature of 17 or 18 in. at the shoulder.

A complete skeleton of a dog of similar type was found by Mr. Alexander Keiller at the neolithic site at Windmill Hill (*Proc. First Internat. Congress of Pre- and Proto-Historic Sciences*, 1934, pp. 135-8). A photograph of this appeared in *Country Life*, September 17th, 1932.

In addition to the above-mentioned, two further almost complete skeletons of dog were found at the Iron Age level at Maiden Castle. These indicated definitely larger dogs than the neolithic examples, and are dealt with in later pages of this report.

As shown by the dimensions in the above tables, the skulls and mandibles of I and II are somewhat larger than in the Easton Down example, but are near those of the foxhound in the Manchester Museum. They are also larger than those given for the typical *Canis palustris* Rüt.—the neolithic 'Torfhunde' of the Swiss lake-dwellings, but approach those given for a type called *Canis intermedius* Wold.—a middle-size hound—from the Swiss lake-dwellings of the Bronze Age.

With regard to the limb-bones, these again suggest a somewhat taller dog than *Canis palustris* Rüt.

Further comparisons with well-dated finds of dog remains from various places are necessary before an opinion can be expressed upon the precise type of dog represented by I and II.

Three other finds of dog remains at the neolithic level at Maiden Castle are as follows: proximal end of ulna, hind part of skull, excreta.

Horse

This animal is represented by a few remains, all from late Neolithic B-Early Bronze Age levels:

1. Incisor. Early Bronze Age.
2. Forepart of upper jaw containing five incisors. Early-Middle Bronze Age.
3. Incisor (clean and yellowish). Early-Middle Bronze Age.

4. Pastern-bone. Neolithic B—Early Bronze Age.

5. Right humerus minus proximal end. This is somewhat larger than that of the Celtic pony from sites of the Early Iron Age. Early—Middle Bronze Age.

Horse remains appear to be rare on early sites, and none of the above is stratigraphically earlier than the Beaker period. In the Cotswold long barrows the presence of this animal is quite clear, though doubted formerly (O. G. S. Crawford, *The Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*, 1925, pp. 22–6). In addition to recognizable teeth, scoops made from the metacarpal bones have been found. The associated fauna comprised dog, pig, sheep, goat, and two forms of ox, in addition to deer. In the Yorkshire long barrows the horse is apparently absent. Remains are also absent from the neolithic camps at Windmill Hill, Whitehawk, and Goodwood, and similarly from those of France (Curwen, 'Neolithic Camps', *Antiquity*, iv, 1930, pp. 27 and 44). There is an old record of the finding of part of the ischium of an old horse in a long barrow at Winterbourne Stoke, Salisbury Plain (Thurnam, *Mem. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1863–4, p. 143), and horse remains were found at Peterborough in a transition deposit with pottery of Mortlake type and beakers (Abbott, *Archaeologia*, lxii, 1911, p. 335). A metacarpal of a small horse (*Equus agilis* type) was found at the 'Sanctuary', Overton Hill, near Avebury, associated with remains of ox (not *Bos longifrons*), pig, and dog (Jackson, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlv, 1931, p. 331), and I have seen a symphysial fragment of the mandible from Woodhenge, where it was associated with remains of long-horned ox, sheep or goat, pig, and dog; also some teeth and an odd bone of a small horse (*Equus agilis* type) from the long barrow, no. 163a, at Thickthorn Down (Jackson, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii, pt. i, 1936, pp. 93–4). Horse remains are recorded from the St. Nicholas chambered tumulus, Glamorgan (Ward, *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., xvi, 1916, p. 265), and from the neolithic sepulchral caves near Llandegla, North Wales (Dawkins, *Cave Hunting*, 1874, pp. 150 et seq.). In 1927 I identified teeth of a small horse among remains submitted by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford from a mesolithic site at Thatcham, near Newbury, Berks. (Peake and Crawford, *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, iii, 499 et seq.), where they were associated with remains of red deer and roebuck and a lower molar of urus. Horse remains have also been recorded from the Mesolithic level at King Arthur's cave in the Wye valley (Clark, *Mesolithic Age in Britain*, 1932, p. 38).

2. EARLY IRON AGE

Animal remains from the Iron Age levels of Maiden Castle included notably horse, ox, sheep, and pig. There are also bones of rodents and of a few birds and remains of dog, including two almost complete skeletons (pl. LXVI). A majority of the animal bones are in a much broken condition as is usual in such places: they represent the food-débris of the inhabitants of the camp.

Horse

Of this animal only a few remains have been found or at least examined. In a pit B42, of Iron Age Bii (last quarter of first century B.C.), were found the following remains of

horse: an imperfect left lower jaw of a young animal with two premolars in place and the sockets for another premolar and the first molar; one loose canine; one loose upper molar; a fragment of lower jaw with one tooth; the back part of a skull; an imperfect scapula; and the distal end of a tibia. They all appear to belong to small animals and agree with similar remains from other Early Iron Age sites, as Glastonbury lake-village;¹ All Cannings Cross;² Swallowcliffe Down;³ Highfield, near Fisherton;⁴ etc.

Among the remains found in pit D3, of Iron Age Bi (c. 50–25 B.C.), is the greater part of the skull of a small male horse: it is too much broken for descriptive purposes.

Ox

The remains of ox are fairly numerous and agree in general with those from the four Iron Age stations mentioned above. The majority of the bones have been split and broken for the marrow. Both young and old animals are represented. Of special interest are some typical horn-cores of the Celtic ox (*Bos brachyceros* Owen = *longifrons* Owen); also a very perfect atlas of smaller dimensions than examples from Woodhenge,⁵ Whitehawk Camp,⁶ and other early sites. In addition there is an associated series of vertebrae ranging from the atlas to the sacrum, with a gap or two. They belong to an adult animal, and the atlas is noteworthy in being much larger than the one mentioned above, equalling, if not exceeding, examples from earlier sites. In the absence of an associated skull and horn-cores, and of standard measurements of bones from other sites, it is not possible to say if a larger ox is present in addition to the small Celtic ox. Some of the other vertebrae certainly equal those seen from the neolithic Whitehawk Camp.

In pit D3 (c. 50–25 B.C.) were found three imperfect skulls, A, B, and C. Two of these, A and B, consist of frontals with horn-cores, and fragments of the upper jaws. The skulls are small with short and slender horn-cores, very typical of the Celtic shorthorn, *Bos brachyceros* Owen. They agree exactly in type and size with skulls found at the Glastonbury lake-village, All Cannings Cross, Swallowcliffe Down, and other sites of the Early Iron Age.

Skull C only differs from the others in being somewhat larger: the horn-cores are of the Celtic ox type.

The occiput in all three skulls is deeply notched under the horns by the temporal fossae. All three frontals possess a mesial prominence, i.e. a strong bulge in the middle of the inter-cornual ridge, and the forehead between the orbits is dished.

Sheep

This animal is represented in pit B42, of Iron Age Bii (last quarter of first century B.C.), by skull-fragments, broken lower jaws, loose teeth, and a few limb-bones, mostly very imperfect. Two fragments of skulls show that they have been split down the

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii (1917), 649.

² *All Cannings Cross* (1924), p. 44.

³ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925), 91.

⁴ *Ibid.* xlv (1934), 621.

⁵ Cunliffe, *Woodhenge* (1929), p. 64.

⁶ *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (1934), 127–9.

middle, as was the case at the Glastonbury lake-village. One skull, with the facial part in a much broken condition, has short, diverging horn-cores, and both these and the skull agree closely with numerous remains from Glastonbury, which seem to belong to small Celtic sheep of the type of *Ovis aries palustris* Rütimeyer. A slender metacarpal has the following dimensions: full length, 119.5 mm.; mid-shaft, 13 mm.; and distal condyles, 23 mm. A perfect metatarsal has the following dimensions: full length, 128.3 mm.; mid-shaft, 9.5 mm.; and distal condyles, 20.5 mm. Both these bones agree with specimens from Glastonbury.

The hinder part of a small skull with divergent horn-cores was found in pit D3 (c. 50-25 B.C.) also the broken facial part and maxillae. There are likewise the two lower jaws (both 5-toothed instead of the usual 6); atlas and axis; humerus, radius, and shank-bone, all very slender and typical of those from other sites of the Early Iron Age. The skull, too, is like those from the Glastonbury station, but has not been split down the middle.

Several lower jaws with a tooth-row of five teeth (the first premolar being absent and the alveolus obliterated) were found at Glastonbury and are described in my report.

The teeth in the Maiden Castle jaws are much worn down. The left mandible is peculiar in the second molar having its anterior column considerably higher than the rest of the teeth in the jaw, doubtless owing to some malformation in, or absence of, the opposing tooth in the upper jaw. The latter, unfortunately, is not present among the material.

In general type the Maiden Castle sheep is similar to the small breed found on the Island of Soay.

Pig

The remains referable to this animal consist of a number of imperfect limb-bones (some young), vertebrae, and two broken skulls with lower jaws from pit B42 (last quarter of first century B.C.). They are of the same size and type as those from Glastonbury and other places.

Dog

The almost complete skeleton of a dog was found in pit D4 of Iron Age Bii (last quarter of first century B.C.). See pl. LXVI.

Of incomplete remains of dogs of the Iron Age I have examined bones and skulls from the Glastonbury lake-village, All Cannings Cross, and the Highfield Pit Dwellings, Fisherton, Salisbury, among other places. In addition, I have reported on an imperfect skull and skeleton found at Camerton, Somerset, on an Early Iron Age site, in 1935,¹ and four dog skulls and sundry limb-bones found at Colchester in the pre-Roman ('Belgic') layer.²

The Highfield material consisted of limb-bones, imperfect skulls, and mandibles representing at least sixteen dogs. The animals appeared to have been of varied sizes

¹ *Proc. Som. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxxxiii (1937), 164-5.

² Not yet published.

from smaller than the fox-terrier to larger than the retriever. It was not possible to relate the skulls to any of the limb-bones. At least one group of bones was an associated set.

Reference to some of the above is made below in connexion with the Maiden Castle remains.

In order not to burden the report with numerous dimensions, only one or two are given. This will enable some comparison to be made with the neolithic material from Maiden Castle and the Easton Down material. It is hoped to publish the rest of the dimensions on a future occasion.

In addition to the complete skeleton, the skull and mandibles of another dog were found in pit D₃ (c. 50–25 B.C.) at Maiden Castle. Some dimensions are added to the table below.

Dimensions of the Skulls

	D ₄ mm.	D ₃ mm.
Total length, from furthest point of occipital crest to prosthion	187	190
Zygomatic width	c. 102	113
Length of tooth-row	c. 60	67

Dimensions of Mandibles

Length from middle of condyle to alveolar point	133	142
Length of tooth-row	71	73

Compared with the neolithic remains and the Easton Down example, the skull and mandibles of D₄ and D₃ are definitely larger; i.e. both are longer and wider. They are also larger than the largest from Colchester. The Camerton skull is too fragmentary, but the mandibles agree closely with D₄. The D₄ skull is slightly larger and somewhat broader across the muzzle than one from All Cannings Cross. The canines and carnassials (upper and lower) are about equal in both, but the mandibles of D₄ are much stronger. Other mandibles from All Cannings Cross are as large and as strong.

Compared with recent types, the D₄ skull is about the same size as that of a female foxhound in the Manchester Museum; but the muzzle is a little broader, the canines and carnassials (upper and lower) are larger, and the mandibles much stronger. The D₃ skull and mandibles are rather larger than the above, the skull being longer and broader, the snout, frontal, and palate broader, the tooth-row longer, and the teeth larger.

A small associated set of bones was also found in pit D₃; these may belong to the skull and mandibles found at the top of this pit. Their dimensions are given in the table below:

		D ₄ (complete) mm.	D ₃ mm.
Femur.	Full length	170	163
Tibia.	" "	173	..
Humerus.	" "	158	153
Radius.	" "	156	145
Ulna.	" "	182	173

The tibia of D4 is exactly similar to a Woodcuts specimen figured by Pitt-Rivers.¹

Compared with the neolithic remains and the Easton Down material, the limb-bones of the complete skeleton, D4, are much longer. They are also longer than the longest from Colchester, and a little longer than those with the skull and mandibles from Camerton, the tibia in these agreeing with one from Woodcuts figured by Pitt-Rivers.² The D4 limb-bones are, on the whole, a little longer than those from Glastonbury. The D4 humerus is somewhat longer than one from All Cannings Cross. The bones are, however, very definitely shorter than the largest from Highfield. The D3 series are still shorter.

The dimensions of the limb-bones of recent dogs, together with their stature in life, are difficult to obtain, and I am unable to make the necessary comparisons. The Maiden Castle dogs, D4 and D3, were, however, small animals and probably under 24 in. high at the shoulder.

One interesting feature in connexion with the bones of D4 is that the relative lengths of the two bones of the hind limb and those of the fore limb are nearly equal.

An articulated pelvic girdle of a small animal (? terrier) was found in pit B42 (last quarter of first century B.C.), together with some vertebrae.

NOTE ON THE SKELETON OF A DOG FROM THE EASTERN ENTRANCE

By D. M. S. WATSON, F.R.S.

This dog was found in a shallow pit in the southern roadway of the eastern entrance and dates probably from Iron Age C (above, p. 115). In general appearance, however, which is an important character, and which measurements are intended to control and add precision to, this Iron Age dog very much resembles a neolithic dog from Windmill Hill, Avebury. Measurements show that the Maiden Castle skull is very slightly (5 per cent.) longer than that from Windmill Hill, whilst its teeth are relatively larger and more massive. But otherwise the general proportions and such characters as the height of the forehead which determine the external appearance are, so far as it is possible to judge without direct comparison, closely similar.

The only other bones I have measured are those of a hind leg, which is enough to indicate the general proportions of the whole body.

These bones are of almost exactly the same size as those of the Windmill Hill dog.

It therefore seems in every way probable that the Maiden Castle dog in its general character very closely resembled that from Windmill Hill. The latter is of the type called *Canis familiaris palustris*, the characteristic dog of the neolithic lake-dwellings of Switzerland, which is the only kind I have seen in the English neolithic camps of Windmill Hill, Whitehawk Hill, Brighton, and the Trundle.

The complete and now mounted skeleton from Windmill Hill is that of a medium-

¹ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i (1887), pl. LXIX, fig. 6.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 5.

sized, powerful, rather thick-set animal agreeing in its proportions and general character more closely with a Chow than with any other breed with which I was able to compare it. It is in fact 'just dog', a primitive and unspecialized animal, from which it is conceivable that all other breeds could have been derived by selective breeding. The Maiden Castle dog is thus clearly a survival, lasting on amongst the varied breeds of later times.

REPORT ON THE MOLLUSCA

By A. S. KENNARD, A.L.S., F.G.S.

A large amount of material from various levels, as well as a very large number of individual specimens, was submitted for examination. The material was practically barren, for human occupation is destructive to the molluscan fauna with the exception of a few adaptable species, such as *Oxychilus cellarium* (Müll.) and *Goniodiscus rotundatus* (Müll.), which are generally present among the relics of human occupation.

The soil contained in the larger specimens, however, yielded a number of shells. The numbers quoted are those of the specimens I have seen, and for the most part represent all those found, but in the cases of *Ostrea edulis* (Linné), *Mytilus edulis* (Linné), and *Patella vulgata* (Linné) only a selection was sent, and the presence of these species is therefore indicated by x. *Mytilus edulis* (Linné) was not, however, common.

Bones of frog occurred in Iron Age B and C, a tooth of *Microtus* sp. in Iron Age B, and a limb bone of *Sorex* sp. in Iron Age C.

Marine species

The comparative scarcity of marine shells indicates that they were but little used for food, and it would appear that only three species, the limpet (*Patella vulgata* Linné), the mussel (*Mytilus edulis* Linné), and the oyster (*Ostrea edulis* Linné), were so used. *Gibbula cineraris* (Linné) and *Littorina littoralis* (Linné) had probably been picked up on the shore as 'curios' and received the usual fate of such and discarded. The single example of *Littorina littorea* (Linné) had been drilled for suspension and has been used as an ornament. *Pecten maximus* Linné and *Cardium tuberculatum* Linné are deep-sea forms and unlikely to have been obtained except as dead valves. These were probably used as spoons or for other domestic uses as they are to this day. The single example of *C. edule* is probably in the same category as well as the broken valve of *Paphia decussata*. *Buccinum undatum* is only represented by a broken columella. This may be a 'curio', but since fragments of shell were used in the pottery it may be the part rejected as being too hard.

Terrestrial species

The faunule from the neolithic level, only seven species, is too small to serve as a basis for definite conclusions. So far as they go they would appear to indicate warm and fairly dry conditions, certainly not damper than to-day. It is not a dry chalk-down faunule, and

there was probably coarse herbage. We are, of course, dealing with an occupation site and at a little distance there may have been down or woodland conditions. With the Early Iron Age series we are better placed. This also does not indicate a chalk down, but abundance of coarse herbage or even scrub. The presence of *Arianta arbustorum* is important. During the damp period of the Early Bronze Age this species was common on the chalk hills of the south. With the incoming of drier conditions in the Middle Bronze Age this species became less common; it was apparently dying out in Romano-British times, but still exists by the streams at the foot of the hills. For a long time it was held that the two species *Cepaea nemoralis* and *C. hortensis* did not live together, but it is now known that they do in rare instances. In former times it was the rule, and Maiden Castle is no exception.

List of Species

		Iron Age		
	Neo.	A	B	C
<i>Marine</i>				
<i>Patella vulgata</i> (Linné)	x	x	x	x
<i>Gibbula cineraria</i> (Linné)	..	..	1	1
<i>Littorina littorea</i> (Linné)	..	..	1	..
<i>Littorina littoralis</i> (Linné)	1	..	..	..
<i>Buccinum undatum</i> Linné	..	1	..	..
<i>Mytilus edulis</i> Linné	..	..	x	..
<i>Ostrea edulis</i> Linné	..	..	..	x
<i>Pecten maximus</i> Linné	2	..	2	3
<i>Cardium tuberculatum</i> Linné.	1	6	6	3
<i>Cardium edule</i> Linné	..	..	..	1
<i>Paphia decussata</i> (Linné)	..	..	1	..
<i>Terrestrial</i>				
<i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müller)	..	1	1	..
<i>Pupilla muscorum</i> (Linné)	..	..	..	2
<i>Lauria cylindracea</i> (da Costa)	..	..	..	3
<i>Vertigo pygmaea</i> (Draparnaud)	..	..	..	4
<i>Ena obscura</i> (Müller)	..	..	..	1
<i>Pyramidula rupestris</i> (Draparnaud)	..	..	..	5
<i>Goniodiscus rotundatus</i> (Müller)	11	..	3	39
<i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i> (Müller)	..	..	1	9
<i>Vallonia costata</i> (Müller)	..	..	..	1
<i>Arion</i> sp.	..	..	5	7
<i>Vitrea crystallina</i> (Müller)	1	..	..	5
<i>Oxychilus cellarium</i> (Müller)	39	..	..	15
<i>Retinella nitidula</i> (Draparnaud)	14	..	..	5
<i>Planatella itala</i> (Linné)	4	..	..	..
<i>Trochulus hispidus</i> (Linné)	5	..	3	16
<i>Trochulus striolatus</i> (Pfeiffer)	1	..	..	..
<i>Vortex lapicida</i> (Linné)	..	..	..	5
<i>Arianta arbustorum</i> (Linné)	..	..	2	9
<i>Cepaea nemoralis</i> (Linné)	3	8	62	162
<i>Cepaea hortensis</i> (Müller)	..	..	58	271
<i>Clausilia rugosa</i> (Draparnaud)	..	..	..	3
<i>Cecilioides acicula</i> (Müller)	..	..	1	..

Many of the examples of *C. nemoralis* are very thick in texture, indicating that the animals attained a ripe old age and that the winters were not severe, probably not so severe as to-day; but a succession of mild winters could occur without any real change in the climate. Two species occurred which are quite out of place on a chalk hill—*Pyramidula rupestris* and *Lauria cylindracea*. In building the dry stone walls the Belgic folk used limestone brought from the Purbeck beds of the Ridgeway, and there can be but little doubt that these two species were brought to Maiden Castle with the material and found a congenial home in the interstices of the dry walls. When these were silted up the two species died out. It is interesting to note that as far back as Belgic times Man was already interfering with the natural distribution of the fauna, a process that was greatly accelerated in the Romano-British period. The comparative rarity of downland forms may be due to the fact that we are dealing with disturbed ground that favoured the growth of coarse herbage, for, from the evidence obtained from many other sites in the south, downland conditions were widespread in Belgic times.

Conclusions

From the land mollusca one can deduce that the rainfall was similar to that of to-day, as also was the temperature, but the winters were mild.

The vegetable growth was not downland but coarse herbage, possibly with scrub. Two species were introduced into the area with building material from the Ridgeway.

I must thank Miss K. M. Richardson and Mr. E. R. Sykes for kindly help in the preparation of this report.

The specimens will be preserved in the Geological Survey Museum for the use of students.

GRAIN

1. Neolithic

No actual grains of corn were found in neolithic deposits at Maiden Castle,¹ but impressions were found on six sherds of Neolithic A pottery. Mr. Hans Helbaek, of the Copenhagen Museum, who has examined these sherds, identifies the impressions as follows:

1. Grain of *Triticum vulgare compactum*.
Grain of *Triticum monococcum dicoccum*.
2. Grain of *Hordeum spes*.
3. Grain of naked *Hordeum spes*.
4. Spikelet of *Triticum dicoccum*.
5. Grain of husked *Hordeum spes*.
6. Grain of husked *Hordeum spes*.

¹ Actual grains of neolithic wheat were found at Hembury, *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1932), p. 180. For ancient British wheat generally, see J. Percival, *Wheat in Great Britain* (1934).

2. Early Iron Age

Four samples of carbonized wheat were sent to Professor John Percival for examination, and he very kindly reports as follows:

'*Sample 1.* From an Iron Age A layer on site L. The grains in this sample are almost entirely those of a small-grained form of Bread Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*). An occasional grain of Barley was found, with a few caryopses (grains) of Rye-like Brome Grass (*Bromus secalinus*), a weed formerly common in samples of cereal grains.

'*Sample 2.* From an Iron Age A layer on site L. The grains were again almost entirely those of Bread Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) but somewhat larger in average size, and I think a more primitive form than those of sample 1.

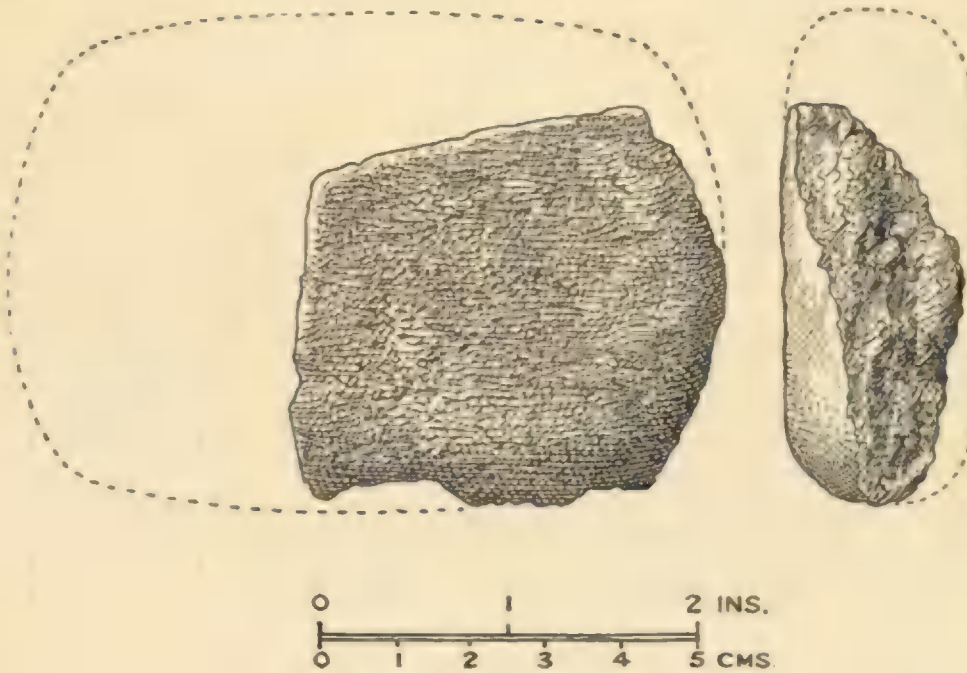


FIG. 118. Carbonized wheaten loaf

(Cf. pl. XL, A) See p. 375

'*Sample 3.* From a late Iron Age A pit on site Q. A small sample in which grains of Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and grains of Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) were present, the latter predominating.

'*Sample 4.* From an Iron Age C level on site Q. The grains in this sample are almost entirely those of Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), only three or four grains of Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) being present.'

Professor Percival has also examined the object illustrated on pl. XL, A, and reports that it is 'a piece from a small bun or loaf of bread, and quite similar to other samples I have of prehistoric bread. It appears to be more carbonized than usual; it may have been subjected to a higher temperature when originally baked.' The bun was associated with

Bi pottery (third quarter of first century B.C.). For similar survivals see Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 629.

TIMBER

Many samples of charcoal, often comprising a number of specimens from Maiden Castle, are still under or awaiting examination, but Professor E. J. Salisbury, F.R.S., has very kindly produced the following identifications. A full account of these charcoals by E. J. Salisbury and F. W. Jane has since appeared in the *Journal of Ecology*, xxviii (1940), pp. 310-25.¹

I. Neolithic

	Samples examined
(i) <i>From Neolithic A levels</i>	
<i>Quercus</i> (oak)	3
<i>Corylus</i> (hazel)	50
<i>Rhamnus catharticus</i> (buckthorn)	2
<i>Pyrus malus</i> (crab apple)	2
<i>Sorbus</i> , probably <i>Sorbus aria</i> (whitebeam)	1
(ii) <i>From Neolithic B and Early Bronze Age levels</i>	
<i>Quercus</i>	1
<i>Taxus</i> (yew)	1
<i>Corylus</i>	1
(iii) <i>In turf-line sealing Early Bronze Age but preceding Iron Age A</i>	
<i>Fraxinus</i> (ash)	1
<i>Populus</i> (poplar)	1
<i>Pyrus malus</i>	1

II. Early Iron Age

(i) <i>Iron Age A</i>	
<i>Corylus</i>	5
<i>Acer campestre</i> (maple).	1
(ii) <i>Iron Age Bi</i>	
<i>Quercus</i>	4
<i>Corylus</i>	3
<i>Acer</i>	2
<i>Salix</i> (willow)	1
(iii) <i>Iron Age Bii</i>	
<i>Quercus</i>	9
<i>Corylus</i>	11
<i>Betula</i> (birch)	1
<i>Fraxinus</i>	1
(iv) <i>Iron Age Biii</i>	
<i>Quercus</i>	14
<i>Corylus</i>	14
<i>Ulmus</i> (elm)	2
<i>Salix</i>	1

¹ See also Godwin and Tansley, *Journ. Ecol.* xxix (1941), pp. 117 ff.

	Samples examined
<i>Salix aurita</i> (?)	1
<i>Fraxinus</i>	1
<i>Taxus</i>	1
Plumstone	1
(v) <i>Iron Age C</i>	1
<i>Quercus</i>	1
<i>Corylus</i>	1

In Pit A 23 on site A a number of burnt Hazel nutshells (*Corylus avellana*) were found with Neolithic A pottery and two flint axes or adzes. Similar nuts were discovered in a Neolithic cooking pit at Hembury.¹

EVIDENCES OF METAL-WORKING

The most intensive evidence of metal-working at Maiden Castle was immediately outside the main gateways of the eastern entrance where, in and about the area subsequently occupied by the War Cemetery, the ground was literally covered with ash and scoriae. In particular, the floor of a circular hut situated on the southern flank of the outer end of the northern portal (pl. xvi, centre) was thickly encrusted with these remains. No actual smelting-hearths were, however, found here. The date of the whole of this iron working was that of the latest pre-Roman occupation, *c.* A.D. 25-45.

An analysis of this iron slag prepared by Messrs. Stewart & Lloyd, at the instance of Mr. O. C. Vidler, is as follows:

Mr. Vidler adds: 'It is interesting as showing the large amount of Ferrous Oxide and Ferric Oxide, 75·87, and the absence of Sulphur we think shows that it was puddled wrought iron. The higher percentage of Silica, 15·95, is quite unusual, as in ordinary good-quality cast iron we do not expect to find or get more than 3 per cent. of Silicon. The percentage in Phosphorus pentoxide also appears to us to show that it is puddled wrought iron, as in cast iron we frequently get 1·6 Phosphorus.'

Analysis	Per cent.
Loss on ignition	2·97
Silica	15·95
Alumina	1·47
Ferrous oxide	53·00
Ferric oxide	22·87
Manganese oxide	Trace
Lime	2·75
Magnesia	0·45
Phosphorus pentoxide	0·40
Sulphur	Trace

For the rest, traces of metal-working are confined almost entirely to the discovery of four crucibles, of which one has been illustrated above, fig. 70, 161. Three others are shown in fig. 119, as follows:

¹ *Proc. Devon Arch. Expl. Soc.* (1932), p. 180.

1. Triangular earthenware crucible from a Bii layer on site D; last quarter of first century B.C. This is the dominant type at Glastonbury,¹ but seems also to occur in an Iron Age A context at Merthyr Mawr in Glamorgan.² On these two sites the crucibles were used in bronze working; no trace of metal adheres to the Maiden Castle example.



FIG. 119. Crucibles ($\frac{1}{3}$)

2. Part of a large crucible from a Biii level on site D; first quarter of first century A.D. This crucible bears traces of fused bronze slag on its inner surface. Moreover, it is the inner, not the outer, surface which shows evidence of burning—a fact which suggests that in use the crucible was buried in the ground and the charcoal fire was piled over it in a fashion described by Professor W. Gowland on the analogy of a surviving practice in Japan.³

3. Rough cylindrical crucible from the Belgo-Roman level on site D. No traces of metal adhere to this.

¹ Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i, 300 ff.

² Cyril Fox in *Arch. Camb.* lxxii (1927), pp. 48–9.

³ *Archaeologia*, lvi (1898), 290; see also generally *Glastonbury Lake-Village* as cited.

APPENDIX TO PART III

A NOTE ON HAEMATITE WARE

By KENNETH P. OAKLEY

Department of Geology, British Museum (Natural History)

'Haematite Ware' is the name which has been widely applied to certain pottery of Iron Age A date having a thin and usually burnished coating of a dark-red ochre-like substance. It has generally been assumed that the burnished coating consists of powdered haematite (anhydrous sesquioxide of iron). Some time ago Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler asked me to investigate whether this material was in fact haematite, and if so whether the known distribution of the ware bore any direct relation to occurrences of haematite.

With regard to the initial problem, it was not enough to prove that the red slip in question consisted of iron oxide, since besides haematite there are other oxides of iron, such as goëthite, which in a finely divided state would have the same reddish-brown colour. In view of the fine state of division of the material it was clear that X-ray methods provided the only means of settling the problem. I was fortunate in gaining the co-operation in this matter of Mr. F. A. Bannister, Deputy Keeper of the Mineral Department of the British Museum, who was kind enough to take an X-ray powder photograph of a minute quantity of the material which had been scraped from the surfaces of a number of sherds of the so-called Haematite Ware found at Maiden Castle. The result was negative in character, but none the less interesting. Mr. Bannister reported that the sample consisted largely of finely divided quartz (possibly chalcedony), together with a red-brown, and apparently amorphous, substance. The background scattering in the photograph was low, indicating low iron-content, while the complete absence of haematite lines indicated that if haematite were present it formed less than say 10 per cent. of the whole, and had thus been entirely masked by the quartz. Mr. Bannister agreed that less than 10 per cent. of haematite would probably be sufficient to account for the red coloration of the slip.

However, the presence of haematite had yet to be proved, and Mr. Bannister suggested that a further sample of the slip should be prepared and examined by the same method after the light fraction (mainly quartz) had been separated by flotation. He was unable to carry out this further investigation at the time, and Dr. G. F. Claringbull, also of the Mineral Department, was good enough to undertake it.

A second sample of the slip scraped from sherds of 'Haematite Ware' from Maiden Castle was taken, and centrifuged in bromoform. In this way the heavy fraction was separated from the light, and was made the subject of the second X-ray powder photograph. The photograph clearly showed the characteristic diffraction lines of haematite.

Although the heavy fraction containing the haematite was very small in comparison with the light fraction, there can be no longer any doubt that the red coloration of the slip is due to haematite. The current name for the ware is thus justified. It must be noted, furthermore, that owing to the tenuity of the slip, samples obtained by scraping the surfaces of sherds inevitably contain a certain amount of the fine gritty backing of the paste itself, and this may explain the high proportion of finely divided quartz or chalcedony which was apparent in the material examined. Another possible explanation of the presence of quartz is that a siliceous ironstone was the basis of the slip.¹

¹ Cf. the limonitic ironstone (Carstone) found in the Lower Greensand of Surrey ('Geology of the Country around Aldershot and Guildford', *Mem. Geol. Surv.*, 1929, p. 33).

Haematite Ware is fairly widely distributed in southern England (see fig. 55), its greatest concentration being in Wessex. It has also been found on numerous Early Iron Age sites in Brittany, Normandy, and the Marne country. It is interesting to find that in France there are deposits of haematite or red ochre within the distribution-area of this pottery. The mineral occurs in Morbihan, Loire Inférieure, Maine-et-Loire, Manche, Calvados, and Orne.¹ Deposits of yellow ochre (limonite) occur in Jurassic rocks outcropping in Haute Marne,² and this material could have been converted into red ochre by heating. In England, on the other hand, there is no obvious association between the distribution of the ware and conspicuous occurrences of haematite or ochre. The chief occurrences of haematite in this country are in the Carboniferous Limestone of Cumberland, Lancashire, North and South Wales, and the Forest of Dean. Less important deposits occur in Somerset (Mendips), Cornwall, and Devon. Yet no Early Iron Age sites within the obvious haematite-producing counties have yielded examples of Haematite Ware.

Iron oxide is so ubiquitous in sedimentary rocks—particularly in arenaceous deposits—that with a sufficiently intensive search small amounts of concretionary ironstone consisting at least partly of haematite could probably be found in many of the rocks outcropping within the main distribution-area of the ware. Possible formations include the Wealden Beds, the Lower Greensand, and the Bagshot Beds.³ However, the use of the haematite burnish is a fashion which would no doubt have arisen in a country where deposits of haematite or red ochre were conspicuous. The fact that the fashion spread into areas like Wessex, where haematite could be found only in small quantities and after exhaustive search, indicates that its ultimate distribution was governed by cultural rather than by geological factors.

The Haematite Ware of Maiden Castle is clearly of local manufacture, but it is not easy to suggest the source of the haematite employed. The impurity of the slip might be taken as evidence that neither pure ochre nor crystalline haematite was available. A clue to the sort of material that may have been used is provided by a find made in the course of the 1936 excavations. A small box-shaped concretionary nodule of reddish-black ironstone, showing a layered structure, was found in an Iron Age A layer at the east gate (site G). While foreign to the site, there is no reason to suppose that it had been brought any great distance. Similar nodules might well occur, for instance, in the Lower Greensand of Worbarrow Bay, 13 miles to the east-south-east of Maiden Castle.⁴ The dark-red colour of the *streak* which this particular nodule gave suggested that it was haematitic, and Dr. Claringbull was able to confirm this by means of an X-ray powder photograph. The nodule proved to be very impure haematite, but there is every reason to believe that nodules of this sort would have served for the production of the burnished red slip characteristic of Haematite Ware. Similar concretions can be found in the Lower Greensand iron-ore deposits at Seend, Wiltshire. This is a significant occurrence in view of the fact that fragments of Seend iron-ore have been found at All Cannings Cross, one of the sites where Haematite Ware has been reported.⁵

With regard to the question of the technique employed in producing Haematite Ware, it is probable that finely powdered ironstone was applied in the form of a slip before the pottery was fired, and that the surface was subsequently rubbed with a smooth burnishing stone. In some examples of the ware the colour of the surface is patchy, and shows all gradations from light red to black. The local blackening is suggestive of the development of ferroso-ferric oxide (Fe_3O_4) through overfiring of the haematitic slip.

¹ A. Lacroix, *Minéralogie de la France*, iii (1901), pp. 265, 278–9.

² Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

³ Most of the ironstone concretions in the Mesozoic and Tertiary formations are limonitic, but in any case limonite is converted into red ochreous material by heating. Oxidized

pyrite nodules may be borne in mind as a possible source of impure haematite in some Chalk areas.

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. W. J. Arkell for this suggestion.

⁵ M. E. Cunington, *All Cannings Cross* (1923), pp. 53, 145.

PART IV

EPILOGUE

HERE ends the catalogue. From it certain general factors have emerged which may be held to justify, in conclusion, a brief discussion of the economic and historical position of Maiden Castle amongst the Iron Age cultures of western Britain as a whole. Any attempt to depict this broader context must remain provisional or even dubious until much further exploration has been carried out in our western hill-forts. Whole regions remain at present almost unknown to us; nor in any case can one body of evidence be compared with another save on the basis of an agreed common chronology. Local cultures, in origin closely related to one another, may well develop differentially, and, without full allowance for the time-factor, this varying evolution may easily be mistaken for varying origin. Nevertheless, in spite of many elements of doubt, it is perhaps worth while to take stock of the situation as it appears at the present moment; and, in the spirit of adventure rather than of assured discovery, the following observations are accordingly offered by way of epilogue.

On the material side, the provincialism of the British Iron Age civilization as a whole manifested itself, not in a deficiency of the new basic metal, iron, but in a dearth of the older basic metal, bronze. Even in the more easterly parts of England, where an immigrant aristocracy (notably but not exclusively the charioteers of the East Riding) seems to have provided the primary stimulus *in partibus* for the aristocratic craft of the La Tène metal-worker, the relative scarcity of bronze is well illustrated by the adoption of bronze-coated iron cores for bridle-bits—a device which does not occur in the continental homeland.¹ And when we turn to the remote downlands of Wessex, a land of partially urbanized peasant-farmers, the lack of bronze becomes vastly more emphatic. Cultures such as those of All Cannings Cross, Swallowcliffe Down, Maiden Castle A, have meagrely little to show in the matter of bronzework. Instead, their ring-headed pins are of iron, whilst similar types elsewhere are almost universally of bronze (p. 269); and even the fine casting of the bronze safety-pin brooch is clumsily imitated by them in wrought iron (p. 256). In the whole of the Maiden Castle A material only two trivial fragments of bronze, other than five or six brooches, are worthy of illustration (p. 270).

The explanation is easy. Bronze was a foreign commodity. Speaking of Britain generally, Caesar observes that the natives imported their bronze: *aere utuntur importato*.² Whether the bronze was imported from the remoter parts of the island or from the Continent is immaterial; Caesar's words in any case contain the crux of the problem in respect of lowland Britain. Bronze had to be bought, and only those lowland regions having exportable wealth could buy it. The Wessex farmers, with their elementary

¹ See J. B. Ward Perkins in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v (1939), p. 177.

² *Bell. Gall.* v, 12.

husbandry and indifferent soil, had little or nothing of surplus to export. The downs, scarred to-day with endless vestiges of 'Celtic' farms, villages, and fortified towns, must, by the middle of the Early Iron Age, have been crowded to capacity. Their inhabitants, save when momentarily disturbed from time to time by armed irruption, must have lived a tolerably comfortable hand-to-mouth existence, on an economic balance of local production and local consumption. With little to give, little was received by them from distant copper-mines or exacting middle-men. Even bronze brooches, most portable and most attractive of utile ornaments, were rare luxuries. As in all else, so in metal, local resources had to suffice; and the local metal was iron.

In more or less adequate and accessible form, iron ores are widespread in southern England. Maiden Castle itself looks north-eastwards to those heathlands, familiar to readers of Hardy, which have in fact produced a moderate supply of iron down to comparatively modern times. Again, to the south-west, the Corallian of Abbotsbury provides historical sources of iron. The point need not be further exemplified: iron lay to hand, and the Wessex yeoman used it in season and out.

The Wessex Iron Age A culture was, then, pre-eminently an *iron-using* culture, and therein exhibited both its poverty and its provincialism. That provincialism found a further expression, however modest, in the development of local forms: La Tène I brooches with long, flat, or even concave bows (p. 256), ring-headed pins with the variant 'involute' stems (p. 270). These things represent the insignificant enterprise of a peasant community working in isolation; but they scarcely relieve the tedium of a culture whose essential inertia is signified by an ever-devolving ceramic of pitifully low grade. The lack of bronze might itself explain the absence of the La Tène artistry which found its finest medium in that metal, were it not for the utter lack of any sort of artistry in the pottery. Wessex A was a slowly dying culture. By the first century B.C. it was dry tinder to any spark that fell upon it.

Some time within the first half of that century, the spark in fact fell. It came suddenly, and it came from the south-west. Wessex, west of the Hampshire Avon, now passed wholly or partly under the control of new masters, and its major hill-forts were remodelled to a new military pattern. The nature of that change—the multiplication of lines of defence—and its cause—the greatly developed use of the sling—have been sufficiently stressed elsewhere in this report. Being matters of military necessity, these changes, like such changes in all ages, took precedence of cultural development in the narrower sense of the term. It is clear, moreover, that the new dominant class was a small minority; it could order the building of a rampart, but it could not at once revolutionize a craft. That revolution came slowly and incompletely, and its reluctance was doubtless helped by the absence of the adaptable metal bronze. The newcomers had used bead-rim bronze bowls; the best that the bronze-less hill-fort craftsman could do was to imitate these in pottery, sometimes adding one trick of the alien (Breton) potter, the countersunk handle (p. 211). For the rest, this slight but distinctive foreign influence served mainly as a disciplinary stimulus to the traditional craftsmanship. Old Iron

Age A tricks—flattened rims, haematite colouring—were retained or even developed, but, although some of the coarse devolved types of the earlier régime remained long in use, there was a general improvement in the quality of the potter's workmanship. That improvement did not include the introduction of the potter's wheel, which was by this time normal in northern France; so that, whilst the imposition of multiple defences betrays direct or indirect influence from the Venetic area of southern Brittany (p. 56), there is no question of anything approaching a mass-migration from that direction. The craftsmen were still, for the most part, Wessex natives, working in some degree to new patterns and to a new standard of taste.

Such, then, is the so-called Iron Age B intrusion into the Wessex hill-fort area: the partial intrusion of a new and restricted but dominant class into the midst of the old Iron Age A population. Apart from the partial change in ceramic fashion, little was altered thereby in the composition of the Maiden Castle culture. In detail, a few minor but curious changes in the bone industry (pp. 304 and 307) may have accompanied minor Iron Age B innovations in the craft of cloth-making, and either then or shortly afterwards the introduction of the rotary quern improved the miller's outfit. Later, spiral bronze finger-rings were introduced for the first time, probably from Somerset and the midlands (see below, p. 385 and above, p. 266), but these have nothing in origin to do with the arrival of the primary Wessex Iron Age B. Economically, it is clear that that irruption produced, at any rate at first, little or no change. In so far as Maiden Castle may be taken as a type, the same scarcity of bronze, or indeed of any 'foreign' material, is observable in Hill-fort B as in Hill-fort A. Except for the spiral finger-rings, to which further reference will be made, only two or three trivial objects of bronze from B deposits are available for illustration. Even a mirror, humble representative of that proud class of British Iron Age craftsmanship, has a plate of iron instead of the usual bronze (p. 272). And not a single bronze brooch, save for one survival from the preceding phase, has been found in all the innumerable Iron Age B pits and layers which have been turned out during the four years' work. The inference is inevitable: the economic barriers of Wessex remained for the most part inviolate. Iron Age B, like Iron Age A, was primarily a local, iron-using culture, with little or no surplus wherewith to balance an import trade. It was not in the guise of traders that the new rulers came to Wessex. Elsewhere I have suggested that they were Venetic refugees, homeless but still determined and masterful survivors of the conquest and desolation of their homeland by Julius Caesar in 56 B.C.¹ But whether they came then or a few years earlier, it is manifest that they came as sudden settlers in search of a new home, not as prospectors in search of a new market.

In one respect only does western Britain begin at this period to show some faint sign of a commercial awakening. Since Mr. Reginald Smith's identification of the iron currency-bars in 1905, these strange objects have perhaps received less attention than is their due. The discovery of a small fragment of one of them in Maiden Castle (p. 277)

¹ *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 78.

is scarcely a valid excuse for a general reconsideration of them in this Report. But as an explicit demonstration of the primary value of iron in the economics of the west in the first century B.C., they cannot be omitted altogether from the present context. Indeed, it might be tempting to regard them with their relatively restricted westerly distribution as the culminating expression of that Wessex Iron culture of which we have been speaking. It is at least worth while to recall briefly both that distribution and the approximate date assignable to it.¹

First, as to date. From the available evidence² it is clear that there is no good reason for supposing that iron currency-bars were known to the Iron Age A culture, or that they were used extensively by the Belgic culture which penetrated westwards during the first half of the first century A.D. The bars are at home amongst the various Iron Age B cultures of the west in the first century B.C., and more particularly, it seems, in the latter half of that century. If, as is customary, we accept the apparent reference of Caesar to the use of iron bars as currency in a part of Britain in his day,³ we must infer that they were known here before 55 B.C., and that therefore units of Iron Age B were established here before that date. It follows that, if we can ascertain

¹ I am greatly indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., for preparing an annotated list of currency-bars for me. The following are additional to those listed by Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 398:

Dorset: Maiden Castle (present Report); Kingsdown Camp, Mells (*Archaeologia*, lxxx, 86, fig. 8); Read's Cavern, Burrington Combe, Somerset (*Proc. Spelaeol. Soc.* i, Bristol, 1921-2, p. 141, pl. xxv, 7).

Worcestershire: Midsummer Hill Camp (Roy. Comm. Hist. Mons., *Herefordshire*, iii, p. xlvii; *Trans. Worcs. Nat. Club*, viii, 1924, p. 108).

Northants.: Burton Latimer (T. J. George, *Hunsbury*, p. 39). *Yorks.*: Settle, Swell's Cave (*Antiq. Journ.* xix, 1939, 90).

Hants: Worthy Down, near Winchester (*Antiq. Journ.* i, 1921, 322; see also *Proc. Hants Field Club*, x, 178 ff.).

London: Thames at Hammersmith (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxvi, 1929, 88).

Bucks.: Thames at Datchet (2 bars in the London Mus.).

Berks.: Wayland's Smithy, very doubtful (*Antiq. Journ.* i, 1921, 188).

² This evidence may be summarized as follows:

1. The Maiden Castle fragment was found with late Bii pottery and may be ascribed to the beginning of the first century A.D.
2. The Spettisbury (Dorset) examples are thought to have been found amidst burials which date approximately from the time of the Roman Conquest. But this is not certain, and it is likely that the occupation of the camp began at least as early as 100 B.C.
3. The Hod Hill bars are derived from a camp which was occupied in the first half of the first century A.D. There is no good evidence of earlier date, but here again the evidence is inadequate.
4. At the Glastonbury lake-village, two bars may be ascribed

to the first centuries B.C.-A.D., perhaps to c. 50 B.C.-A.D.³

5. Two bars from Kingsdown Camp, Mells, Somerset, may be ascribed to the early part of the first century A.D. *Archaeologia*, lxxx, 1930, 86, fig. 8.
6. Three bars from Wookey Hole were 'found in the Celtic level 6 in. below the top', with decorated B pottery and a La Tène III brooch. *Archaeologia*, lxii (1911), 574, and H. E. Balch, *Wookey Hole* (1914), p. 88, pl. xvii, 18, 19, 21.
7. A hoard of 147 bars found in the camp of Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, was not dated, but recent (and unpublished) excavation has dated the pits in the vicinity of the hoard (which was itself probably found in a pit) to Cotswold Iron Age B. The same excavations produced two fragmentary bars from the make-up of a Belgic floor.
8. Part of a bar was found with Iron Age B pottery in a pit in Midsummer Hill Camp, Herefordshire. *Trans. Worcs. Nat. Club*, viii (1924), 108. For other pottery from the camp, see Roy. Comm. Hist. Mons., *Herefordshire*, iii, p. xlvii.
9. A hoard of 13 bars was found on Worthy Down, near Winchester, 'lying on the western rim' of a pit. The bars were 1½ ft. below the surface, and the top of the pit was 2 ft. below the surface, so that no connexion between the bars and the contents of the pit, which included Iron Age A pottery, is indicated. The occupation of the site lasted into La Tène III, and there was a reoccupation in the Belgic period. *Antiq. Journ.* i (1921), 326; *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, x, 178.

³ See Haverfield in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, xx (1903-5), 186.

where the focus of the currency-bar culture lay, we can in effect ascertain one of the earlier foci of Iron Age B.

In this search, most difficulties would obviously be removed if a minute analysis of a large number of bars should indicate a common and precise source for the metal. Whether such an investigation be possible, I do not know; it certainly has not been attempted. Professor Gowland long ago analysed two specimens, and thought that one of them came from the Forest of Dean.¹

A recent study of the distribution of the bars has led Sir Cyril Fox to a parallel conclusion.² He notes that the greatest hoards of these bars occur in the Malvern-Cotswold region, and infers that 'the Forest of Dean was the principal source of the ore for currency bars; that the hoard-sites to the north and east of the Forest represent the centres of population, mostly fortified, of the controlling tribe or groups'.

The lower Severn area (Malvern-Cotswolds-Forest of Dean), then, is identified as one of the earlier (pre-Caesarian) foci of Iron Age B. It cannot be chance that in this area we find in the same cultural phase a striking link with the Cornish peninsula. Distinctive pottery bearing a devolved 'duck' pattern is at home alike in the western Cotswolds and in Cornwall, but occurs otherwise on only one site in the whole of Britain.³ Whether this link implies more than the absorption of Cornish tin-miners into the Forest iron-field and the communities of the iron-masters can only be guessed. But it at least provides a further point of differentiation between the Cornish and Severn B cultures on the one hand and the Dorset or 'Wessex' B on the other.

If, however, we are compelled to reject the iron currency as a significant feature of the Wessex iron-using culture, it is perhaps permissible to attach a minor meaning to the fragmentary bar from Maiden Castle and to the bars found on three other sites in Dorset and five in Somerset. These, considered in relation with scattered bars from as far afield as Northamptonshire and Yorkshire, may perhaps be taken to epitomize that partial opening of the northern frontiers of provincial Wessex which is otherwise indicated in the second part of the first century B.C. True, a currency will, by its very nature, spread somewhat beyond the limits of the originating culture. But it can scarcely be a coincidence that in the latter half of Wessex B (end of the first century B.C. and beginning of the first century A.D.) there first appear at Maiden Castle those spiral bronze finger-rings and spirally decorated glass beads which also link Dorset with Somerset, the Cotswolds, and Northamptonshire. And at the same time, along a part of the same route, 'Glastonbury' pottery trickled through to Maiden Castle, and the decorative ideas which informed it were in circulation along the Jurassic Zone. The factors governing this slight relaxation of the Wessex frontiers are not, and are not likely to be, certainly recoverable: the energy and enterprise of the Wessex Iron Age B invaders may alone have been sufficient to widen the political and economical horizon to the comparatively small extent

¹ Ibid., p. 194.

² *Antiquity*, xiv (1940), 427 ff.

³ See Thalassa Hencken in *Arch. Journ.* xcv (1938),

89 (map). To the sites listed by Mrs. Hencken may now be added Gurnard's Head, Cornwall.

implied in the evidence. At least it can be said that here were the faint beginnings of a new interregional sense which was, as the event proved, to receive its greatest impetus from a wholly different direction.

Before we turn to these new influences, the position up to the present point may conveniently be summarized. Four more or less distinct factors have been detected in the composition of the western British B complex. The first of these may be christened 'Cornish B'. It is the product of Breton, probably Venetic, traders who settled in the western, tin-bearing region of Cornwall at some unknown date prior to the Caesarian conquest of Brittany in 56 B.C. The link between Venetic Brittany and Cornwall is illustrated by the close similarity between the cliff-castles of the two regions, and is emphasized by the identity of the distinctive rampart-construction revealed by the recent excavation of Kercaradec, at Penhars near Quimper in southern Finistère, and of the cliff-castle on Gurnard's Head, Cornwall.¹ A further bond between the two sides of the Channel is the occasional use of the slow wheel in the Gurnard's Head pottery, in contrast to the general absence of the potter's wheel elsewhere in Britain before the Belgic settlement. Yet a further link is provided by the occurrence of the distinctive 'duck' ornament on pottery in southern Finistère and in western Cornwall.

The second factor may be called 'Severn B'. It is the result of the opening up or development of the lower Severn Valley, on the basis of Forest of Dean iron, and the establishment—under the commercial stimulus perhaps of the Cornish traders—of a province of commercially minded farmers in the Cotswolds and the Malverns. Their link with western Cornwall is illustrated by the extension of the alien 'duck-pattern' pottery into this region;² but the presence also of a more local substratum is shown by the admixture of Iron Age A forms (e.g. at Bredon Hill) which, so far as we know, have nothing to do with Cornwall. This mixed local and foreign—agricultural and commercial—society gradually succeeded in pushing its iron trade into agricultural Wessex, where the use of iron had, as we have seen, long dominated the local craftsmanship, but the urge, or the wherewithal, to trade had hitherto been absent. As observed above, the initial date of this 'Severn B' is also pre-Caesarian if we are right in ascribing to it the invention of the bar-currency to which Caesar apparently refers.³

With the new commercial activity thus emanating from the Severn Valley, the third factor was brought into play. This was the artistic metal-craftsmanship which, in late

¹ In both cases the defensive system is triple, the main rampart is faced with dry-stone walling and has three steps or stages along the inner side—a feature without close parallel in this part of Europe and therefore presumable as evidence of interchange. *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1940), 100.

² Mr. Raleigh Radford reminds me of the figurine of Spanish type from Aust-on-Severn (*Brit. Mus. Iron Age Guide*, 1925, p. 148) as further evidence for coastwise circulation in the direction of the Forest of Dean.

³ The classification of the Iron Age culture or cultures which flank the Severn estuary between the Cornish peninsula and the Forest of Dean—in Monmouthshire, western

Gloucestershire, and coastal Somerset—cannot easily be attempted on the present evidence. It would appear that sites such as Sudbrook and Ilanmelin in Monmouthshire and Lydney in Gloucestershire are considerably, perhaps more than half a century, later than the formative period above in question, and may owe some at least of their characteristics to local evolution rather than to cultural invasion. As Sir Cyril Fox points out, the Silures evidently lay outside the iron 'ring'. In the circumstance, any discussion of the initial relationship of these coastal districts to the early and substantive cultures discussed above would be premature.

Marnian times, had been established along our north-eastern coast but had largely failed to penetrate the stubborn provincialism of Wessex. The new circulation of commodities and ideas stimulated by 'Severn B' gradually spread to the Somerset region and opened it up to an imported bronze craftsmanship and to the artistry associated with bronze-work. In pottery, the reflex of this process is familiar to us in 'Glastonbury B', a culture which probably contains also Breton elements (above, p. 216) but matured in Somerset and radiated outwards along the downs and the flanks of arterial rivers, from eastern Cornwall to western Hampshire, between 50 B.C. and A.D. 25.

Throughout the period, however, Dorset, the fourth province, was essentially peripheral to these new factors—alike to 'Glastonbury B' and to the iron- and bronze-trade which lay behind it. For the most part, the land of the Durotriges remained self-sufficient, content by force or by choice with its own mineral resources. The thin trickle of 'foreign' trade which began to enter Dorset from the direction of Somerset in the latter half of the period scarcely modified the commercial drought which had become normal to the down-land. The flood came only with the sudden supervention of Belgic dominion in the first half—probably the second quarter—of the first century A.D. It came, not from the north, but from the east or north-east; not with the clumsy improvisation of currency-bars but with a coinage based, however remotely, upon that of the civilized world. It came with conquerors whose horizons were international or at least inter-regional by long use; whose craftsmanship, though lacking the artistry of the old Marnian tradition, was efficient and catholic in its material. At Maiden Castle, bronze brooches now reappear, bronze rings, a bronze torque and other ornaments, swords with bronze fittings, the massive bronze axle-hub of a chariot or wagon. The economic barrier of Wessex is at last demolished. The Belgic régime that broke it was not perhaps of the first order of magnitude; the bulk of the subject-population remained of the old stock, and retained, for example, the old western burial-rite of inhumation; the ceramic craftsmanship of Maiden Castle still owed much to the Iron Age A and B elements in the local tradition (p. 240). But now for the first time Wessex became a unit in the Belgic complex of south-eastern Britain and forgot much of its westerly orientation. The way was prepared for that new invasion which, shortly afterwards, was to make Dorset an integral part of the Roman Empire.

APPENDIX TO PART IV

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

By J. M. DE NAVARRO, F.S.A.¹

The Date of the Beginning of the La Tène Period

The upper limit of the La Tène period has been and still is the subject of controversy. Tischler,² who was the first to divide it into phases, set it at c. 400 B.C. Reinecke in 1902³ and Déchelette in 1913⁴ considered that it started about 500 B.C. In 1925 Reinecke revised his dating, and regarded the period as beginning in the middle of the sixth century B.C.⁵

A comparison of the relative chronologies of these three authorities is best shown by the following table:

<i>Tischler</i>	<i>Reinecke</i>	<i>Déchelette</i>
	A	I
EARLY	B	
MIDDLE	C	II
LATE	D	III

It will be seen that while Tischler and Déchelette follow a threefold division, Reinecke (and most of the German archaeologists agree with him in this) divides the period into four phases. In Reinecke's chronology phase A definitely antedates Tischler's Early La Tène; but Déchelette includes Reinecke A and B in his La Tène I, believing that, where southern imports are lacking, it is difficult to distinguish between the phases in question.⁶ The chronological refinements of Viollier,⁷ Pittioni,⁸ and Jahn⁹ may hold good for certain localities, but, not believing them to be of general significance, I will not discuss them here.

During the last decade the whole problem of the upper limit of La Tène has been opened afresh by Jacobsthal.¹⁰ Hitherto the dating had been determined by associated finds: native objects found with datable southern imports. But Jacobsthal bases his chronology on a comparison of the different ornamental features in La Tène art with their prototypes in southern Europe and elsewhere, which leads him to conclude that the La Tène style came into being not earlier than 400 B.C., and perhaps even later.

¹ [The chronology of the La Tène epoch has been the subject of considerable disputation, and recently, under the leadership of Dr. P. Jacobsthal, the tendency has been to scale it down and so, incidentally, to prolong the final Hallstatt phase. The chronology adopted in this report (pp. 5, 30, 190, and 251) is that which seemed to me to tally most consistently with the various categories of evidence; but, since it did not quite fit into the 'Jacobsthal' scheme, I invited Mr. de Navarro to review that scheme in a short appendix. After the first draft of Mr. de Navarro's note had already been written, Dr. Jacobsthal, with the liberal-mindedness which informs all his work, modified his views in the sense indicated by Mr. de Navarro in his concluding paragraphs as here printed. There is now no essential divergence between the Jacobsthal chronology and that which I have adopted.—R.E.M.W.]

² 'Correspondenz-Blatt', *Archiv f. Anthropol.* (1885), pp.

157 ff.

³ *Festschrift . . . des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des röm.-germ. Museums zu Mainz* (1902).

⁴ *Manuel d'arch. celtique*, iv (1st edition), pp. 928 ff.

⁵ *Bayerischer Vorgeschichtsfreund*, v, p. 49 f.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 435 (2nd edition; subsequent references to this work apply to this edition).

⁷ *Comptes rendus de l'Assoc. franç. pour l'avancement des sciences* (Dijon), ii, pp. 636 ff.

⁸ *Sudeta*, iv (1928), pp. 64 ff.; *La Tène in Niederösterreich* (1930), pp. 74 ff.

⁹ *Die Kelten in Schlesien* (1931), pp. 35 ff.

¹⁰ Jacobsthal, *Die Antike*, x (1934), pp. 17 ff.; *Prähist. Zeitschr.* (1934), pp. 62 ff., *Burlington Magazine* (Sept. 1935), p. 113 ff., and in different unpublished lectures.

His fixed points are the double-grave of Waldalgesheim (on the Middle Rhine),¹ and the burial at Canosa (southern Italy)² which yielded the famous La Tène helmet. This masterpiece of native work was found with pottery, glass, and gold objects dating from late in the fourth and from the opening decade of the third century B.C. Among the antiquities from the double-grave at Waldalgesheim were a bronze double-handled bucket of Campanian origin³ and a gold neck-ring, a fine example of the Celtic goldsmith's art.⁴ If trust can be placed in the finder's account the latter occurred in the upper grave, thought to be that of a woman, while the bucket came to light in the lower burial which Aus'm Weerth considered to be the last resting-place of a man.⁵ As it is extremely probable that certain ornamental features on the imported bucket served as models for motifs on the native ring, the two graves would seem to be approximately of the same date and may even be contemporary:⁶ the star-flowers on the bucket, which are reproduced on the ring, do not occur in classical art before the outgoing decades of the fourth century.⁷ The Waldalgesheim double-grave cannot therefore date from c. 400, as was formerly thought, but must be assigned to c. 300 B.C. or a little before, although Jacobsthal considers the spouted flagon earlier than the other native work from this site.⁸

As further support of his reduced chronology he cites the evidence of face-tendrils⁹ and other motifs 'which were not generally used in classical times before the fourth century and therefore could not be borrowed by the Celts before 400 B.C.'¹⁰ Since Reinecke assigns such tendrils as occur on the Waldalgesheim gold rings and in early La Tène graves in Italy to the *second* of his

¹ Aus'm Weerth, *Grabfund von Waldalgesheim* (Festprogramm zu Winkelmanns Geburtstag), Bonn, 1870.

² Naue, *Prähist. Blätter* (1898), pp. 49 ff., where the helmet is illustrated. Jacobsthal will shortly republish the Canosa material. The helmet is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

³ *Die Antike*, I, p. 26, fig. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26 f., fig. 7.

⁵ The excavation was a haphazard one: the peasant owner found it on his ground; but I quote the finder's account given by Aus'm Weerth, loc. cit., p. 9 f., for what it is worth: 'Kaum 1½ tief unter der Erdoberflächestieß ich auf Feldsteine und fand über denselben ohne Ordnung umherliegend goldene Armringe, einen goldenen Halsring, der aus seiner ursprünglichen Rundung in fast gerade gestreckte Form gebracht war, und Rest eines Ringes von schwarzer Masse. Unter den Feldsteinen lagen eine eiserne Wagenradschiene und ein eisernes Pferdegebiss, eine gehenkelte Bronzekanne, ein doppeltgehenkelter Bronzeimer, Ringe und Fragmente von Bronze, dabei zwei in Gestalt von Hörnern, die man für Schnäbel eines Pferdehamens hielt. Beim Zuwerfen der Grube kamen noch der zweite der beiden zusammengehörigen goldenen Armringe und drei der Bronzeringe zum Vorschein.' Despite Lindenschmit's scepticism (*Altstätten unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, III, text to pls. 1 and 2) recent authorities (Behrens, *Katalog Bingen*, 1918, p. 25, and Schumacher Ebert, *Reallexikon*, XIV, p. 247) are of the opinion that the gold rings were found in the upper, the bronze vessels in the lower burial.

⁶ It is conceivable that in this double-burial we have an instance of *suttee*, a practice not unknown to the La Tène peoples, e.g. the cemetery from Thuizy, Marne (Déchelette, loc. cit., p. 541 f.). Apart from the spouted flagon, the uniformity of style on the native objects from this site suggests that there was little or no chronological disparity between the

two interments.

⁷ *Prähist. Zeitschr.* (1934), p. 103.

⁸ Since the above was written Jacobsthal has reviewed Baumgärtel's 'Gaulish Necropolis of Filottrano' (*Jour. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1937, pp. 231 ff.) in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1939), p. 98 f. He regards Montefortino (also a Gaulish cemetery in Ancona published by Brizio, *Monumenti Antichi*, IX, 1901, pp. 616 ff.) and Filottrano as other fixed points. The Attic and Italiote pottery from these sites, associated with such La Tène objects as the gold torc (Filottrano, Baumgärtel, pl. XIX, 1), 'a pendant to the gold torc from Waldalgesheim', and the sword (Filottrano, Baumgärtel, pl. XXX, 6), dates mainly from the second half of the fourth century (see *J.H.S.*, 1939, p. 100 f.). The gold finger-ring (Filottrano, Baumgärtel, pl. XIX, 3) Jacobsthal regards as later, probably of the third century B.C.; he believes that it was cut by a dye-sinker as its decoration closely resembles coins of the Longostaletes, 'usually assigned to the third century' (*J.H.S.*, 1939, p. 98 f.). Reinecke assigns Montefortino, with which Filottrano is contemporary, to his B phase. For other La Tène finds in Italy—notably the Bode bronzes—see *Prähist. Zeitschr.* (1934), pp. 62 ff.

⁹ *Prähist. Zeitschr.* (1934), p. 103. Instances of this motif occur on the gold armlets with buffer ends from Waldalgesheim (cf. Déchelette, *Man. d'arch. celtique*, La Tène vol., fig. 582) and on the bronze ring from the Department of Aube, Brit. Mus. Guide Iron Age Antiq. (1925), fig. 59; they may have originated in the same workshop.

¹⁰ The bronze *stamnos* he considers to be a modified Etruscan derivative of a Greek ceramic-form, and to date mainly from the fourth century, although the earliest examples may have been made shortly before 400 B.C. (from a lecture, as yet unpublished, given at Cambridge).

four phases, the above evidence might at first sight appear to have but little bearing on the upper limit of phase A. But Jacobsthal goes still farther: he maintains that the motifs on the helmet from Canosa and on the various native objects from Waldalgesheim¹—both sites assigned by Reinecke to La Tène B—can all be paralleled on native finds brought to light in the Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves which Reinecke, Schumacher, and others regard as La Tène A. Jacobsthal therefore believes that phase A can no longer be regarded as a separate entity earlier than phase B, and concludes that the La Tène style could not have come into being before 400 B.C., if indeed as early.

These are powerful arguments, and render it no longer possible to admit of so high a date as the middle of the sixth century for the upper limit of the La Tène period; even 500 B.C. is too early. Yet there is evidence which causes me to believe that Jacobsthal has reduced the dating somewhat drastically.

The most obvious objection, and one of which Jacobsthal himself is fully aware, is that nearly all the Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves, assigned by Reinecke to his A phase, have yielded Etruscan bronze beaked flagons (*Schnabelkannen*).² The latest of these vessels, found in the first barrow from Weisskirchen,³ was made about 450; the rest, c. 490–60 B.C. When associated with even one object of definitely later date (as in the above barrow from Weisskirchen) these flagons must have been handed down as heirlooms. But if one accepts so low a date as 400 B.C. or later for the upper limit of La Tène, it must follow that in *all* the burials which contain these vessels they were consigned to earth two if not more generations after the date of their origin, a conclusion I find great difficulty in accepting.

Nor should one accept the question of retardation too lightly; Jacobsthal admits that the roots of many La Tène I ornamental forms lie in the art of the fifth century, and this applies both to southern⁴ and Oriental⁵ prototypes from which the La Tène motifs were derived. At first sight this might not appear to be of much consequence; but if, as is probable, the origin of the La Tène style is to be ascribed to the importation of artists from the south and east,⁶ it is strange that those artists should to no inconsiderable extent have drawn upon forms which had already passed out of fashion both in Mediterranean and Oriental lands.

The evidence of the earliest La Tène cemeteries in Italy (e.g. Montefortino and Filottrano),⁷ though of a negative character, may afford some clue to our problem. The burials yield no native types exclusively characteristic of Reinecke's A phase, nor any beaked flagons—if one excludes the conservative south Alpine area (see *Antiquity*, 1930, p. 131). As far as actual types are concerned, the earliest aspect of La Tène in Italy is that of La Tène B. Hence many archaeologists regard phase A as the period of La Tène antedating the Celtic invasion of Italy, an historical event which took place in the opening years of the fourth century.⁸

There are also arguments of another nature against a complete rejection of La Tène A as a separate entity: I refer to topographical and funerary differences between phases A and B. One may allow that in certain regions these differences owe their existence to ethnic or economic reasons rather than to the chronological factor. I have touched elsewhere⁹ on this possibility, but advanced

¹ And the torc and sword from Filottrano (also La Tène B), referred to above, p. 389, note 8.

² Jacobsthal and Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen* (1929), pp. 20 ff.

³ Déchelette, loc. cit., fig. 438.

⁴ Jacobsthal, *Burlington Magazine* (Sept. 1935), p. 114.

⁵ Oral communication from Professor Jacobsthal; see also *Die Antike*, x, p. 41 f.

⁶ See below, p. 392.

⁷ See above, p. 389, note 8.

⁸ Despite Polybius, II, 17, and Hubert, *Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique jusqu'à l'époque de La Tène*, pp. 322 ff., we cannot as yet safely point to any pre-La Tène culture in northern Italy as evidence for the existence of large settled Celtic communities in that area.

⁹ de Navarro, *A Survey of Research on an Early Phase of Celtic Culture* (Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1936), p. 27.

it tentatively as an hypothesis: for certain areas such explanations can hardly hold good. In Bohemia both phases are represented. The barrows of phase A lie for the most part in the south and west; the flat-grave cemeteries of phases B and C in the north. But while certain graves of the local Hallstatt groups, known as the Platenice and Bylany cultures, have yielded La Tène A types,¹ the civilization which *succeeded* those cultures was that of the La Tène B/C flat-grave cemeteries.² It is hard to explain this without admitting some chronological priority for La Tène A:³ in Bohemia, at all events, the differences between the culture of those two phases cannot solely be ascribed to ethnic causes, though ethnic differences did probably exist.

These are some of the difficulties which cause me to believe that Jacobsthal's dating may be somewhat too low.

To summarize: in the present state of our knowledge the evidence of associated finds and the stylistic approach yield different dates for the beginning of the second Iron Age. The arguments brought forward by Jacobsthal are weighty. The gap between his and the older chronologies might be lessened, did he admit that some of the *native* masterpieces were heirlooms. This he is unable to concede: the native objects, he argues, are as a rule in a better state of preservation than the imports. He sees two stages in the La Tène peoples' attitude to articles of luxury: an earlier, when foreign objects are encountered, which, owing to their rarity, were handed down as heirlooms; and a later stage, in which contemporary imports from the south are of far rarer occurrence, their place being taken by native masterpieces which, quite apart from their greater appeal to the native taste, would not be so difficult to procure and were therefore less likely to be handed down from one generation to another.

Owing to the reasons stated above, I am inclined to reduce the older chronologies less drastically than he, and would suggest c. 450 B.C. or very soon after as a date for the beginning of the La Tène civilization upon the Continent.

When did the La Tène Period begin in the Marne Region?

The upper limit of our period in the Marne region is not without consequence for England, since the earliest manifestations of La Tène in this island have their closest analogies to the Marnian or La Tène culture of north-east France. But it is first necessary to touch upon the starting-place of the civilization in question.

There are three main sources from which the art of La Tène I is derived: the classical, the Oriental, and the Hallstatt.⁴ It might seem at first as if the style in question came into being through native artists copying and adapting motifs on imported objects. Were this so, one would expect the starting-point of the culture to lie in a region where elements from each of the three above-named sources have come to light. Their remoteness from more or less contemporary Oriental influences precludes locating the cradle of this style in the hinterland of Massilia or in Upper Italy. Moreover, actual imports from the East which might have served as models to the La Tène I craftsmen are lacking in south Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. They are only found in regions too far afield to be seriously considered as the cradle of the La Tène style: Rumania,

¹ Schráníl, *Obz. Praeh.* i, pp. 15 ff.

² Schráníl, *Vorgesch. Böhmens und Mährens*, p. 222. It should be noted that Schráníl uses the terms *Altere-La-Tène-Periode* and *Mittel-La-Tène-Periode* to denote phase A and phases B/C respectively.

³ Even though the culture of La Tène A may have persisted later (as it did in north-east Bavaria, see Kersten, *Prähist. Zuchr.*, 1933, p. 163 f.) outside the region of the

La Tène B/C flat-grave cemeteries, it is clear that it started in Bohemia before the close of the Platenice-Bylany episode (see *Obz. Praeh.* i, pp. 15 ff.).

⁴ Jacobsthal now regards the geometric motifs of the last-named component not as Hallstatt legacies but as Italian derivatives of geometric ornament found in Greek art of the Orientalizing period, derived by the Celts, at a later date, through contact with northern Italy.

Hungary.¹ For this and other reasons it is unlikely that this style originated through native artists copying the ornamental forms which embellished imported objects. One is therefore faced with two alternatives: either it came into being through Celtic craftsmen serving their apprenticeship in Italy and the East; or, which is far more probable, through Celtic chieftains, their need for beauty sharpened by the objects of luxury which came in with the wine trade, enlisting the services of foreign artists² from whom the native craftsmen were quick to learn.

Granted this view to be the correct one, no region can lay better claim to being the starting-point of the La Tène style than the area of the Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves. Nowhere in the transalpine area do we encounter wealthier La Tène burials than there, graves rich alike in native masterpieces and southern imports. It is only reasonable to assume that the creators of the La Tène style settled in the region where existed the greatest demand for their handiwork; nor is evidence lacking for the existence of early workshops in that area.³

The style of La Tène I, despite the diverse sources from which it arose, is of so individual a character that one is tempted unduly to restrict the area in which the civilization developed. When elsewhere discussing this problem⁴ I somewhat under-estimated the part played in its early history by north-east France. There is reason to believe that, although the main drift of culture was from east to west, the Champagne area and the immediately adjacent districts contributed to the metal repertoire of La Tène I. I do not hold with Schumacher⁵ that the civilization in question originated in France and thence spread eastward into Germany: it is not possible solely to derive the Marnian culture from the local Hallstatt groups (Haulzy and Les Jogasses), although they did contribute certain features towards it which assisted in giving it its individual character. Yet both in types and in style there is much in the Marne culture which was intrusive and cannot be ascribed to the local Hallstatt heritage. It was probably mainly through the Middle Rhenish region that southern imports (metal vessels from Italy and Greek pottery) reached north-eastern France: for trade along the Massilia route—important for eastern France, northern Switzerland, and south-west Germany in Late Hallstatt times—waned during La Tène I.⁶ Native objects from Middle Rhenish workshops also reached north-east France: one need but cite the bronze disks (*phalerae*) found in the area of the Marnian culture.⁷ The existence of a west-to-east current is clear enough, but the possibility of an early influence emanating from north-east France is apt to be overlooked.

¹ See Fettich's map in *Der skythische Fund von Garischinowo* (*Archaeol. Hung.* xv), 1934, p. 47. The find from Rubenberg, Kr. Podersam, Bohemia (*Deutsche Heimat*, 1928, p. 340 f.), a bear's head, the product of a Scythian workshop in Hungary, is the most westerly Scythian object yet known (cf. Fettich, loc. cit., p. 42). See Nestor, *Ber. röm.-germ. Kommission* (1932), p. 154, for the only known instance of an actual eastern import found in a La Tène grave (Aiud, Rumania). Nestor assigns this burial to the third century B.C.

² Jacobsthal has recently shown (*Germania*, 1933, p. 131) that in the flagons found at Lenzburg (in northern Switzerland) we have an instance of a Greek artist working for a barbarian market. He regards the pantheress-handles on these two vessels as perhaps the solitary instance of the borrowing of a purely Greek form in La Tène art; the classical influence, which looms so largely in that style, being in his opinion derived through Italy (*Die Antike*, x, p. 34). The La Tène sword-sheath from Hallstatt (Ebert, *Reallexikon*, iii, pl. 122) he regards as the work of an Atestine craftsman employed in a transalpine Celtic workshop (Cf. *Four. Rom. Studies*, 1938, p. 66, note 11 and other instances there given for the

blending of Atestine and Celtic forms, e.g. the dagger from Este, *ibid.* pl. xi, 4, and the situla from Moritzburg).

³ Langenhain (*Ann. des Ver. f. nassauische Altertumskunde*, 1907, pp. 245 ff.), where half-finished and finished bronze disks occur in the same hoard. Jacobsthal (oral communication) believes that the chariots from the three Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves of Besseringen (*Bonner Jahrb.* xli, 1866, pp. 1 ff.), Horhausen (*Mitt. d. nass. Alter.*, 1897-8, pp. 37 ff.), and Karlich (*Germania*, 1934, pp. 8 ff.) must have come from a workshop in the Coblenz district.

⁴ de Navarro, loc. cit., p. 28.

⁵ *Mainzer Ztschr.* (1907), pp. 16 ff.

⁶ The work of Jacobsthal has in this respect led me to modify the views expressed in *Antiquity*, ii (1928), pp. 423 ff. I still believe that trade passed along the Rhône route (coral, for instance, from the Îles d'Hyères) during La Tène I, but there can now be little doubt that in the last-named period the main classical influences reached the La Tène area from Italy by way of the Alpine passes.

⁷ See Ritterling, *Annalen d. Vereins f. nassauische Altertumskunde* (1907), p. 255.

The origin of the La Tène I 'open' sword-chape is not without importance in this respect. It is generally considered to have been evolved from the crescentic chape of Late Hallstatt times. But nowhere is the typological sequence so well represented as in the Champagne and immediately adjacent districts. Although the variant in which the horns of the crescentic chape curl round until they touch the sides of the scabbard is known in south-west Germany,¹ to my knowledge the immediate precursors² of the normal La Tène I open chape are only found in the Champagne area and the districts bordering upon it. It is difficult, therefore, not to believe that that fundamental and characteristic form, the open chape, was evolved in north-east France, whence it spread rapidly over the La Tène I area.

With this evidence in mind let us return to the upper limit of La Tène in north-east France. While on general grounds the culture in question would appear to have first unfolded in the Middle Rhenish area, the origin of that widespread form, the open chape, suggests that the chronological discrepancy at the outset of the second Iron Age between the last-named region and the area of the Marne culture was negligible—a generation, perhaps even less. Indeed, in the present state of our knowledge, a comparison of the imports in the chariot-burials of the Marne culture with those from the Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves affords no clue other than that they were contemporary. It is only on inductive grounds that I incline to the view that in the Marnian region the La Tène period began very slightly later than it did in the area which there is reason to believe was its starting-place.

Since the above was written Jacobsthal has developed his views still further. They are as yet unpublished and subject to modification; but, with his permission, they may be summarized as follows:

He now sees two styles in Déchelette's La Tène I: an early style (style I) in which all three components mentioned above, on p. 391, are manifest, and in which—especially in western Germany—the Oriental influences are very marked; and a style which he names after the famous site, Waldalgesheim (style II). In this the Oriental influences give place to classical plant-motifs, partly derived from those of style I and partly developments of contemporary southern ornament. Most of the Middle Rhenish Chieftains' Graves, assigned by Reinecke to phase A, have yielded objects decorated in the Early style, whose upper limit Jacobsthal now believes to fall during the two last decades of the fifth century B.C. Allowing for retardation, this practically eliminates the chronological gap between the date of manufacture of the southern imports, so richly represented in those graves, and the beginning of the La Tène period as he formerly envisaged it. The upper limit of the Waldalgesheim style he dates to the closing decades of the fourth century (see above, p. 389). It is this style which is represented on the La Tène objects from Filottrano, Montefortino, and on the helmet from Canosa.

He distinguishes two further styles: style III, best seen in Switzerland and Hungary, characterized by even more individual tendril-motifs than those of style II and by a new feeling in the treatment of plastic ornament. Owing to a complete lack of associated imports, styles III and IV are hard to date; one can only say that objects adorned with the former are types which, on typological grounds, have been assigned to La Tène II (Reinecke C).

Style IV corresponds with that discussed by Leeds on pp. 6–15 of his book, *Celtic Ornament*. Though related to style III, it is an insular phenomenon—perhaps the most magnificent and

¹ The Hallstatt D dagger from Salem, Baden (Wagner, *Fundstätten und Funde*, 1902, i, fig. 56 a). This variant of chape is also found in the Champagne area, e.g. at Les Jogasses (Favret, *Rev. Arch.* 1927, i, p. 94).

² Favret, loc. cit., p. 94, fig. 5, sword from the bottom, and Nicaise, 'Les cimetières gaulois dans la Marne' (*Extrait des Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropol.*, 1884), pl. 4, figs. 3–4. For the La Tène I open chape see Déchelette, loc. cit., fig. 457, 1–6.

certainly the most individual artistic contribution of the La Tène civilization. But while Leeds assigns it to La Tène II, Jacobsthal detects in some of the style IV masterpieces—the Witham shield, for instance—Roman influence and so regards it as late.¹

There are further styles to be fitted into the general chronological pattern of early Celtic art. But the gap between Jacobsthal's upper limit for the La Tène period and that suggested above (p. 393) is, for the moment, definitely reduced.

¹ Cf. *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1939, 'The Witham Sword'.

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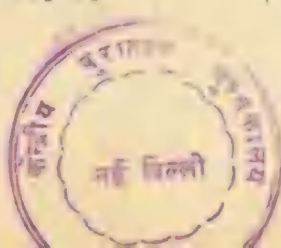
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Neolithic Long Mound: mutilated primary burial Q1, as found
See pp. 21 and 344



A. Cut fragments of skull of neolithic skeleton Q1 (Long Mound) as found
See p. 344



B. Trephined skull of neolithic skeleton Q1 after reassembling



C. Skull of neolithic skeleton Q1, showing basal cut



Cut bones of neolithic skeleton Q1. See p. 346



Burial (foundation-burial) at the junction of the original rampart and the earliest rampart of the extension. See pp. 38 and 346



A. Burial T1, Iron Age B. See p. 347



B. Burial T13, Iron Age B. See p. 347



A. Burial T18 in the counterscarp rampart at the E. entrance,
Iron Age B. See p. 347



B. Cutting into the counterscarp rampart at
the E. entrance, showing burial T18. See
pp. 43, 110, 347



A. Site Q: burial in pit Q4, Iron Age B. See p. 348



B. Site B: infant-burial 1, Iron Age C
See p. 349



A. Burial T4, Iron Age C. See p. 349



B. Burial T12, Iron Age C. See p. 349



B. Burial T20, Iron Age C. See p. 350



A. Burial T28, with coffin-nails and dog, Iron Age C—Early Roman. See p. 350.



Burial T28, showing boot-nails and coffin-nails



Dog with skeleton T28: coffin-nails in foreground
See p. 350



A. Eastern entrance: war cemetery. General view from south. The figure on the right stands in the roadway of Iron Age A; beyond L the flanking wall with post-sockets. See pp. 63, 119



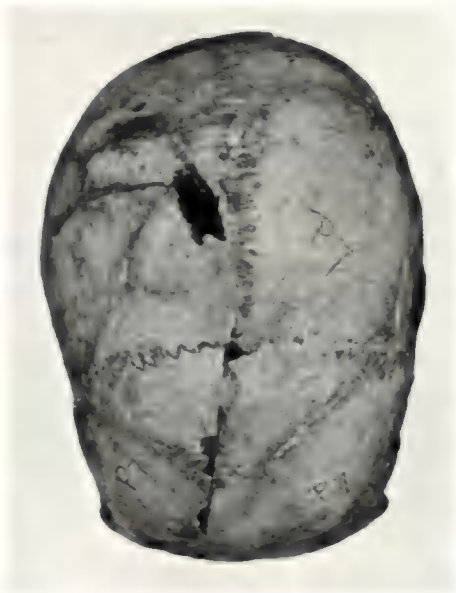
B. War cemetery: burials and post-holes of underlying Belgic hut. See p. 118



A. Skeleton P2. See p. 352



B. Skeleton P5. See p. 352

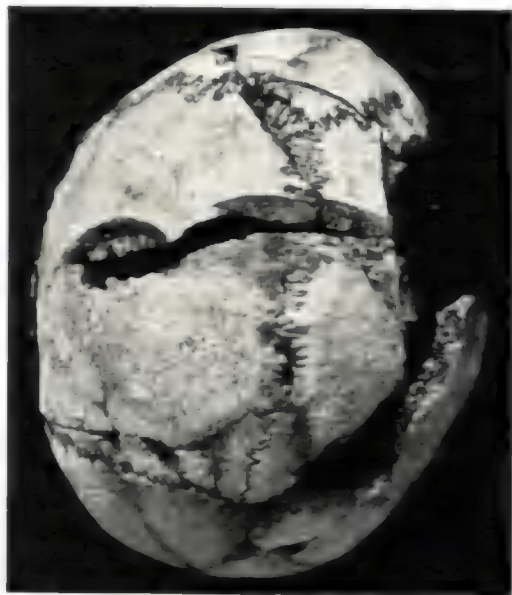


C. Skeleton P7. See p. 352



D. Skeleton P7. See p. 352

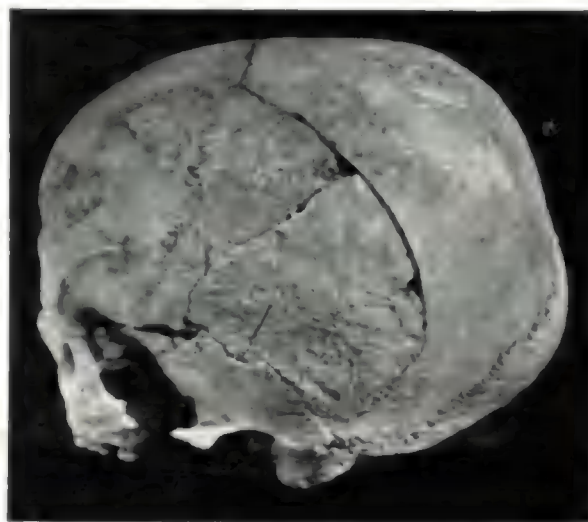
War cemetery: skulls showing fatal wounds



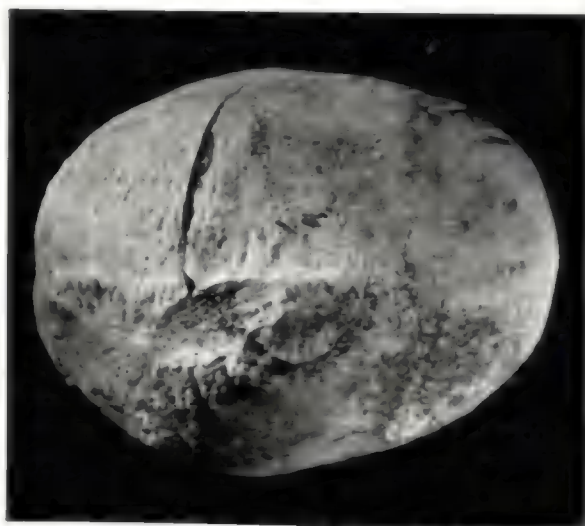
A. Skeleton P12. See p. 353



B. Skeleton P14. See p. 353



C. Skeleton P26. See p. 354



D. Skeleton P27. See p. 354

War cemetery: skulls showing fatal wounds



A. Skeleton P19. See p. 353



B. Skeleton P30. See p. 355



C. Skeleton P34. See p. 355

War cemetery; skulls



A. War cemetery: skeleton P2. See pp. 233, 352



B. Feet of skeleton P2, showing toe-ring. See p. 278



A. War cemetery: skeleton P6. See pp. 233, 352



B. War cemetery: skeleton P9, holding joint of lamb. See p. 353



A. War cemetery: skeleton P7A, showing iron arrow-head in vertebra as found. See pp. 63, 281, 352



B. War cemetery: skeleton P14, holding leg of lamb. See p. 353



A. War cemetery: skeletons P19 and 19A. See pp. 233, 353



B. War cemetery: skeleton P20. See p. 353



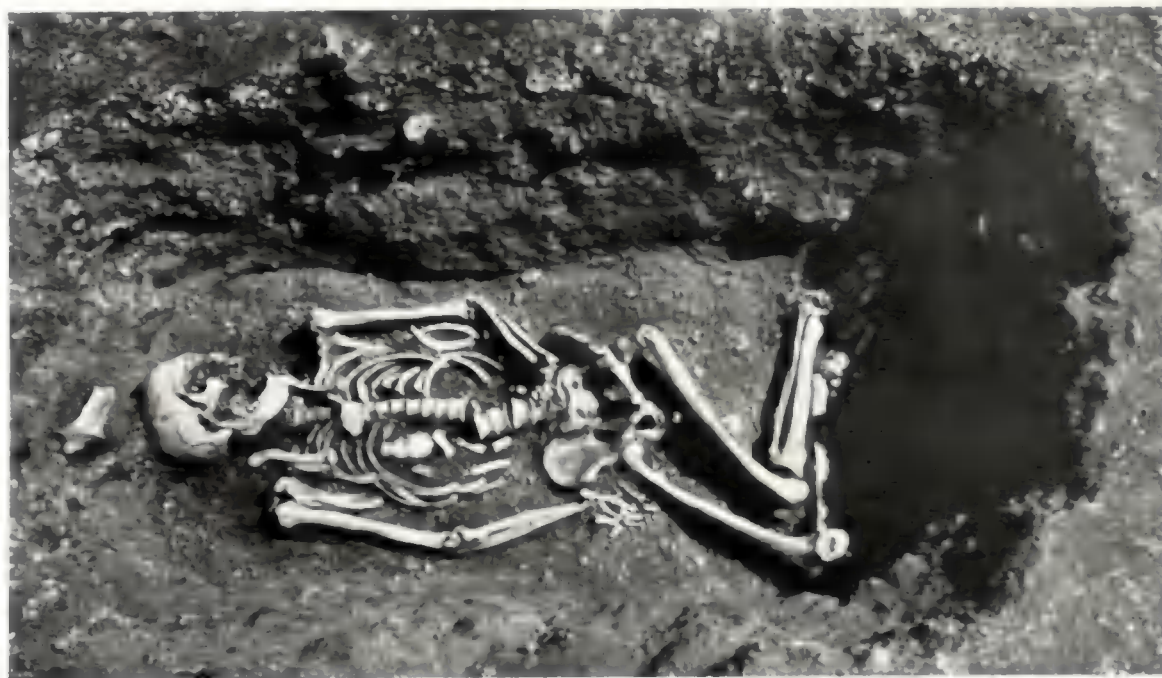
A. War cemetery: skeletons P22 and P23. See pp. 233, 354



B. War cemetery: detail of skeleton P22 showing grave-goods. See pp. 63, 281, 354



A. War cemetery: iron bracelet on skeleton P27
See pp. 281, 355



B. War cemetery: skeleton P 28. See p. 355



A. War cemetery: skeleton P29. See p. 355



B. War cemetery: skeleton P30. See p. 355



A. War cemetery: skeleton P31. See p. 355



B. War cemetery: skeleton P34. See pp. 233, 355



A. Site Q: Saxon burial showing knife and scramasax



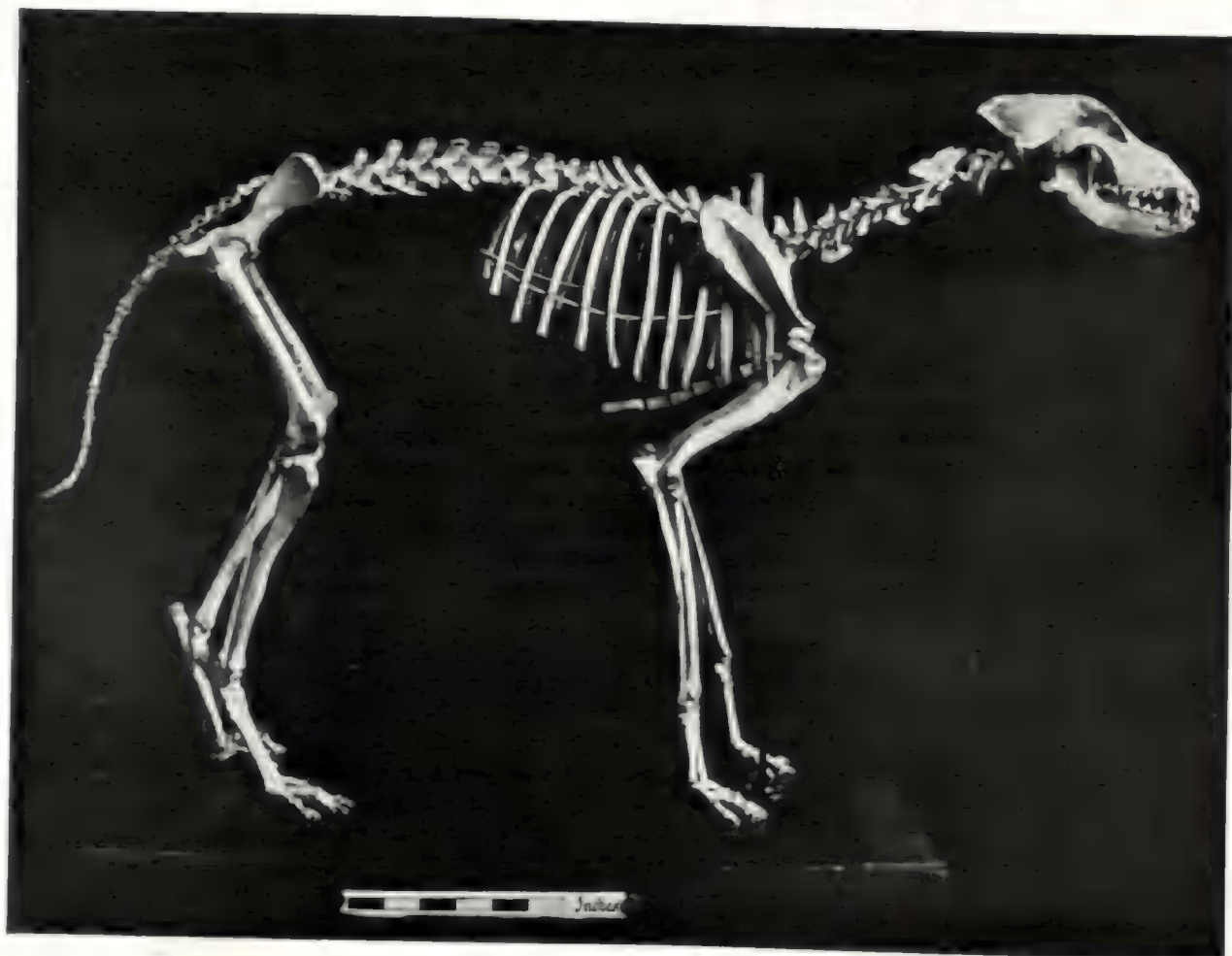
B. Saxon burial: knife and scramasax across femur. See p. 78



Horn-cores of *Bos primigenius* from the neolithic A filling of the S. ditch of the Long Mound
See pp. 88, 361



A. Site D: dog in pit D4, Iron Age B. See p. 98. Compare below



B. The same skeleton set up. See p. 369



A. Main rampart and ditch, N. side, present state



B. Western entrance from the south, main rampart on right



A. Western entrance. (*Times* photograph)



B. Western entrance from Hog Hill. See p. 45



S.W. corner of the camp showing sites D and E
Air photograph by the late Major G. W. G. Allen, M.C. See p. 127



A. Lynchets of Iron Age type, N.W. of Maiden Castle



B. Another view of above. See pp. 14, 36
Air photographs by the late Major G. W. G. Allen, M.C.



Site A: A, Neolithic ditch; B, turf-line over A; C, post-hole for palisade of Early Iron Age A defences; D, rampart of Early Iron Age A defences; E, material overlying the back of the rampart. See pp. 81, 89



Site G: Cutting into the mound between the portals of the eastern entrance. The man stands in the underlying neolithic ditch, the turf-line over which shows as a black band at the level of his shoulder. Cf. pl. XI. See p. 82



Site F, Eastern entrance: outer neolithic ditch under the causeway of the northern portal
See p. 82



Maiden Castle from the west showing the excavation of the neolithic Long Mound
Air photograph by the late Major G. W. G. Allen, M.C. See p. 86



Site Q: section across the neolithic Long Mound, &c., under Iron Age A rampart. a, filling of neolithic town-ditch; b, Long Mound; c, filling of Long Mound ditch; d, overlying Iron Age A rampart. See pp. 81, 83, 87 and pl. V



A. Site L: Northern ditch of neolithic Long Mound



B. Site L: section across northern ditch of neolithic Long Mound. The Iron Age strata have been removed down to the Bronze Age turf-line. See p. 86



Site A: original western ditch of Maiden Castle, from the east. The lowest man is standing on the original bottom of the ditch; behind the uppermost man are hut-pits, and in the distance are the later earthworks of Maiden Castle
See p. 89



Site H: original western ditch of Maiden Castle. The lowest man stands on the bottom of the ditch; the others stand on ledges cut by the builders on the inner slope. See pp. 32, 122



Site H: cellular construction of the Iron Age B rampart over the original western ditch of Maiden Castle. See p. 123



Site E: cutting through the innermost western rampart, from the east. The upper man points to a post-socket of rampart 6 and stands on the limestone parapet of rampart 5. The lower man stands in the quarry of rampart 4, and behind him, at a higher level, is the base of an oven. See p. 101



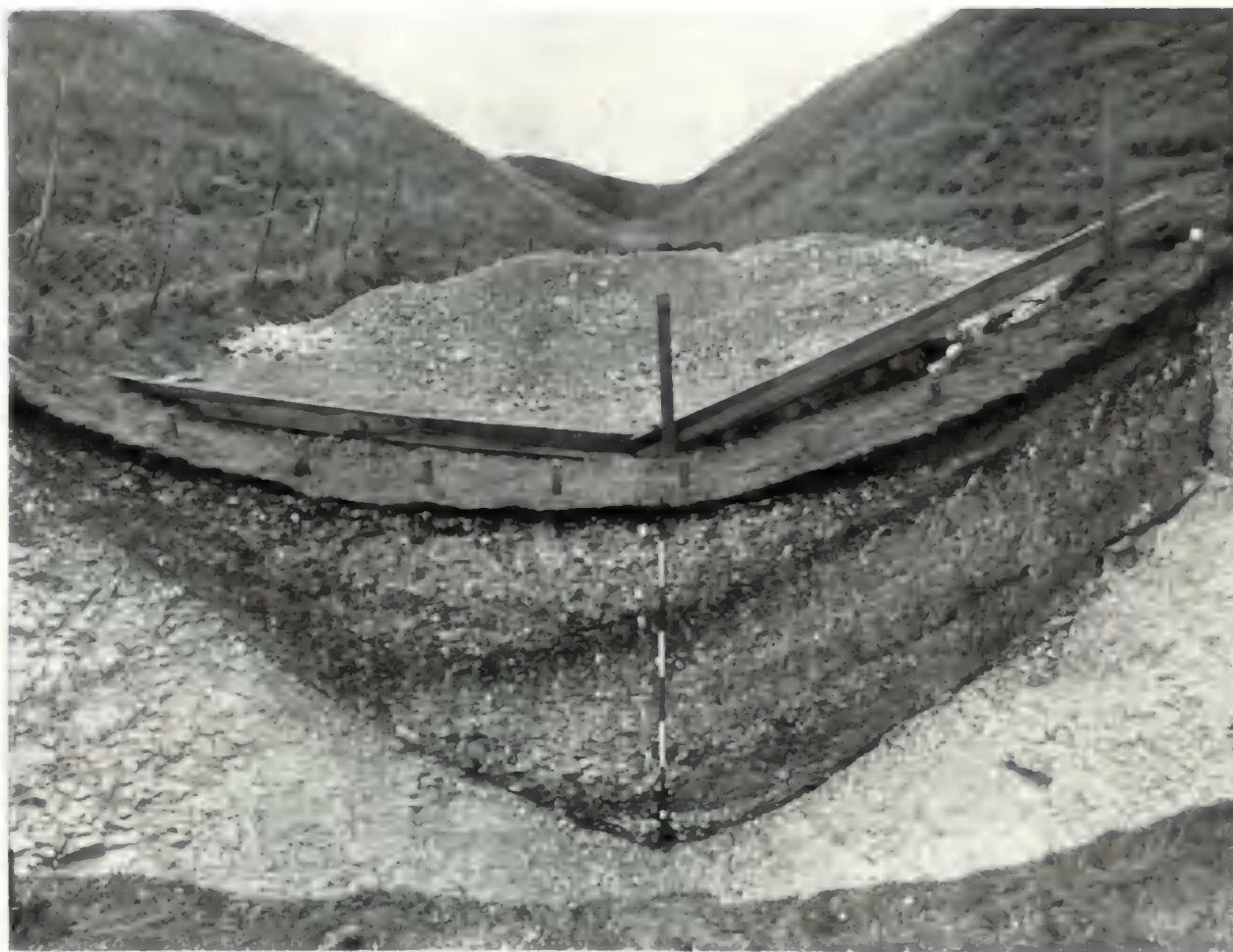
A. Site E: inner slope of main rampart, showing parapet, retaining walls, and (in foreground) post-holes of Iron Age B, and (at top) holes for rampart-palisade of Iron Age C. See p. 101



C. Eastern entrance: internal walls in the Iron Age B rebuild of the hornwork. See p. 113



B. Site E: cutting through the innermost western rampart, from the north-west



Site E: Section through the main ditch, Iron Age B (compare pl. IX)
See p. 105



Site D: Floor of the quarry-ditch behind the main rampart, Iron Age B
See p. 99



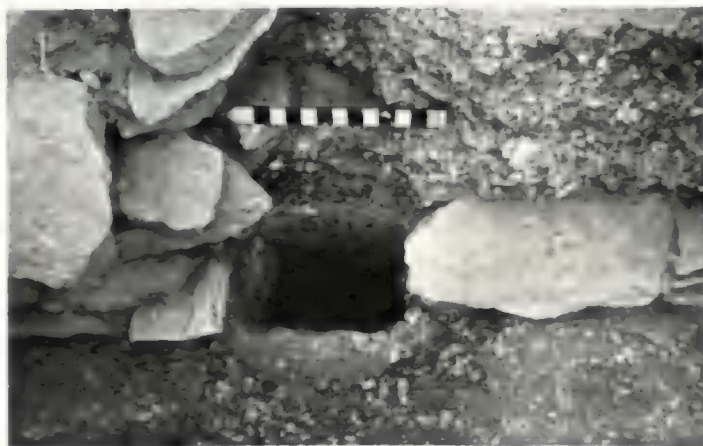
Wal-Wal, Abyssinia. See pp. 41, 105



Eastern entrance: metalling of Iron Age A, east of the hornwork
See pp. 33, 108



A. Eastern entrance: section through the hornwork showing berm, external wall, and front and rear lines of post-holes, of Iron Age A, and overlying rebuild of Iron Age B. See pl. XII and p. 109



B. Eastern entrance: square post-hole and walling of Iron Age A hornwork. See pp. 101, 109



A. Eastern entrance: view from the main gateways, showing the two Iron Age A roads and overlying Iron Age B rebuild of the hornwork. See p. 109



B. Cutting through the Iron Age B hornwork (c), showing: a, underlying N. road of Iron Age A with flanking post-holes and wall; b, hornwork rampart of Iron Age A, at left-hand side of upper photograph



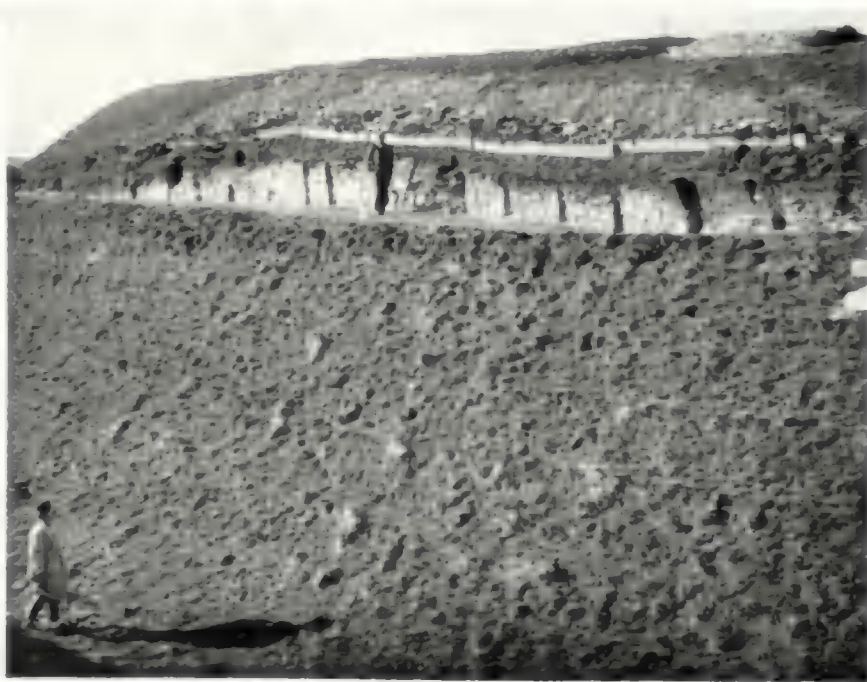
Eastern entrance: northern Iron Age A road, with flanking walls and post-holes, under the Iron Age B hornwork (partially cut away). In r. foreground, skeletons of Belgic war cemetery. See pp. 109, 117



Eastern entrance: southern Iron Age A roadway with overlying Iron Age B hornwork and part of the Belgic war cemetery. See pp. 109, 117



A. Eastern entrance: outer (eastern) slope of the inner hornwork, showing the underlying roadway and flanking wall, Iron Age A



B. Timber-and-masonry revetment of the earlier rampart under the hornwork, Iron Age A. See pp. 34, 110



A. Eastern entrance: Iron Age A walling on the outer face of the hornwork, showing the sockets for posts and (on the right) a rebuilding after the decay of a post and the collapse of the wall. See pp. 38, 110



B. The same, showing the berm. See p. 34



Eastern entrance: flank of the Iron Age A road through the hornwork, showing post-holes and walling of Iron Age A and (on left) Iron Age B repairs to walling. See pp. 45, 110



Eastern entrance during excavation, 1937: excavation of the temple and neolithic Long Mound on left
Air photograph by the late Major G. W. G. Allan, M.C. See pp. 86, 131



A. Eastern entrance from the S.E., during excavation



B. Eastern entrance from the west: excavations in progress
Air photographs by the late Major G. W. G. Allen. See p. 106



A. Site F: northern gateway of the eastern entrance, from the east (exterior). The man stands on the site of the actual gate, and to the left of him is the abutment of the Roman screen-wall. To the left of the photograph, marked x, is a section across the filling of the original ditch (compare B, below). See p. 121



B. Site F: eastern entrance. Section across filling of end of original ditch (marked x on pl. XCV A). 1, turf-line over natural silting; 2, artificial filling inserted in the second phase of the entrance; 3, hut-floors of Iron Age B and C over filling; 4, superimposed dump of Roman period; 5, post-hole of the first phase of the entrance; 6, edge of Iron Age C metallurgy. See pp. 109, 121



A. Eastern entrance: southern portal during excavation



B. Inner part of the southern portal showing Iron Age wheel-tracks and flanking wall. See pp. 47, 117



Site T: Eastern entrance: section across the early Iron Age B ditch (pl. XIII B), with overlying burials of Iron Age C.
See p. 110



Eastern entrance: southern portal from the east showing late Roman blocking in the background. The figure stands in the late Roman quarry pit. See p. 77



A. Eastern entrance: wall of S. 'tower' on counterscarp of main ditch, Iron Age B.
See p. 114



B. Eastern entrance: base of tower or platform on the hornwork, Iron Age B. See pp. 47, 113



A. Revetment of bank ('tower') beside the southern approach to the eastern entrance, Iron Age B. In the foreground the stones from the demolished revetment lie upon the surface of the road-metal. See pp. 46, 67, 113



B. Section at eastern entrance, showing (1) surface of latest pre-Roman (Belgic) road, (2) stones from flanking walls demolished at the Roman conquest, (3) early Roman road (c. A.D. 43-70), (4) layer of humus, accumulated in the middle Roman period after the abandonment of the site, (5) late Roman blocking wall. See p. 119



A. Eastern entrance: outer part of southern portal, showing remains of flanking walls with (A) surface of latest pre-Roman (Belgic) road, and (B) surface of early Roman road. Between the road-surfaces are blocks thrown from the flanking walls at the time of the Roman conquest. In the background, standing upon a layer of humus, is the late Roman blocking wall. See p. 119



B. Eastern entrance, Southern portal: tumbled side-wall of Iron Age B; above, on level with bucket, section through overlying road of early Roman date. See pp. 64, 119



A. Western entrance: a, Iron Age A metallurgy; b, I.A. A walling; c, I.A. A bank; d, I.A. B pit; e, I.A. B platform; f, I.A. B hornwork overlying I.A. A bank, &c. See p. 129



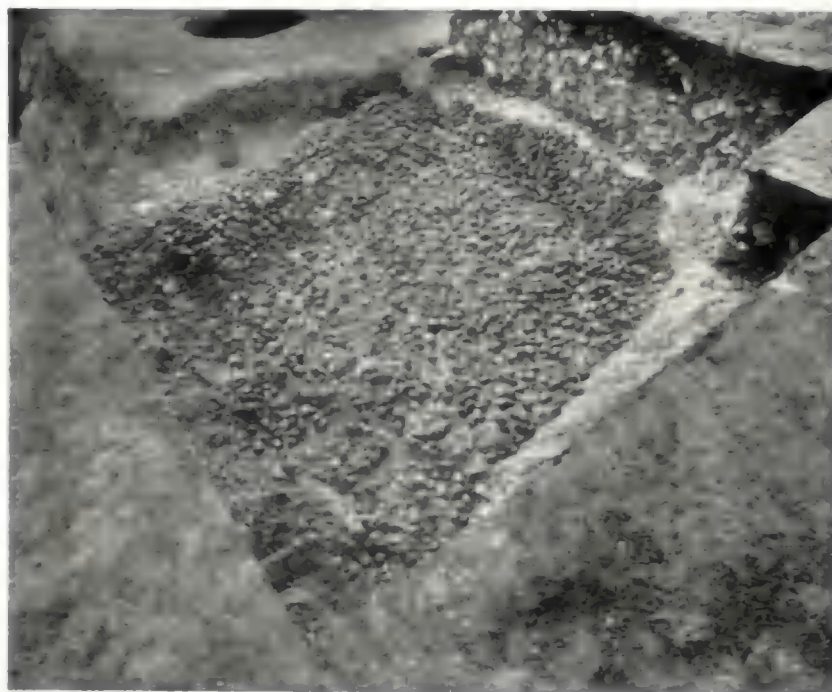
B. Western entrance: trench showing early I.A. B ditch underlying late I.A. ■ causeway at V (Pl. XXI). See p. 111



A. Site L: Early Iron Age street. See p. 126



B. Section across the hollowed street between site L and northern portal of the eastern entrance.
See pp. 35 and 126



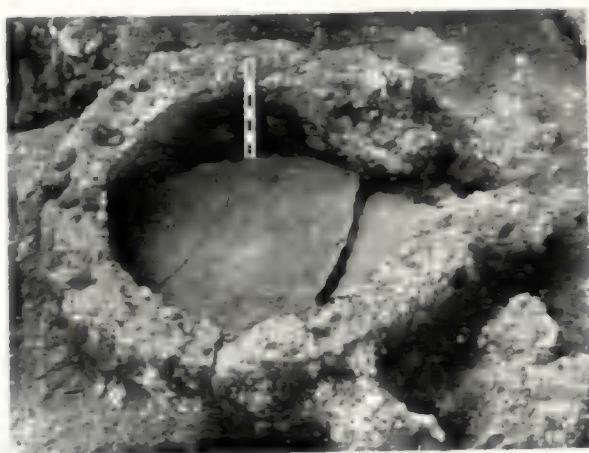
A. Hoard of over 20,000 slingstones at the eastern entrance (Iron Age B).
See pp. 49, 115



B. Slingstone hoard within hornwork of the eastern entrance, Iron Age B. See p. 49



A. Site D: oven, Iron Age B
See p. 93



B. Site E: base of oven, Iron Age B
See pp. 55, 93



Site D: pits D₁ (left) and D₈₋₁₁. See p. 98



Site B: double pit B1 from the south. See pp. 54, 90



Site B: Pit B1, showing lowest floor and fringe of mutton bones
See pp. 52, 90



Site B: Pit B9, with water-catchment system. Eastern wall of the Roman temple in background
See pp. 54, 91



Site Q: stone-lined storage-pit, Iron Age B
See p. 51



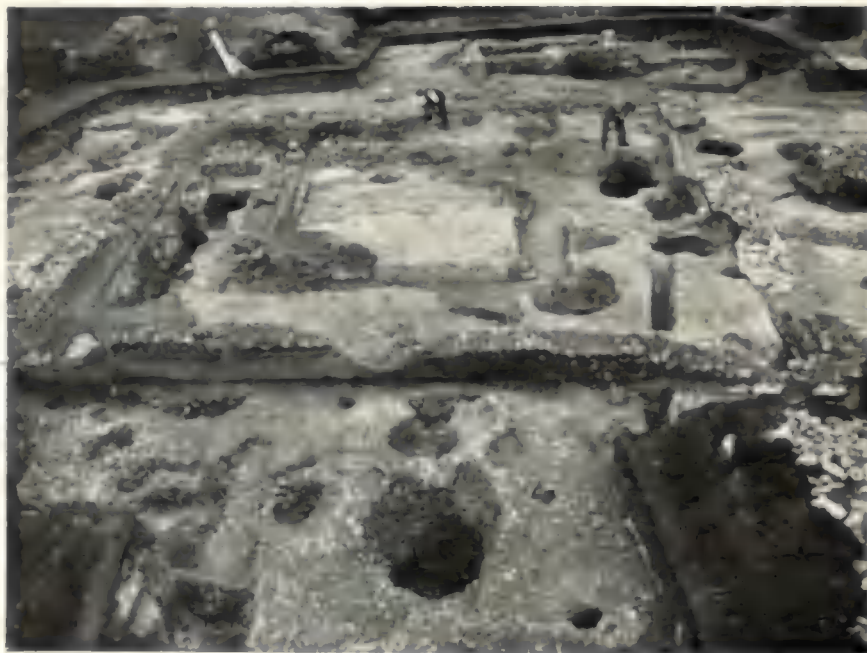
A. Site D: Hut DB2, Iron Age B
See p. 94



Site D: wall of hut DB2. See p. 94 and fig. 18



Site D: hut DB, Iron Age C. See p. 96 and fig. 19



A. Site II from the south, showing the Roman temple and underlying Iron Age pits. See pp. 90, 131



B. Site B: southern wall of the Roman temple, showing external plastering. See p. 131



A. The Roman priest's house, from the north, with underlying Iron Age pits
See p. 132



B. Core of the Roman town-wall in West Walks, Dorchester



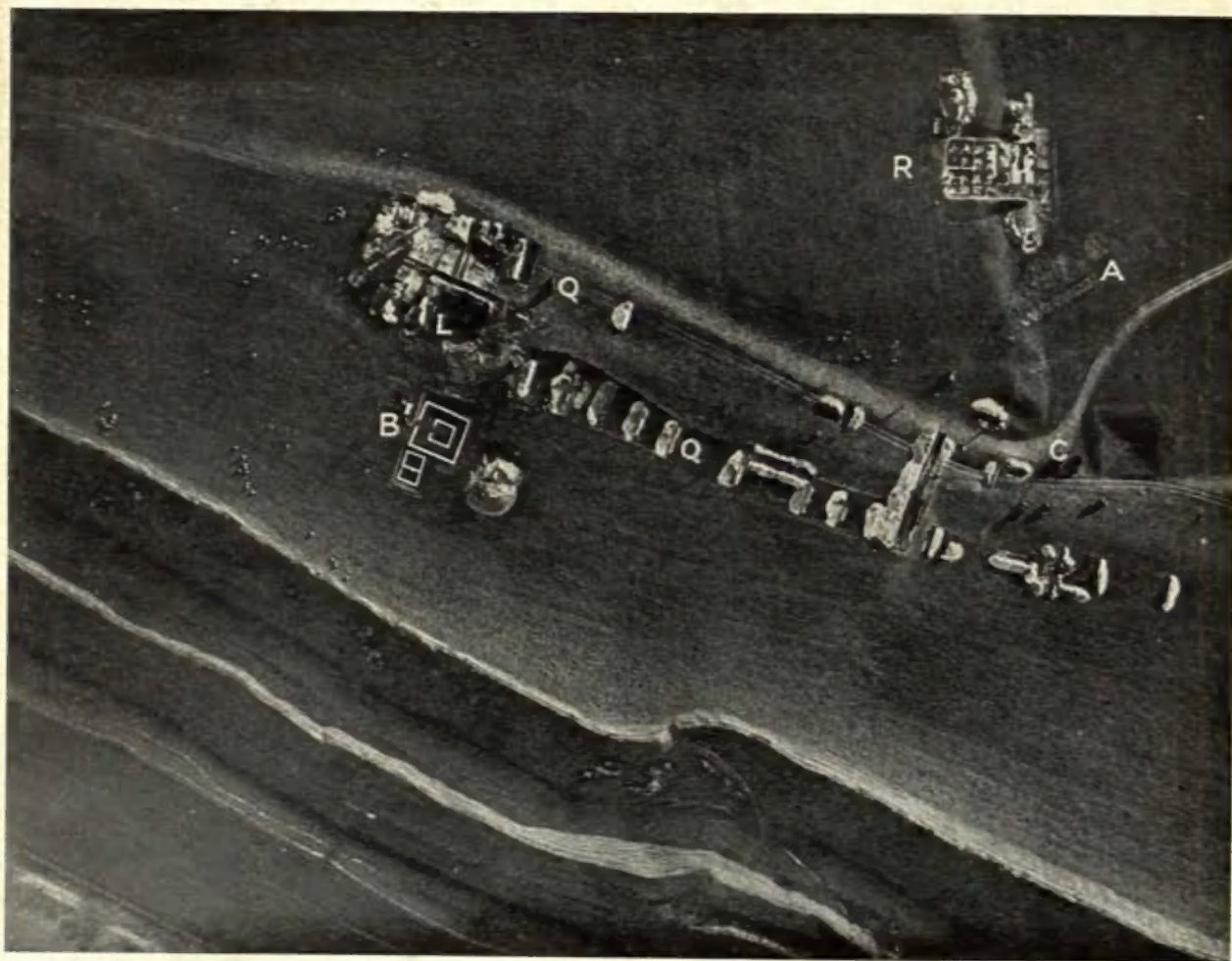
A. Site L: remains of late Roman hut. See pp. 127, 135



B. Site L: dry-stone walling of late Roman hut. The rounded stone is the door-pivot. See p. 74



Eastern entrance, northern portal: A, Belgic and early Roman road: B, overlying mould of middle Roman period; C, late Roman road.
(Scale of feet). See p. 120



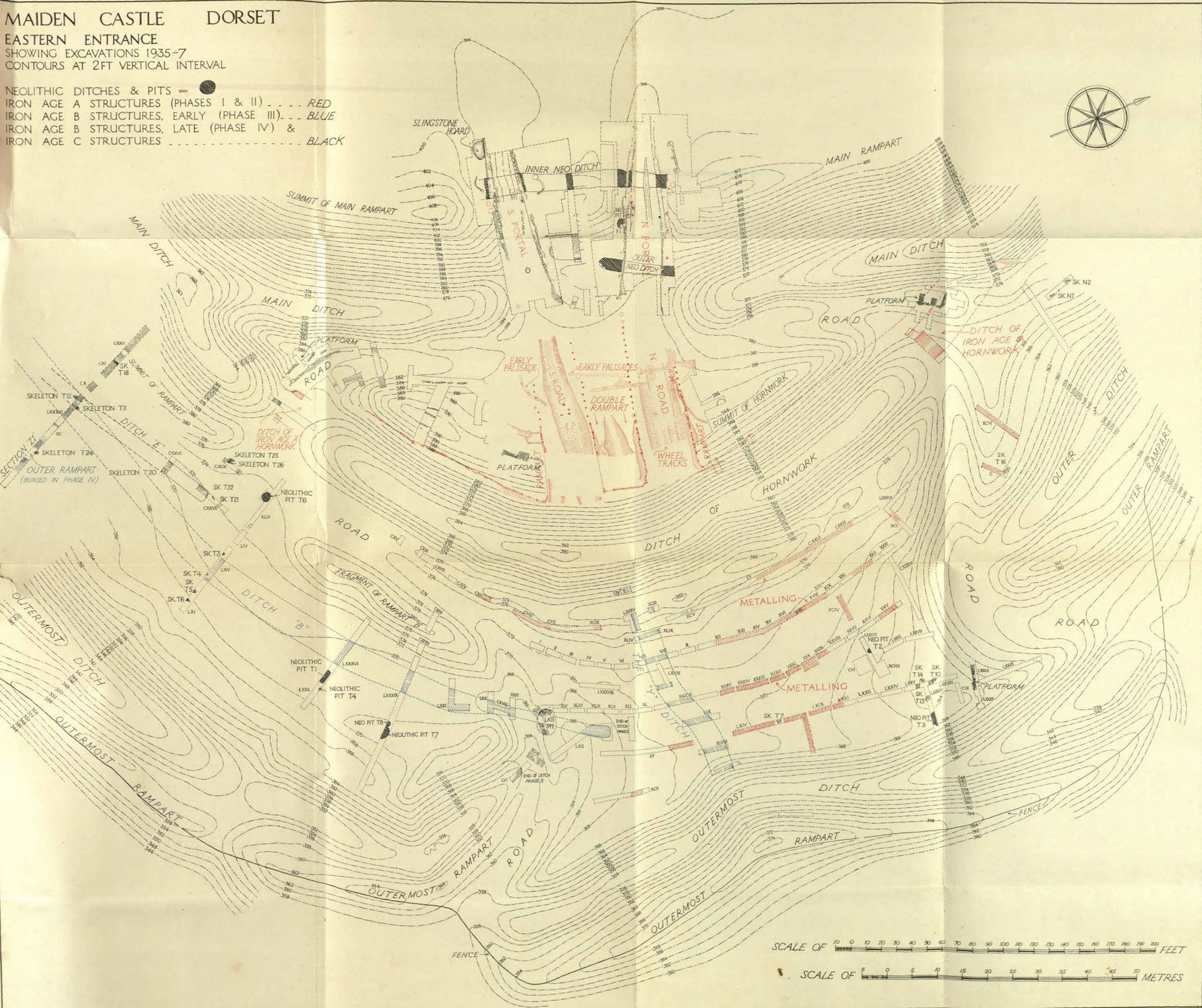
A, Site A; B, Roman temple and priest's house; C, Site C; L and Q, excavation of neolithic Long Mound; R, site of original western entrance.

Air photograph by the late Major G. W. G. Allan, M.C.

MAIDEN CASTLE DORSET

EASTERN ENTRANCE
SHOWING EXCAVATIONS 1935-7
CONTOURS AT 2FT VERTICAL INTERVAL

NEOLITHIC DITCHES & PITS = ●
IRON AGE A STRUCTURES (PHASES I & II) --- RED
IRON AGE B STRUCTURES, EARLY (PHASE III) --- BLUE
IRON AGE B STRUCTURES, LATE (PHASE IV) &
IRON AGE C STRUCTURES --- BLACK



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